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REVIEWING THE NEWS

By WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor Atlanta Daily World

A Tribute to the Negro Press

This year, 1952 marks the 125th anniversary of the Negro Press and during its observance, we pay homage to one of America's most deserving institutions, crusading in the interest of rights and freedom for a minority group.

Its function down through the years has been designed primarily to give the Negro dignity and respect for himself, his race and his institutions. It has also taught him the will to fight for first class citizenship and for growth and development.

The first Negro newspaper was Freedom's Journal, published in New York in 1827 by John Russwurm and Richard Cornish. This newspaper grew out of a meeting with Russwurm and others to consider the violent attacks on Negro Americans. Its purpose was to fight for the freedom of slaves and lead a movement to stimulate pride and dignity among Negroes of the race.

"In many ways," according to Walter White, Executive for the NAACP, "the establishment of the Negro press has been a miracle in journalism." Until recently, no Negro could obtain employment as a reporter, editor, or craftsman on a white daily newspaper or magazine. During recent years, however, opportunities have begun to unfold themselves. Schools of journalism, better training in graduate and professional schools, have been largely back of this change. Even though, he is beginning to be recognized in the total craft of communications, the difficulty of obtaining the proper kind of employment, still stands before him. As a rule the Negro has had to establish his own practices and standards and the results have not always been uniformally good.

The difficulty of obtaining machinery, purchasing newsprint, obtaining adequate news coverage facilities along with the handicap of getting the proper amount of advertising, has long stood in the way as a barrier in the way of journalistic progress.

The Negro press has been and still is today the only large segment of American communications whose major support comes from its readers rather than it advertisers.

There is no other economically self-supporting institution in Negro life and culture that has made so rapid an advance or that has helped so whole-heartedly in the acceleration of the social, economic and political progress, as that of the Negro Press.

The Negro newspaper has definitely passed the initial stage of experiment, of evangelism and of missionary zeal, and is approaching a professional level which in many cases surpasses the best standards of small white dailies.

In spite of criticisms made by such persons as Pegler and the late Bilbo, the Negro press and its millions of readers are not un-American.

The American Negro's culture is one-hundred per cent American. His ideals and customs have become deep-rooted in the American soil and his heritage reflects all of those things which

...he Press has been fighting for; that of pure Americanism and ...mocracy.

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Magazine Cites Power Of Weeklies

NEW YORK — The Negro press of the nation may be the deciding factor in General MacArthur's political future, according to an article in the just-out April issue of Pageant magazine.

The article, entitled "Our Protesting Negro Press," asserts that the political potency of Negro newspapers is a National influence of which most of the nation is not aware. "Opposition by most of the Negro press to MacArthur may spell his doom politically," says Pageant.

What is the Negro press? "Primarily," says the article, "it is a protest press demanding the correction of injustice to a specific minority group. But it does more than protest.

It prints news about Negro advancements, social activities, and cultural achievements that are largely neglected by the white press."

What do Negro editors publish? "Many of their stories," says Pageant, "are simply more detailed versions of what the general press publishes about Negroes.

"Closely followed are the activities of Negro notable like Joe Louis, Sugar Ray Robinson, Marian Anderson, Lena Horne, Josephine Baker, Juanita Hall, Katherine Dunham, Duke Ellington, Pearl Bailey and Louis Jordan. Only in Negro newspapers can Negro society news be found."

The Negro press does not advocate intermarriage of the races, points out the Pageant article, and sometimes even denounces Negro leaders who marry white women. But it headlines such unions and contends there should be no law against them.

When Sergeant James Cheeks of Chicago became the first colored Yank to marry a white fraulein in Germany, one paper published a picture six columns wide of the ceremony.

While the Negro press agitates for a better break for the Negro, it also attempts to make him a more acceptable citizen. Every newspaper publishes at least one feature designed to improve the manners of its readers.

Though Communists have sought adherents among the Negroes, even nominating one for vice president, they have had little success in the Negro press, states Pageant. No important Negro newspaper favors the Communist party editorially.

"We are not going to fight any battles for the Russians," Pageant quotes one Negro newspaperman as saying. "We have enough of our own."

By Lincoln U.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—Three Negro journalists who have distinguished themselves in serving the public in improving human relations will be honored by the Lincoln University School of Journalism at a program on the campus April 25.

The three journalists who are to receive the School's "Citation of Merit in Journalism" were selected by the Journalism faculty. They are: Carl Murphy, president, Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.; Carl T. Rowan, staff writer, Minneapolis Tribune, Minneapolis, Minn., and George S. Schuyler, associate editor, The Courier, New York City.

The citations will be presented at the fourth annual Headliner Week Awards banquet in the University Cafeteria. William O. Walker, editor, Cleveland Call and Post, will address the banquet on "Editorial Responsibility in an Undeveloped Market."

The Lincoln U. citations are designed to "encourage and recognize high achievement, high purpose, and exemplary practice in the field of journalism and to further the pursuit of high ethical standards in the profession."

Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Uses Negro Press for 60th Year

ATLANTA, Ga.—In conjunction with the largest advertising campaign in its history, the Galenol company, makers of Dr. Fred Palmer's skin whitener, vanishing cream, Skin Delight soap and other well known beauty aids, has announced that it is starting its 60th year as a consistent advertiser in the Negro press. Executives of the company revealed that the largest share of 1952's advertising budget, the most mammoth in the firm's 7½ decade history, will be spent in the pages of the Negro press.

Commenting on the unprecedented appropriation, one company official attributed the great acceptance and demand for Dr. Fred Palmer's skin beauty preparations to the high readership of the Negro press, and to the important role which it plays in the Negro community.

Dealers throughout the country are already expressing their approval of the company's decision to continue the 60-year plan of spending the greatest percentage of their now tremendously increased budget in the Negro press. They have long considered this press to be a decided force in the growth of the cosmetics industry, and to be an important factor in the Galenol company's own pioneer expansion, according to one industry spokesman.

Starting a little over 75 years ago, on a small scale, the Galenol company has come a long way to become one of the leaders in the industry. Today its mammoth plant in Atlanta turns out a tremendous production of Dr. Fred Palmer's cosmetics, in answer to the sweeping demand it has garnered throughout the years. Part of this success is also due to the firm's efforts to improve upon the original formula, a work which is constantly being carried on in their modern laboratory. Dr. Fred Palmer's amazing Skin Whitener is now double strength and is used by millions to lighten skin.

Atlanta Editor Gets Scholarship; Goes To Harvard

The Lincoln (Mo.) Journalism and interesting publication (25c a copy $3.00 a year) reveals in its August 15 issue that in three months it will be eight years old.

Of interest to the general public as well as to journalists are its several splendidly written articles, among which are the following:

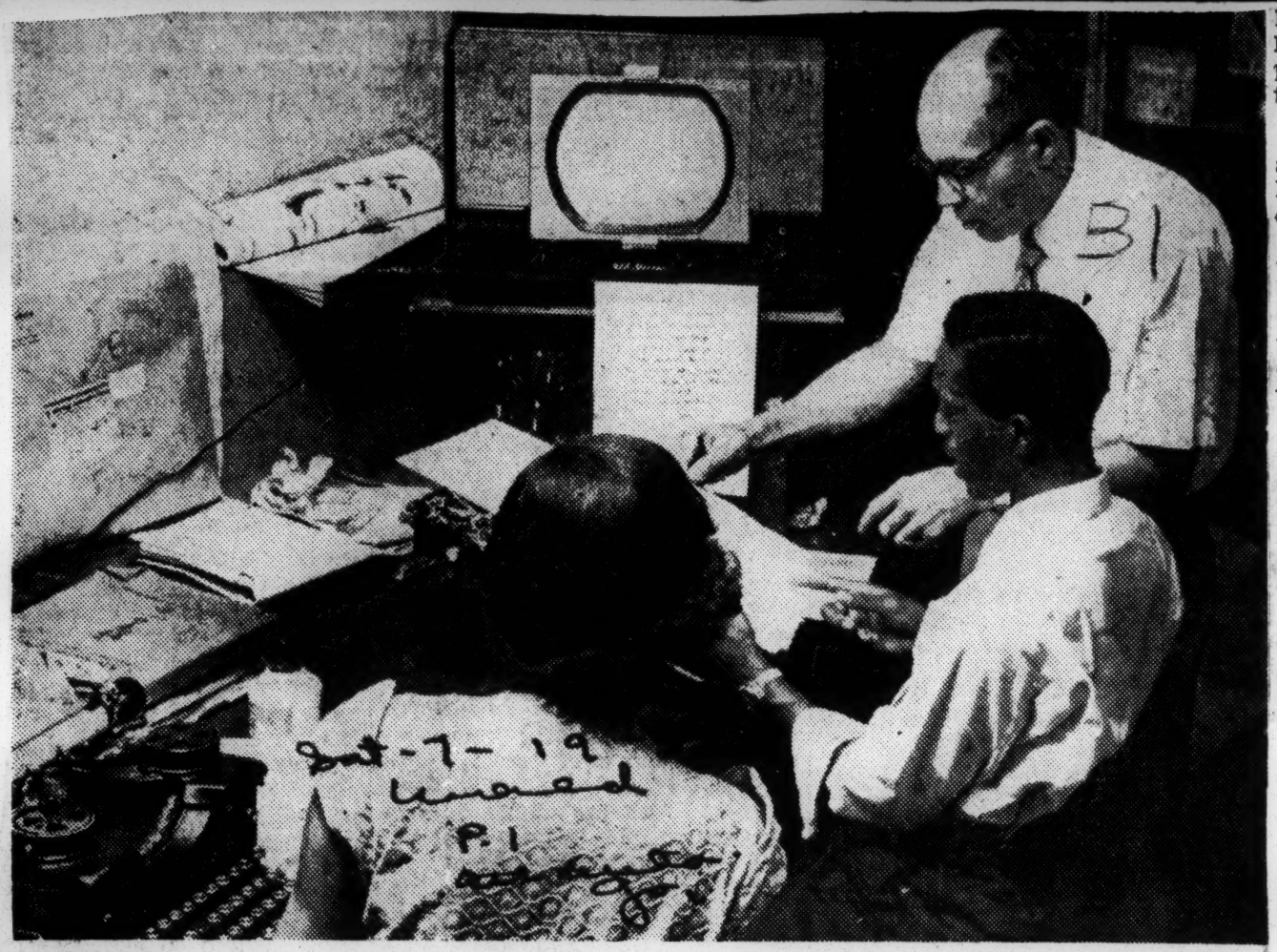
Negro publishers, representing 27 newspapers, spent most of the third week in June in St. Louis, Mo., as guests of the **Argus** and **American** of St. Louis and the **Crusader** of E. St. Louis. The National Newspaper Publishers Association concluding its 13th annual convention, June 18-21. The publishers were concerned about rising costs. In a panel discussion of "How to Cut Production Costs and Boost Adventising and Circulation Revenues," John H. Sengstacke, editor-publisher, the **Chicago Defender**, said the Negro newspapers cannot very well cut costs but the content and appearance of these papers can be improved, he declared. He said that expansion of population means that papers must increase circulation by expanding facilities and personnel.

William O. Walker, editor, the Cleveland Call and Post, argued for stepped-up promotion to get more purchasers on the one hand and more NNPA members on the other. He bemoaned the lack of cooperation among member papers in news syndicates. The publishers heard technical papers on circulation, advertising and mechanical phases of publishing. They ordered their directors to devise additional means for distribution of pooled news, pictures and feature services; denounced our-taxes on cigaretts, liquors and other items; approved the Case Bill to create a joint Congressional Committee to look into increasing domestic newsprint production, and condemned Canadian mills for increasing newsprint costs 100 per cent since World War II.

The NNP delegates re-edected the following officers: Louis Martin, **Michigan Chronicle**, president; Carl Murphy, **Afro-American**, vice- president; Mrs. Robert L. Vann, **Courier** treasurer; William O. Walker, **Cleveland Call and Post**, secretary. Speakers at the several sessions included: Bill Veeck, owner of the St. Louis Browns baseball team; Lt. Gov. James T. Blair of Missouri; John Martin Cates Jr., of the U. S. State Department, who addressed the body on "Human Rights and the State Department," and Stuart Symington, former RFC head now a candidate for the Democratic nomination for U. S. Senator from Missouri.

3rd Nieman—William Gordon, managing editor of the **Atlanta Daily World**, will spend next year, not in Georgia, but in Massachusetts. He will receive the same money he gets as editor but he will not be editing: he will be studying anything he wishes at Harvard University as a Nieman Fellow in Journalism. Two Negro journalists preceded Gordon at Harvard—Fletcher P. Martin—in 1946-47 and Simeon Booker in 1950-51. Both have gone onto general daily newspaper staffs Martin from the city editor spot at the **Louisville Defender** to reporting for the **Chicago Sun-Time** and Booker from the **Cleveland Call and Post** to news writing for the **Washington Post.** The question naturally arises: What daily newspaper will take Gordon away from the Wirld after his Nieman year?

Gordon is no fledgling journalist. He founded and edited his high school paper, the WASHINGTON at Booker T. Washington High School in Memphis; he edited the college paper at LeMoyne College in the same city, and he served as a field representative for two years of the SERVICE magazine. Later he reported for the New York City newspapers PM (now defunct and managed the city desk for the New Jersey Herald—NEWS at Newark. He joined the **World** staff in 1949 as associate editor. The 34 year old Atlanta newsman will study social and economic conditions of the South during his year at Harvard with eleven other Nieman Fellows for 1952-53.



TV-REPORTING — James H. Purdy, **night editor,** (standing) checks reporter Robert E. Johnson's coverage of a late convention speech monitored on a Jackson's Inc. television set. Staffer Ozeil F. Woolcock (seated on left) looks on. — (Harmon Perry Photo)

Editor's Prophesy Of Television's Challenge To Reporting Rings True

BY ROBERT E. JOHNSON

ATLANTA, Georgia — (SNS) —

When T. R. Sunde, telegraph editor of the New York Daily News, predicted more than a year ago that television would soon present a major challenge to newspaper reporting, some newspapermen thought he was talking out of his hat.

But with the conclusion of a five-day thorough and complete coverage of the National Republican Convention by the combined facilities of three major radio-television networks, Sunde's prophesy today proves one of vision.

Sunde, leading a panel discussion on "Television's Challenge to Reporting" at a meeting of the New York State Society of ..ewspaper Editors in Syracuse, N. Y. on February 12, 1951, warned that "television is presenting a challenge to newspapers."

"One problem faced by most New York papers is that news stand sales have fallen off." Editor Sunde noted. He pointed out that the Daily News conducted a survey that "clearly showed television's affects on the sales of newspapers from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m.

Sunde said "people are staying home, off the streets." He told the New York editors that newspapers should keep abreast of television and anticipate daily the problem that this medium presents.

"Every neswpaper should have a television set in its office properly monitored,' Sunde strongly urged and pointed out that the Daily News, since installing a TV set in its newsroom, "capitalized on television's coverage of a Chicago fire and two tragic train wrecks in New York state."

Sunde's position was challenged by some newspapermen who failed to get "worked up over television" because, as one put it, "television is a feature news medium."

The expense of operating television, lack of highly mobile equipment similar to radio's walkie-talkie and the diffculty to obtain sponsors for spot news coverage by television were viewed as serious disadvantages which would not make the new sight-sound medium a challenge to newspaper reporting.

—Norris Paxton, Albany (N. Y.) Bureau Chief of the Associated Press, was inclined to support the position taken by the Daily News telegraph editor.

"People are demanding coverage of some events which the wire services had previously considered insignificant," Paxton declared.

He pointed out that this demand was created by televiewers.

"Wider coverage of United Nations reporting was a result of television's influence because the audience wanted a supplement," Paxton stated.

Ernest von Hartz, national news editor of the New York Times, viewed television as an immediate challenge to reporting. "Television is making it necessary for the reporter to be more accurate and more colorful."

"The newspaper's one big advantage is that it stops the action of an event whereas television shows the action," Hartz emphasized.

He pointed out that it has been established by surveys that radio has helped readers' interest and believes the same is true of television.

The Atlanta Daily World, because of numerous telephone inquiries about the convention proceedings, installed in its newsroom through the courtesy of Jackson's Inc. a television set.

Assigned to monitor the set for the duration of the convention were editorial staffers William Gordon, James H. Purdy, Jr., Marion E. Jackson, Joel W. Smith, George Coleman, Mrs. Oziel F. Woolcock, C. W. Greenlea, Harmon Perry, Rev. Taschereau Arnold and Robert E. Johnson.

The experience of the World's newsmen unanimously supports the contention of the Daily News editor that "television is a challenge to reporting."

31 1952

(Column) ABOUT PEOPLE

☆ About People ☆

Jane Bolin | Pearl Rrimus | Ruth Attaway | Hubert Delany

IT HAPPENED IN NEW YORK

Long Island University and its interracial faculty in co-operation with the Anti-Defamation League are aiding teachers in combatting lectures in the University to make human relations a a positive part of the curriculum.

The growing importance of public relations in all phases of the professions has resulted in the recognition and the granting of by Columbia University of an undergraduate degree in public relations. Enrollees for the degree will be under the guidance of the School of General Studies.

The ninth annnual picnic for boys from the Wiltywyck School, non-sectarian, interracial school for emotionally disturbed children with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as host at her Hyde Park estate was given at the Val-Kill College.

Some 65 youths from the School at Esephus, New York, were present, ranging in ages from eight to twelve. Mrs. Roosevelt read to her guests Kipling's "How the Elephant Got His Trunk." Judges Jane Bolin and Hubert Delany are among sponsors who aid Wiltywyck.

Ruth Attaway, dramatic actress, will be among the cast of Jezebel, the summer stock company which may go abroad.

Vinie Burrows, the attractive star who won acclaim in "Cavalcade of America" for her narration, is set for several auditions with Broadway producers and a prospective benefit in which she will unfold her wares in a "One-Woman Show."

Toy Guidance Council presented its sixth annual preview of new toys. Some 500 playthings representing the contribution of some 300 manufacturing genuises were on view.

Medical walls are crumbling and Knickerbocker Hospital and Lenox Hill private hospitals have opened their doors to internes John Wade and John Bromley. The former is a Meharry graduate and Dr. Bromley is a Cornell Medical College product. The trend is on her by farsighted officials for acceptance of colored qualified internes in all hospitals.

Dancing Pearl Primus of African culture fame, has taken on her staff Gloria Smith, formerly of "Lost in the Stars" and the Destine Dance group. Miss Smith, an expert dancer in her right, was former secretary to the noted Claude Marchant who is now in Italy.

visiting professor of World Christianity to Ut,taoin etaoin etaointarh is now in Italy .....

The Rev. Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews, Henry W. Luce, visiting professor of World Christianity to Union Theological Seminary, has arrived here from South Africa. "The African Response to Racial Law" and "An African View of Indirect Rule," are among the prelate's numerous publications. He is head of the department of African Studies at South African College, Fort Hare, and recently returned from the Conference on African Affairs in Springfield, Ohio.—(Gladys Graham for ANP).

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Doris Standfield Ties For Top Place Among N. Y. Ad Women

NEW YORK—Two young career women—one a formr Baltimorean and AFRO employee, and the other from New York were among the seven young women to receive awards last Monday in a competition sponsored by the Advertising Women of New York in ceremonies at the Waldorf-Astori Hotel.

The ladies were Mrs. Doris Standfield of 114-42 140th St. Jamaica, N.Y., who tied for first prize with her entry in the public relations and publicity category, and Miss Margo Hughes formerly of Baltimore and now living here at 555 Edgecombe Ave., who won honorable mention for her presentation in the Merchandising category.

First Winners

Miss Hughes and Mrs. Standfield are the first of their race to win any awards in the city-wide competition which is open to any career girl who took the advertising course which has been held in weekly sessions since last October.

Both girls are now employed in the advertising department of the Johnson Publications Co., in New York. Miss Hughes worked in the AFRO advertising department in 1946-47.

Mrs. Stanfield recived a $5[illegible] Defense Bond for sharing first place honors in her division. She tied with a young woman from Good Housekeeping Magazine. Her entry was a $76,300 complete publicity plan for a fictitious company.

Mrs. Stanfield's husband, John, is a senior medical student at the University of Kansas. She has been with Johnson Publications for the past 3 years.

Miss Hughes' entry was in the merchandising division where she had to prepare a brochure of a completed plan, also for an imaginary company. She's been with the Johnson publication for the past five years.

For many years, Miss Hughes lived at 4637 Falls Road in Baltimore. She was salutatorian when she graduated from Booker T. Washington Jr. High, behind her sister, Marie, who now lives in Washington, and who was valedictorian.

When the sisters finished Douglass High in 1938 Margo ranked third Marie was salutatorian. Later Miss Hughes attended Coppins Teachers College before joining the AFRO. Her father resides in Philadelphia.

The awards covered the fields of merchandising, copy-writing, art and layout, public relations and publicity.

Bright Spot In African Crisis

ONE of the bright spots in the otherwise tense African crisis was the recent account in Time magazine of a white publication which treated, likewise, Black Africans like human beings.

During the past three years, in the teeming Negro and colored shanty towns of Johannesburg, two white former Oxford University students have defied the opposition of Malan, and gave the people of South Africa its spokesman in the form of "The African Drum," a monthly publication.

In citing the rise of Drum's popularity the publisher, James R. Bailey, explained it thusly: "We air the views and grievances of the blacks, and make them feel that Communism isn't the solution to their problems."

Both Bailey and Sampson faced opposition from the Malan government, whose nightmare is "whites drowning in a black sea." The government threatened to choke off Drum's paper supply for such things as printing pictures of Eleanor Roosevelt shaking hands with a Negro. Police have also taken to shadowing Drum staffers, checking on where they go and whom they see.

Drum, since its first publication, has brought to the people of South Africa, many exposes of spectacular events, such as exposing the "bosses" on the farms that rode among the workers during the day beating them with bull whips.

In its expose, it touched off a roar of protest heard around the world. The protest forced the reluctant British government to make some reforms. These reforms however did not stop the Drum from digging and it was here that it exposed the fact that wealthy wine farmers who paid their non-white workers off with wine to keep them in a drunken state to prevent them from complaining.

Hostilities and suspicion not only came from the government that held the hangman's noose over the people, but it also came from the people themselves. They could not believe that any magazine backed by whites was up to any good. Drum is still occasionally critized by readers. Once when it charged that some witch doctors were encouraging tribual ritual murder, the editors had to placate a delegation of seven witch doctors who went to the Drum's editorial offices in full tribal dress to protest strongly the "slur on a noble profession."

Drum has never overcome the government's hostility, but it long ago conquered the suspicions of its Negro and colored readers. It is also regarded with approval by many anti-Malan whites in South Africa. Summed up one white: "Drum makes South Africa's segregated, despised non-whites feel like people."

It would be wise if the Southern white editors of this, our great country, would take pattern after the editors of this "voice of the people" in the darkest of Africa and let black men and women of the South feel as though they are human beings.

The time has come when the Southern editors of our country should realize that using Mr. and Mrs. titles for Negroes is simply the human thing to do.

Human courtesy and respect is due every person, regardless of race, color or creed.

31 1952

Afro-American Newspaper

Afro Editor Wins Prize For Editorial Writing

STATE COLLEGE, Pa. (ANP) —Cliff W. Mackay, editor, The Afro-American Newspapers, was awarded second prize for editorial writing at the annual Press Conference of the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association here last week.

A total of 290 newspapers, including Philadelphia and Pittsburgh dailies, submitted editorials in the "better writing" competition sponsored by the Pennsylvania Society of Newspaper Editors.

The award, in the form of a scroll, cited Mr. Mackay for his editorial, "Flag of Rebellion," which severely condemned the Confederate flag fad among teenagers and other groups.

The presentation was made following a banquet at Penn State college. Samuel Hoskins, editor, Philadelphia Afro-American, also attended the three-day conference.

Newsprint Hike Affects AFRO

$10 A Ton More Makes Cost $126

The AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers and every other newspaper in the country will be affected by the recent increase in the price of newsprint.

The $10 a ton increase, which was announced last week by two of the largest Canadian producers, raises the cost of newsprint to $126 a ton, the highest price in history.

Since the end of World War II, the price of newsprint has advanced 50 per cent, and the new increase is expected to add at least $50,000,000 to the annual printing bill of American publishers.

Mats Also Increase

Announcement of the increase came shortly after the OPS revealed that price ceilings on cellulose dry mats used in newspaper production, have been suspended and prices will increase by approximately 15 per cent.

The latest price boost comes at a time when American publishers are already burdened by the steadily increasing costs of operation, that have resulted in the raising of advertising rates and the cost of newspapers to the public.

A request by the United States that Canada reconsider its action, has been flatly rejected.

NEGRO EDITOR WINS SECOND PRIZE FOR EDITORIAL WRITING

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Through The Years

A chronology of major news events from the files of the AFRO-AMERICAN

Fifty Years Ago
1902

School: The Progressive Educational Society in Frederick, Md., held a meeting to establish a closer relationship between parents and teachers in hopes of increasing public school attendance.

Fire: White House furniture, amounting to $5,000 was destroyed by fire in the upholstery establishment of E. A. Kennedy on Connecticut ave., Washington.

Travel: Bishop Levi J. Coppin, D.D., resident bishop of South Africa gave a farewell speech in Baltimore, Md., prior to sailing.

Operation: President Theodore Roosevelt had a second operation on an abscess on his left leg.

Merchandise: New bicycles sold for $14.50. The purchaser could pay $6 down and $2 a month.

Forty Years Ago
1912

Sports: Because students at Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn., pawned clothing, jewelry and books to bet on football games, the sport was banned from the college for the season.

Politics: Bishop Alexander Walters, advocating a division of the colored vote, stated: "Our present political ills have largely come through the solidarity of the colored vote."

Property: With the opening of the Panama Canal, American farmers were encouraged to move to Cuba and take over the idle farm lands there. This land was valuable since Cuba is a gateway to the canal.

School: Civic Aid Association in Baltimore, headed by Mrs. Edward J. Wheatly, was formed to campaign for more and better school buildings for colored pupils. Since 1888 only five schools had been erected for colored in Baltimore.

Anniversary: Morgan College, Baltimore, located at Fulton and Edmondson aves., celebrated its 40th jubilee anniversary.

Thirty Years Ago
1922

Religion: Pentecostal Baptist, a new religion, led by the Rev. David Strom, swept the South. Instead of a person confessing his own sins, his neighbor confessed for him. This method was known as "Spot Me."

Veterans: 667 colored men who fought on the Confederate side during the Civil War were drawing pensions; 566 of them lived in Mississippi. Maryland was the only state in the union which did not have colored or white pensioners from this war.

Sports: Battling Siki, Senegalese boxer, defeated George Carpentier in the sixth round for the worlds' light-heavyweight championship in Paris.

School: 356 Students enrolled at Morgan College and 1,151 enrolled in the five night schools in Baltimore.

Music: Popular record on sale: "Georgia Blues" by Ethel Waters.

Radio: There were 418 radio broadcasting stations throughout the country.

Twenty Years Ago
1932

Banks: Prudential Bank consolidated with Industrial Savings Bank in Washington with W. H. C. Brown as president.

Deaths: Frederick St. Clair, attorney, son of Baltimore city councilman, H. M. St. Clair, died of typhoid fever. Graduate of Boston University Law School in 1927, he had his office in Baltimore.

Politics: Roscoe C. Simmons was spokesman for 171 colored delegates which had an appointment with President Hoover to get his opinion of the colored race. Sponsored by the Republican National Committee, this was the first colored group to be photographed with the president.

Twins: Paris France saw its first colored twins when Mrs. Charles Lewis, wife of New York musician, gave birth to them in the American hospital there.

Theater: The Harlem theater had grand opening in Baltimore with a street parade.

Lawyers: Census reports showed 1,247 colored lawyers in the country; one-third of them were in the south where three-fourths of the colored population resided.

School: Howard University hired students to do repair work during the summer vacation.

Missing: Ben Taylor Jr., son of Baltimore Black Sox manager, Ben Taylor Sr., disappeared.

Sports: Gerald Laws, all-city halfback in Springfield, Mass., was first colored high school assist-

THROUGH THE YEARS

A Chronology Of Major News Events From the Files Of The AFRO-AMERICAN

ant football coach in Springfield.
Advisor: Mrs. Mary Church Terrell was appointed advisor to the Republican National Executive Committee on its campaign to get women voters in the east.
Religion: The Rev. Dr. C. L. Russell, president of National Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of America, and the Rev. R. W. Brooks, president of the Washington Organization, sent cables to Britain's Prime Minister J. Ramsay McDonald, requesting that he end Mahatma Gandhi's "fast unto death" which had started over a week ago.

Ten Years Ago
1942

Christening: The Booker T. Washington, 10,000 ton vessel, was christened in Wilmington, Calif., by Marian Anderson.
Theater: Colored movie goers on the West Coast picketed the film "Tales of Manhattan" because of the roles played by colored actors.
Sport: Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson cancelled scheduled bout between Joe Louis and Billy Conn, ordering them to return to their military duties. Louis was a sergeant at Ft. Riley, Kans. and Conn a corporal at Camp Wadsworth, N.Y.
Armed Service: Colored women were not yet allowed to enlist in the WAVES. Members of the 99th Pursuit Squadron in Tuskegee received their wings and were anxiously awaiting orders.
State: DAR invited Marian Anderson to sing in a war-relief concert which was held at Constitution Hall.
Award: Samuel Evans, founder of Youth City Recreation Center, Philadelphia, honored Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt with the center's second annual award.
Election: A. Philip Randolph was re-elected president of the Sleeping Car Porters at its third biennial convention in St. Louis, Mo.

Fifty Years Ago
1902

POLITICS: Socialists in Clinton, Ind. nominated James J. Bishop, colored, for congressman.
DOCTOR: Dr. Ulysses G. Bourne, graduate of Shaw University, passed Maryland State Board of practice in Frederick, Md.
ABROAD: Bishop Levi Coppin and wife, Mrs. Fanny Coppin, sailed on the Umbira for South Africa.
STAMPS: The U.S. government issued the 13-cent stamp for the first time in the history of the country.
ANNIVERSARY: First St. James P.E. Church in Baltimore celebrated its 76th anniversary of the laying of the conerstone.
DEDICATION: New assembly room of Maryland Industrial and Agriculture School at Laurel, Md. was dedicated.
SCHOOL: Over 60 students enrolled at Morgan State Colege in Baltimore.

Forty Years Ago

PROTECTION: To prevent stealing in private homes, the police department in Atlanta, Ga., suggested that colored washerwomen wear badges to identify themselves.
RELIGION: A.M.E. Bishop J. W. Stewart, Birmingham, Ala., was suspended by trial committee, being charged with maladministration and rebellion against church laws and misapplying of church and education funds.
SCHOOL: At Lincoln University, 38 students enrolled.
FARM: Booker T. Washington said, 'One of the great needs of the South is agriculture education for its large rural population.'
APPROPRIATION: Hampton Institute lost the $160 which the government was giving for each Indian student to attend the college, an act which was regarded as an attempt to force Indians to attend schools provided by the government.
DEDICATION: National Training School for Women in Washington dedicated its new dormitory building.
PROPERTY: Property valuation of Selma University in Selma, Ala., the South's largest Baptist School, was $125,000. The Rev. Dr. M. W. Gilbert was president.
BIRTHDAY: Mrs. Anna Perkins, deaconess of Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn, N.Y., celebrated her 81st birthday.

Thirty Years Ago
1922

THREAT: Colored residents of Springfield, Mo., threatened to dynamite Percy's Cave because it was purchased by the Ku Klux Klan.
ARMY: French Army Commission in Paris, France, planned to open a military school for colored men from Africa to train them to be officers and head colored and white troops.
SCHOOL: More than 1,000 students enrolled in school of Dentistry at Howard University and 129 in the law school. The medical school was limited to 50 students.
HIGH OFFICE: First colored woman to hold a high federal office in Washington was Mrs. Monen L. Gray, Washington, who was named supervisor of the colored section in the office of register of U.S. Treasury.
PROHIBITION: Virgin Islands revolted against the prohibition bill passed by the U.S. congress.
DELEGATES: Despite protest of southerners, two colored delegates to the American Legion convention in New Orleans, La., were seated by the credential's committee.
SEGREGATION: In a speech in Glasgow, Scotland, Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute said, ". . . most of the race friction in America is due to the fact that too often white people do not stay in their place."
ANNIVERSARY: Allen A.M.E. Church in Baltimore celebrated its 50th anniversary.
STRIKE: Parents at Sparrows Point, Md., allowed their children to return to school following a six week's 'vacation' after the knee-deep mud surrounding the school was removed.
MASCOT: Lincoln University selected the Lion, "king of beasts" as its mascot.

Twenty Years Ago
1932

POLITICS: Thomas E. Buchanan, diplomatic agent of Liberia at Copenhagen, Denmark, stated that Liberia hoped President Hoover would be defeated in the next election.
SCHOOL: To prevent a foreclosure on their church school, Wilberforce University, Ohio, the AME churches in the New England and Middle Atlantic States raised $7,000.
SEGREGATION: NAACP chapter in Denver, Col., won its fight against segregated public swimming pools.
REBURIAL: Body of George W. Cook, dean of men and secretary of Howard University, who died Aug. 30, 1931, was removed from vault of the campus chapel and placed in the $7,500 mausaleum erected at Lincoln Memorial cemetery.
FIREMEN: Census reports show that there were 520 colored firemen in the country.
EMPLOYMENT: According to census reports, 58 per cent of the working children between the ages of 10 and 15, are colored.
FIRE: The fire at Bethlehem Baptist Church in Baltimore resulted in $8,000 damages.
DEPRESSION: Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., found it necessary to close down Bennett Hall, girl's dormitory, because of the depression. The girls moved to Jubilee Hall.
RELIGION: Kid Henry, former welterweight boxing champ, gave up the ring to fight religious battles at Bethel AME Church in Sterratts Gap, Pa. The Rev. W. I. Henry converted 57 persons at a revival held there.
THEATER: Stage play, "Porgy and Bess" was revived for its third run in Rochester, N.Y.

Ten Years Ago
1942

LYNCHING: Mob in Meridian, Miss., took two 14-year-old youths from Quitman Jail and hanged them from a bridge.
NEAR DEATH: Josephine Baker was reported dying because of lung ailment in Casablanca hospital in Morocco, French W. Africa.
BOXING: Sgt. Joe Louis reported that he would not retire from the ring for at least two or three more years.
AWARDS: Two colored American soldiers in Liverpool, Eng., were awarded with certificates and medals from the Liverpool Shipwreck and Humane Society, when they saved the life of an English dock worker.
UN: Ethiopia became the 30th nation to join the UN.
RETIRES: James G. Carter, American Counsel General at Tananaine, Madagascar, retired from U.S. counsular service after spending 36 years in foreign service.
SUPREME COURT: Walter White NAACP executive secretary, sent a telegram to President Roosevelt urging the appointment of a colored lawyer to succeed Supreme Court Justice James Burns.
LABOR: NAACP told President Roosevelt that if the legislature was allowed to control labor, over three million colored workers would be frozen in jobs below their capacity.
SEGREGATION: It was reported that Englishmen preferred colored troops to white troops. The colored troops were said to be 'reserved, careful, self - controlled and disciplined.'
THEATER: Because Lena Horne broke her ankle while dancing on the set for "Cabin In The Sky," the film was held up until her recovery.

31 1952 Amsterdam News

G. James Fleming To Amsterdam News

NEW YORK. — (NNPA) — G. James Fleming, well-known newspaperman and editor of "Who's Who in Colored America," last week assumed the duties of executive editor of the New York Amsterdam News under appointment by Dr. C. B. Powell, president of the Powell-Savoy Corporation, publishers of the paper.

Fleming was city editor and acting managing editor of the paper in 1936-37 and has written for it occasionally since. In the intervening period he has been managing editor of the Philadelphia Tribune, regional director of the wartime President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, and director of publications of Christian E. Burckel and Associates, book publishers of Yonkers, New York.

In a survey of colored newspaper writers about five years ago by Color magazine, Fleming was voted one of the ten "most competent" by the group.

William Gordon, World Editor Is Granted Nieman Fellowship

Fri. 6-27-52

BY ROBERT E. JOHNSON

ATLANTA, Ga. — (SNS) —

From founder-editor of a high school newspaper 16 years ago to a Nieman Fellow recipient today.

That's the story in brief of William Gordon, managing editor of the Atlanta Daily World, who is one of 12 American newspapermen awarded the Nieman Fellowship to study for a year at Harvard University.

In receiving the coveted award established in 1938 under the $1,000,000 grant of Agnes Wahl Nieman in memory of her husband, Lucius Nieman, founder of the Milwaukee Journal, Gordon became the first Negro in the deep South to be named a Nieman Fellow.

One other Southern Negro, Fletcher Martin, formerly of the Louisville (Ky.) Defender and now reporter on a Chicago daily, studied at Harvard on a Nieman Fellowship.

Gordon, who formerly handled editorial assignments for a New York daily and held down the city desk of the New Jersey Herald News at Newark, will concentrate on making an analytical study of social and economic conditions of the South while studying at Harvard.

Before making the award to the 34-year-old Atlanta newsman, the Nieman committee gave careful consideration to the outstanding journalistic exploits of Gordon before and after his affiliation with the Daily World.

The Nieman committee noted that Gordon advanced rapidly from copy boy on New York's PM newspaper to the city desk as special assignments reporter and later to editorial jobs which included assistant to make-up editor, assistant on the national desk and chief editorial clerk.

The committee was impressed with the newsman's early journalism experience as founder-editor of the Washingtonian, a high school paper published in his native Memphis, Tenn., his college journalistic pursuits at LeMoyne, and his two years of work as a field representative of Service Magazine, published at Tuskegee Institute.

Upon joining the Daily World staff in 1949 as associate editor, Gordon, Co-chairmanned the mammoth Atlanta World Health Jamboree which drew 18,000 persons into Herndon Stadium. He took part in the half-hour dramatization of the Atlanta health survey story broadcast by NBC radio stations.

WILLIAM GORDON

The committee also considered the initiative the young managing editor took in projecting the Daily World into the community as an education journal of betterment of race relations rather than on the basis of sensationalism.

In commenting on this fellowship awarded to Managing Editor Gordon, C. A. Scott, editor and general manager expressed "appreciation to the Nieman Foundation for the signal recognition to a member of the Daily World staff and congratulated the recipient."

Editor Scott also said he would "cooperate in enabling Mr. Gordon to accept the award which should better prepare him to serve the public as a working member of the press."

Bob Brown, editor of the Columbus (Ga.) Ledger, a white daily, wired the managing editor: "As an ex-Nieman Fellow let me congratulate you most heartily."

Gordon resides at 92 Burbank Drive, S. W. with his wife, the former Anne Jackson of Memphis; his two sons, William, Jr., and 14-month-old David, and his mother-in-law, Mrs. Emma Jackson.

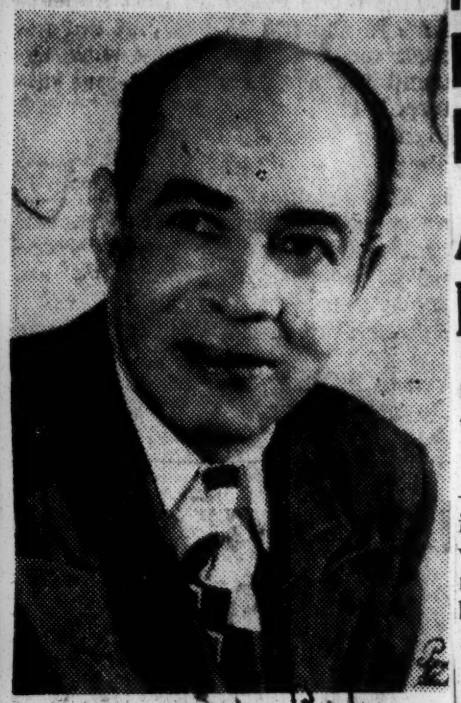
The Nieman Foundation reports that "about half the first Nieman Fellows of the first 11 years—64 of 134—have been general staff reporters. Nineteen more have been specialized reporters, seven in labor, six in politics, six in sciences. Twenty-four have been editors, ranging from city editors and Sunday editors of large papers to editors-publishers of small papers. Nine have been editorial writers, six copy desk members, and eleven foreign correspondents, of whom all but two have come since the war."

The fellows scheduled to begin their studies in September are:

Arthur C. Barschdorf, reporter for the Hammond (Ind.) Times; Keyes Beech, Far East correspondent for the Chicago Daily News; Robert B. Frazier, reporter for the Eugene (Oregon) Register-Guard; Donald D. Janson, copy-desk editor of the Milwaukee Journal; Robert E. Lee, United Press staff correspondent in Washington D. C.

Calvin W. Mayne, reporter for the Rochester (N. Y.) Times-Union; Melvin Mencher, state political reporter for the Albuquerque (N. M.) Journal; Watson Sims, Associated Press correspondent in Chattanooga, Tenn.; William Steif, reporter for the San Francisco News; John Strohmeyer, reporter of the Providence (R. I.) Journal; Kenneth E. Wilson, managing editor of the Santa Rosa (California) Press Democrat.

James H. Purdy, Jr. Joins World Staff



James H. Purdy, Jr., former city editor of the Tampa Bulletin has joined the staff of the Atlanta Daily World as Night Editor, C. A. Scott, editor and general manager announced recently.

Formerly with Color Magazine, the St. Louis Call and the Chicago Defender. Mr. Purdy comes to the Atlanta Daily World with experience and background as a newspaperman.

Mr. Purdy first became interested in newspaper work while traveling through Mississippi and Texas with the late W. A. Scott, founder of the Atlanta Daily World and the Scott Newspaper Syndicate.

A native of Memphis, Tenn., Mr. Purdy once served as reporter for the Memphis World, a Scott newspaper affiliate.

Mr. Purdy is married to the former Miss Ruby Pearl Jackson, of Little Rock, Ark.

Prior to accepting a position with the Tampa Bulletin, he was field representative for Color Magazine.

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD EDITOR NAMED WITH NEWSMEN AWARDED FELLOWSHIP TO STUDY AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Award Seen As Signal Recognition For Nation's Only Negro Daily Paper

GORDON IS SECOND NEGRO NEWSMAN TO GET AWARD

Atlanta, Ga., June 30.—(DSN)—William Gordon, Managing Editor of the Atlanta Daily World, was last week named among 12 newsmen awarded a Nieman Fellowship to study for a year at Harvard University.

In receiving the coveted award, established in 1938 under the $1,400,000 grant of Agnes Wahl Nieman in memory of her husband, Lucius Nieman, founder of the Milwaukee Journal, Gordon became the first Negro in the deep South to be named a Nieman Fellow.

Gordon thus became the second Southern Negro newsman to receive the award.

One other Southern Negro., Fletcher Martin, formerly of the Louisville (Ky.) Defender and now reporter on a Chicago daily, studied at Howard on a Nieman Fellowship.

C. A. Scott, editor and general manager of the World, under whose administration produced the first Nieman Fellow in the history of the daily newspaper, called the award a "signal recognition."

Gordon, who formerly handled editorial assignments for a New York daily and held down the city desk of the New Jersey Herald News at Newark, will concentrate on making an analytical study of social and economic conditions of the South while studying at Harvard.

Before making the award to the 34-year-old Atlanta newsman, the Nieman committee gave careful consideration to the outstanding journalistic exploits of Gardner before and after his affiliation with the Daily World.

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Negro Leaders Pay Tribute to World Editor

William Gordon, 34, managing editor of The Atlanta Daily World, recently awarded a Nieman Fellowship for a year's study at Harvard University, was honored by the Atlanta Negro community Wednesday night at a reception for him and his wife at the Butler Street YMCA.

Gordon was presented with a number of gifts, and congratulatory talks were made by business and professional leaders, faculty members of Atlanta University, and C. A. Scott, publisher of the newspaper.

Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, one of those who sponsored Gordon for the fellowship, also participated. Gordon, a native of Memphis, Tenn., is an Army veteran of World War II. He studied at Columbia University, and worked as a reporter on P. M., New York newspaper, prior to coming to Atlanta.

31 1952

Baton Rouge Weekly Leader

Baton Rouge Awaits Debut Of New Paper

Baton Rouge, La. (Special).—The first issue of The Baton Rouge Weekly Leader is to make its debut on Thursday, January 31.

Its publishers, white, are reported to be J. K. Land and M. P. Gendusa. The publishers stated that their publication will aim to serve the Baton Rouge Negro community. It was expected to cover the national scene, but will concentrate on local items.

Leslie Barnum, local newsman, was announced as editor.

Tabloid in size, it was expected to appear with eight to 16 pages.

It had been reported that Dr. Felton G. Clark, president of Southern University; the Rev. E. D. Billoups, Mrs. Ida Givens, retired Jeannes supervisor and civic leader; Dr. B. V. Baranco Jr., Dr. Dupuy Anderson, head of the Negro Chamber of Commerce and the Rev. E. A. Mays, were to act as members of an advisory board.

Efforts were made to contact Dr. Clark, but officials of Southern stated that he was "out of town." Another "assumed" member of the "board", who asked that his name not be used with the story, replied when asked if he endorsed the paper, said "yes" and "no".

"I know that we need a local mouthpiece, but I think that one that is Negro-owned would serve the community better".

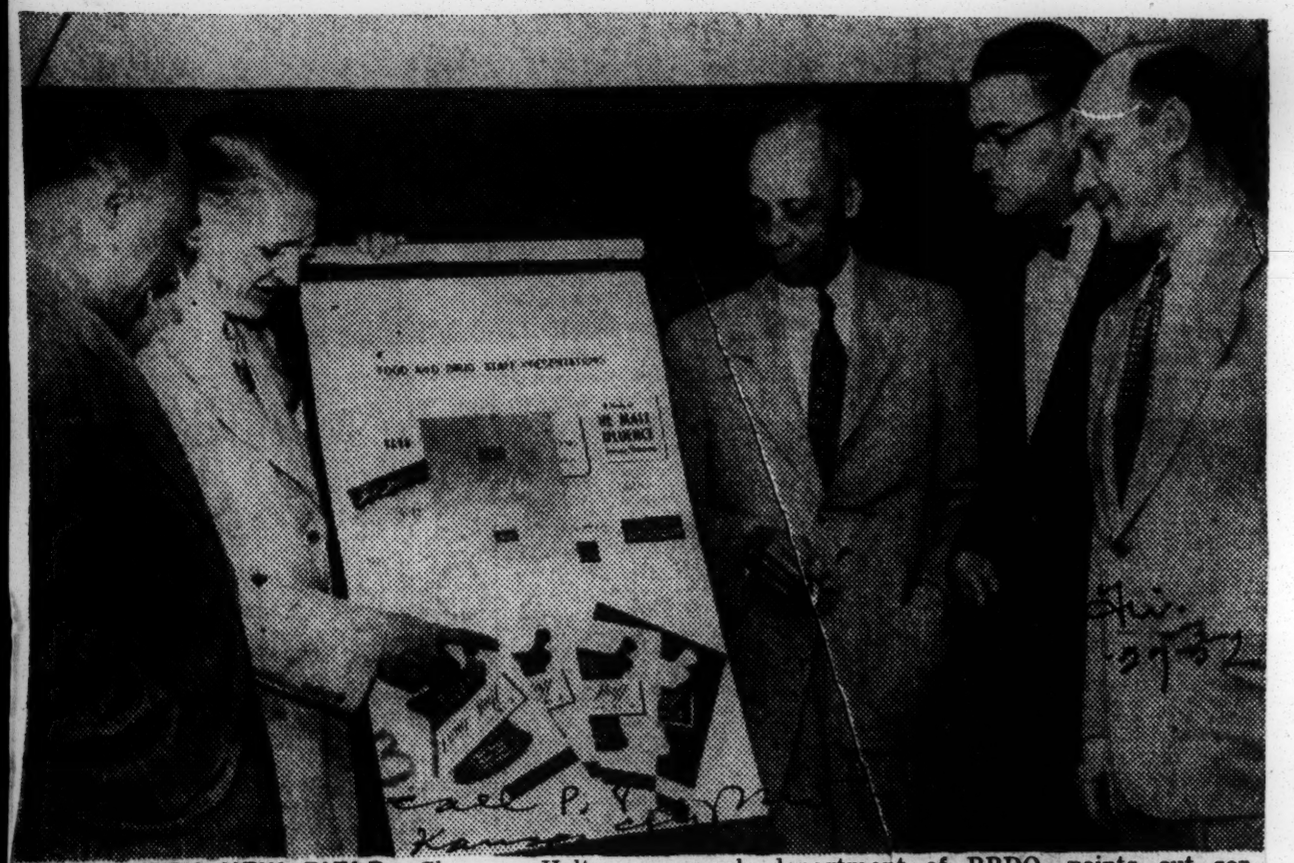
The paper will sell for five cents.

Baton Rouge Gets New Negro Paper

BATON ROUGE, La. — (ANP) —The first issue of the Weekly Leader will be on the newsstands Thursday, January 31, announced Weekly Leader Publisher J. K. Land and M. P. Gendusa. The publishers stated that the weekly will serve the Negro citizenry in this area.

The Advisory Board consists of Dr. Felton G. Clark, president of Southern University; the Rev. E. D. Billoups; Mrs. Ida Nance Givens, retired Jeannes Supervisor and civic leader; Dr. B. V. Baranco, Jr.; Dr. Dupuy Anderson and the Rev. E. A. Mays.

The publishers stated that the paper will cover the national scene but the local coverage would dominate the pages. Leslie Barnum will serve as editor of the Weekly Leader.



CRACKS OPEN NEW FIELD.—Clarence Holte, left, establishes a first in the field of advertising, as he is named to an executive post with Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, Inc., the nation's second largest and one of its most important advertising agencies. Here Holte looks on as Lyle Purcell, second from left, manager of the merchandising and research department of BBDO, points out service bulletins available to merchants selling products of firms serviced by the agency. Looking on are Joseph LaCour, general manager of Associated Publishers, Inc.; Louis Martin, president of the NNPA, and Jack Wren, account executive and assistant to the president of BBDO.

Clarence Holte Named To Top Job With Ad Agency

BY JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK, N. Y. — Clarence Holte, 43-year-old native of Norfolk, Va., Monday became the first colored man ever to be hired as an executive in a major advertising agency when he was named as a marketing specialist by Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne, Inc., the nation's second largest and one of the most important advertising agencies.

Announcement of Mr. Holte's appointment to the position was made by Lyle Purcell, manager of the merchandising and research department of BBDO at a luncheon held in the firm's executive offices at 383 Madison avenue which was attended by advertising and editorial representatives of the nation's major colored newspapers.

In making the announcement Mr. Purcell said frankly that Mr. Holte's appointment was a recognition by his agency that colored people represent roughly ten per cent of the nation's purchasing power and an effort on the part of his agency to gain more of that business for the 138 important manufacturers and business firms which BBDO represents. Included among the 138 are Lucky Strike cigarettes, Schaefer Beer and Lever Brothers Company.

"I'm not a crusader," Mr. Purcell told his luncheon guests. "This is a cold calculated move on my part for the dollar sign only. I was not pushed. I was not shoved. I was only moved by the dollar sign.

"Rifle Shot" at Colored Business

In further explaining the history making move, "Mr. Purcell said Mr. Holte's appointment means that his firm will now begin shooting at the huge colored market with a "rifle instead of a shotgun." "We feel," he added, "that by taking direct aim at the target with a rifle we may be able to score more bulls eyes."

The idea first came to him, he said, wile he was making a merchandising study of a chain of colored drugstores owned and operated by Sidney Barthwell, well known Detroit business leader there.

While probing methods to increase the sales of a well known headache remedy in Mr. Barthwell's chain, Mr. Purcell said he noted that BBDO was "missing something" by not taking a "rifle shot" at the colored market. His contact with the drug chain also showed him the need of having someone in his agency who was acquainted with colored people and their buying habits.

Returning to New York he presented his ideas to the BBDO board of directors and it was unanimously agreed that a colored man with selling experience should be hired for the position.

Explaining that the 13 specialized departments of BBDO are all set up on "vertical lines" Mr. Purcell said his firm decided to violate this organizational policy in the case of Mr. Holte and make his department a "horizontal" department which would cut across all the vertical departments of BBDO. He added that among Mr. Holte's many duties will be to attend all important colored events and edit a news letter geared to the colored consumer.

This means, he stated, that all of the facilities of the 13 vertical departments will be available to Mr. Holte in the firm's shot at the colored market. He said Mr. Holte will be given the full cooperation of every department and that he has announced his appointment to BBDO's office managers located in 11 principal cities.

On the consumer side Mr. Purcell pointed out that with Mr. Holte's appointment all of the valuable research material produced by BBDO will become available to colored and white retailers handling products of firms serviced by BBDO.

These will include such regular published material as BBDO's "Convention Repoerter," "Drug Staff News Letter," "Foot Staff News" and "Consumer Studies" and its "Field Research Bulletins." These publications go to the hard core of buying and selling by publishing such informational data as "How Women Spend Their Drug Dollars," and customers' reports on "What I Would Not Do If I Were My Grocery Man."

In order to gear such studies to the colored market BBDO has already added 150 colored families in upstate New York who represent the focal point of the agency's consumer research program. In September the agency will add 450 selected families to its National Panel of Consumer Opinions of 3,000 families which it uses to reflect the consumer habits of the nation.

Mr. Purcell expressed confidence in the ability of Mr. Holte to fill the position given him. A product of Lincoln university, the New Scshol of Social research and the American Institute of Banking. Mr. Holte is a former traffic manager of an electrical corporation, was a race relations specialist with the WPA and for the last nine years was a sales representative of Lever Brothers Company.

Married to the former Audrey Procter of Washington, D. C., he has a 4½ year old daughter, Helen, and lives at 555 Edgecombe avenue.

After announcement of his position was made, Mr. Holte said, "I am extremely gratified to have the cooperation of the organization in attempting this innovation in the Negro market.

More Jobs To Come

As the appointment was announced there were predictions that it would lead to the employment of more colored men in such capacities. Mr. Purcell himself said, "I do not envision this as a one man operation. There are not enough hours and Mr. Holte will hardly have enough time to touch all the bases that are open. The whole thing will grow."

Among those present at the luncheon in addition to Mr. Purcell were Jack Wren, BBDO account executive and special assistant to the president, Joseph B. LaCour, general manager of the Associated Publishers, Inc.; Louis Martin, president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association; William G. Black, sales manager of the Interstate United Newspapers Inc.; Clyde Hunt, New York Amsterdam News; Melvin Patrick and George Schuyler, Pittsburgh Courier; William Grayson, Johnson Publication; Arnold DeMille, Chicago Defender and James Hicks, Afro-American Newspapers.

A FIRST—Birmingham World Staff Writer Marcel Hopson is seen above (second from right, facing camera) seated at the non-segregated, specially constructed PRESS table, among some thirty daily newspaper reporters, wire-press service men, and radio announcers, covering the three-day morals trial of Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor in City Recorder's Court before Judge Ralph E. Parker, last January 4, 5 and 7. Hopson, here in this spot for two full and one-half days, gave world readers a vivid account of happenings of the heated hearing in which Connor was convicted on four morals counts resulting from his being arrested in a local hotel room with his 34-year-old secretary, Miss Christina Brown, by Police Detective Henry L. Darnell, last December 21. Seated at Hopson's left is Miss Rita Klein, Radio Station WLBS woman announcer; Standing behind Hopson is United Press' John Gunter; to his right are Post-Herald's Martin Waldron, News Staffers Clancy Lake; Post-Herald's Gene Wortsman. Seated in foreground, from left to right, are WSGN's Gene Proctor, WAPI's Dave Campbell talking to Post-Herald's Billy Mobley, who took pictures of Connor and his secretary in hotel room at time of raid and was a key-witness at the trial; and News Staffer Edwin Strickland.

Hopson was given the same courtesies and assistance given other reporters by Judge Parker, court officials and policemen at the hearing.—(Photo by News Photographer Bob Adams).

Editor Jackson Honored By Inter-Youth Council

Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World, was honored by the Birmingham Inter-Youth Council of the NAACP at a surprise birthday party Monday night, September 8 at the Eighth Avenue Branch YWCA.

The four NAACP youth councils—Tittusville, East Birmingham, East Thomas-Enon Ridge—joined hands in giving Mr. Jackson an expensive piece of luggage. Gifts also came from the Brotherhood Class of Sardis Baptist Church, Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Robey and Mrs. L. M. Blount.

Birthday greetings came from Mrs. Daisy M. Jeffries, Darryl and Joyce Riles, Mrs. Ida Williams, Mrs. Lula Edwards, Mrs. Katherine Jackson Powell, Imperial Club and others.

Completely surprised, Mr. Jackson, also secretary of the Birmingham Branch of the NAACP, had been invited to the youth council meeting where those just coming into their twenty-ones were to be given tips on how to register to vote. Waiting in an adjoining room for the program to get started, he was lured into the birthday party by James Bailey, who had been assigned "to get him to the meeting" but missed out as the editor left his office early trying to be on time.

On entering where the NAACP youth were assembled the group burst into singing "Happy Birthday," with the editor being visibly stunned but trying to conceal his emotion.

Mrs. Lucinda Brown Robey, director of the youth councils of Birmingham, expressed greetings. Mrs. Ida Williams, assistant adviser of the Tittusville Youth Council presented the council's gift. J. J. Ryles presented the gift for the Sardis Brotherhood.

Piano music was furnished by Professor John Banks with selections by the Choral-lairies and a solo by George Johnson.

Greetings came from Prof. Sterling Thomas, adviser of the East Birmingham Youth Council; Robert Nelson, East Thomas, Miss Alva Mason, Enon Ridge; Clarence Davis, Tittusville; Dillard Scurlark, president of the Alabama State Federation of Colored Civil Leagues and others.

Among others in attendance were E. H. Forte, president of the Enon Ridge Civic League, W. C. Patton,

faced in the battle to protect and expand human freedom.

was cut by the honored editor who was celebrating his forty-fourth birthday. In his response, Mr. Jackson reviewed his fight for civil rights and the struggles he has

Louis S. Sommerville and others. Misses Mason, Lucille Posey and Davil Etta Bradley presided over the punch bowl. A candle-laden home-made cake

The Tip-Off

By EMORY O. JACKSON

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla. — (SNS)— Twice this month Roscoe Dunjee, publisher of the esteemed Black Dispatch, has been honored. On his sixty-ninth birthday, June 21, a friend of his, baked a cake fo rhim and prepared a dinner at which Henry Moon, publicity director of the NAACP was guest. Dunjee was happy about it and confided that it was the first time any one had cooked a cake for him since the last one by his now deceased mother.

Dunjee beamed with radiant and irresistible happiness as he was honored at a testimonial dinner Friday night, June 27 by the NAACP, for whom he has toiled for over 30 years. He sat at the elevated speakers' table with the right side of his face propped in his right hand, smiling, breathing joy, and listening.

Speaking on how the community felt about Dunjee F. D. Moon, principal of Douglas High School, told of the instance in which he was in a conference with the former Oklahoma governor, 'Alfafa' Bill Murray when the name of Dunjee came up and the governor denounced him bitterly but said, "He (Dunjee) is es sentially right but 100 years a head of his time."

Moon described the venerable editor as being "uncompromising in the matter of race relations and principles. He held true to his objectives .. to his purpose ... and fought great causes which seemed to be lost." He said that this remarkable editor "is a man for what he is."

Too Moon the occasion was a "signal triumph and a thrilling moment." Sharp was the atmosphere with such a spirit. Dunjee's greatness lives chiefly in the field of political action, public education, service to youth and the teachings of goodwill toward men. Men of evil will tried to stop him from spreading the news of goodwill. He was abused. lied on, jailed, but never suppressed and crushed. With long, daring, penetrating editorials he demanded attention and was heard. His editorials were shocking to those who wanted to restrict ideas and hold down the Negro group. "The editor of the Black Dispatch made the state of Oklahoma better by his courage and militance," Moon said.

In his trophy presenting speech, Walter White said that two things about the dinner ceremony in honor of the crusading publisher made him happy, "Roscoe's health" and the recognition of the work of this famous Oklahoma newspaperman. He commented on the "Dunjee editorials" which are controversial for their length and for their content. He tried to copy the style of the late James Weldon Johnson, former NAACP secretary and a renowned poet.

"Dunjee saw closely what the issues meant and interpreted them to his people. He was interested in human freedom and used his pen in the quest of it," White suggested.

For those of us who are working in the field of journalism we should draw inspiration from Dunjee. His efforts made the way easier for us and leaves to us a challenge to defend, guard and seek human freedom for all human beings.

A high school in this city is named in honor of Dunjee. Municipal government employs over 150 Negro citizens as policemen, firemen, etc. Firemen are integrated although it is said that Negro leaders asked for two all-Negro fire stations. Beautiful homes in which Negro residents live adorn this city in a manner hardly equaled by any other Southern city. Ending of restrictive covenants is responsible for the expansion in home spreading.

Oklahoma is a young state, coming into the Union in 1907. Unlike Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi, it doesn't have the big percentage of Negro citizens. Yet there are over 40,000 Negro voters in this state who have the balance of power in close elections.

Born in 1883 on the campus of Storer College, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, Roscoe was able to get only one year at Langston College. Baptist minister and financial agent for the college, Dunjee's father published a small newspaper, the "Harper's Ferry Messenger." Rev. Dunjee worked as organizer for the American Baptist Society, moving to Oklahoma in 1892. His death in 1902 left the family load on Roscoe who paid off a $1,100 farm mortgage, operated a vegetable business and launched the Black Dispatch in 1912. His father was driven out of Uniontown, Alabama, where he published a newspaper because he would not tone down his editorials and treat the news in a way to injure his people.

HOME FROM HONOLULU.—Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Franklin, as they alighted from a TWA plane Wednesday afternoon, returning home after a three-month trip to Honolulu, Hawaii, and California. The Franklins left here December 9. They returned home sun-tanned and well rested. Mr. Franklin is editor and publisher of The Call.—Photo by Fambrough

31 1952

The Campus Echo

Student Paper Earns Honors

DURHAM, N. C. — (ANP) — The Campus Echo, official student newspaper at North Carolina College, has earned a "First Honors" rating by the Associated Collegiate Press, Miss Margaret E. Morgan, junior from Boston, Massachusetts, and editor of the publication, announced this week.

The Echo, which recently joined the ACP, was rated in a class of newspapers of similar size, frequency and from schools of similar enrolment. It is a monthly publication.

Ratings issued by the ACP are in order, "Superior," "First," "Second,' "Third,' and Fifth' honors.

The ACP is the oldest association of college newspapers in the country. It is located at the University of Minnesota.

Marion Thorpe, Durham, N. C. sophomore is managing editor of the Echo and Lorraine James, Ahoskie, N. C., sophomore is business manager.

Negro Paper Cites 10 on Rights Honor Roll; G. I. Hero of Korea and Ridgway Selected

Special to THE

CHICAGO, Dec. 31—The Chicago Defender, Negro newspaper, named ten Americans and five institutions to its 1951 Honor Roll of Democracy today.

Six of the persons honored are Negroes, four are white persons. One of those cited, Pfc. William Thompson, a Negro, died in the Korean fighting and received the Medal of Honor.

In making the announcement of the tenth annual Honor Roll, John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of The Defender, said:

"The curtain fell on the eventful year 1951 last week, and the names of ten outstanding Americans and five institutions were recorded on The Chicago Defender Honor Roll. From many walks of life they came, fostering the ideal that all men are created equal."

The individuals chosen were:

Rudolph Bing of New York—"Metropolitan Opera general manager, for breaking down the color bar in employment by hiring Janet Collins as the company's first permanent Negro ballerina."

Gov. Paul Devers of Massachusetts—"For hiring a colored secretary, Mrs. Ruth Williams, and pressing for better race relations."

O. O. Morris of Chicago—"Y. M. C. A. leader in Chicago for setting the pace in "Y" work in 1951 and for leadership in the building of a new $1,500,000 Washington Park Y. M. C. A. in Chicago."

Henry Ford 2d—"For using the vast for resources in the fight against racism and urging fair play in employment."

Pfc. William Thompson of Brooklyn—"Winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor, for sacrificing his life in valor above beyond the call of duty in the Korean war to uphold the ideals of democracy."

Gen. Matthew Ridgway—"For his order banning Jim Crow in the Pacific Command and speeding up integrating in units of the Army."

Orestes Minoso—"Cuban player on the Chicago White Sox baseball team, for capturing the hearts of the nation's fans and being voted the American League Rookie of the Year by The Sporting News."

Monte Irvin—"For helping spark the New York Giants to the National League pennant and seking a seat in the New Jersey Legislature."

Rev. Roland T. Heacock of Stafford, Conn.—"Minister of an all-white congregation in Connecticut, for his work in promoting interracial understanding and goodwill."

Lieut. George W. Lee of Memphis—"For his fight against illiteracy and for rallying Negroes to register and vote in Memphis."

The institutions named to the Honor Roll were:

University of Illinois—"For the election of Clarice Davis as homecoming queen and for honoring a Negro at its traditional Dad's Day celebration."

Drake University—"For withdrawing from the Missouri Valley Conference because of treatment given Football Star Johnny Bright, who was injured in the game with Oklahoma A. and M."

St. Francis Hospital of Charleston, W. Va.—"For practicing fair employment and integration despite protests and walkouts."

University of Notre Dame—"For expanding the principle of democratic education and active participation in campus life of all races and creeds."

National Conference of Christians and Jews—"For its distinguished work in promoting brotherhood and denouncing intolerance."

Defender Honor Choice Cited By Catholics

NEW YORK — Civic leaders and representatives of Jewish and Protestant bodies joined with the Catholic Interracial Council last week in commending a Catholic hospital in West Virginia for giving Negro and white nurses equal status on its staff.

The hospital — St. Francis in Charleston, W. Va. — is among five institutions and 10 individuals cited this week by the Defender for outstanding achievement in 1951.

The group also formally pledged its efforts to the extension of the policy of racial equality in hospitals throughout the country.

The action, in the form of a resolution, was inspired by St. Francis' action when it retained its three Negro nurses last spring after 20 white nurses of the staff struck to have them removed.

The resolution followed a panel discussion on the problem of Negro nurses before an interracial audience.

The panel consisted of Richard S Zeisler of the American Jewish Committee; Rev. Marshall Scott, Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, and Dr. John E. Moseley, New York physician, with Rev. John LaFarge, S. J., associate editor of America as moderator.

A feature of the meeting was the presentation of the first copies of an illustrated brochure on the St. Francis hospital case to Miss Mary Fitzgerald, representative of students of Manhattanville college of the Sacred Heart.

Negro paper honors persons, institutions for inter-racial effort

CHICAGO, Jan. 1 — (AP) — The Chicago Defender, Negro newspaper, yesterday honored 10 individuals and five institutions for activities "outstanding in the forward march of American democracy."

The newspaper's 1951 "honor roll" listed Rudolph Bing, general manager of the Metropolitan Opera Company, New York, for hiring a Negro ballerina; Gov. Paul Devers, of Massachusetts, for hiring a Negro secretary; O. O. Morris, Chicago YMCA leader for his leadership in making possible construction of a new $1,500,000 YMCA in Chicago.

HENRY FORD II, of Detroit "for using the vast Ford resources in the fight against racism and urging fair play in employment"; the late Pfc. William Thompson, Brooklyn, N. Y., winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor; Gen. Matthew Ridgway, "for his order banning Jim Crow in the Pacific command"; Orestes Minoso, of the Chicago White Sox, "for capturing the hearts of the nation's fans.

Monte Irvin, of the New York Giants, "for helping spark the . . . Giants to the National League pennant and for seeking a seat in the New Jersey Legislature"; the Rev. Roland T. Heacock, Stafford, Conn., minister of an all-white congregation, "for his work in promoting inter-racial understanding and good will"; and Lt. George W. Lee, of Memphis "for the fight against illiteracy and for rallying Negroes to register and vote in Memphis."

Bing, Gov. Devers, Ford and Gen. Ridgway are white.

* * *

INSTITUTIONS honored by the newspaper were the University of Illinois for electing a Negro girl homecoming queen and for honoring a Negro at the traditional "Dad's Day" celebration; Drake University, Des Moines, for withdrawing from the Missouri Valley Conference "because of treatment given football star Johnny Bright," Negro, injured in a game with Oklahoma A&M.

St. Francis Hospital, Charleston, W. Va., "for practicing fair employment and integration despite protests and walkouts"; the University of Notre Dame "for expanding the principle of democratic education and active participation in campus life of all races and creeds"; and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, "for distinguished work in promoting brotherhood and denouncing intolerance.

DEFENDER PLATFORM

1. "American race prejudice must be destroyed."
2. The opening up of all trade Unions to black as well as whites.
3. Representation in the President's Cabinet.
4. Engineers, firemen and conductors on all American railroads, and jobs in government controlled industries.
5. Representation in all departments of police forces over the entire United States.
6. Government schools open to all American citizens in preference to foreigners.
7. Motormen and conductors on surface, elevated and motor bus lines throughout America.
8. Federal legislation to abolish lynching.
9. Full enfranchisement of all American citizens

— ROBERT S. ABBOTT,
May 5, 1905

31 1952 Chicago Defender

Defender Publications Honors 42 Workers At Dinner In Chicago

31 Chicago Defender
Defender p.3 Sat. 1-19

FORTY-TWO EMPLOYEES are honored for length of service, and formal organization of Defender Publications is announced at New Year's Day dinner in Chicago's Parkway ballroom. Speakers table (above) comprised of representatives of papers making up the new newspaper group, included left to right: Frank "Fay" Young, Chi-

-53 Chicago, Ill.

cago Defender; Richard H. Austin, Chicago Defender; Enoc P. Waters, Jr., Chicago Defender; Longworth Quinn, Michigan Chronicle; Charles P. Browning, Defender Publications; Louis E. Martin, Michigan Chronicle; Col. Euclid Louis Taylor, Chicago Defender; John H. Sengstacke, Chicago Defender; Dr. Charles M. Thompson, Chicago Defender; Frank L. Stanley, Louisville Defender; Lewis O. Swingler, Tri-State Defender; Albert G. Barnett, Chicago Defender, and A. L. Blackwell. Garv Defender. Defender photos.

Survey Finds Chicago Defender Rates High In Reader Interest

For sheer reader interest, the Chicago Defender is high among the newspapers of general circulation which lead the nation. That fact was revealed this week in the results of a readership survey of the Chicago Defender, conducted by Dr. Charles L. Allen. Dr. Allen is assistant dean and director of research of the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern university.

The results of the survey are highly significant because they give factual answers to a number of important questions about the scope of a Negro publication's readership and of its active and potential ability to sell through its advertising.

Startling Facts

Some startling facts were uncovered by the readership study made by Northwestern university. Dr. Allen, its director said:

"The Defender has unusually high reader traffic through all its pages. Most of the pages were read by 70 to 100 per cent of both men and women."

He explained that the "readership of the first page of the second and third sections is extraordinary."

"The amazing record of readership achieved by some of the editorial features of the Defender is without equal in our experience," Dr. Allen pointed out.

Turning to the findings in advertising, he said the "readership (here) was consistently good with several advertisements reaching 65 to 83 per cent of women readers."

Advertising Rates

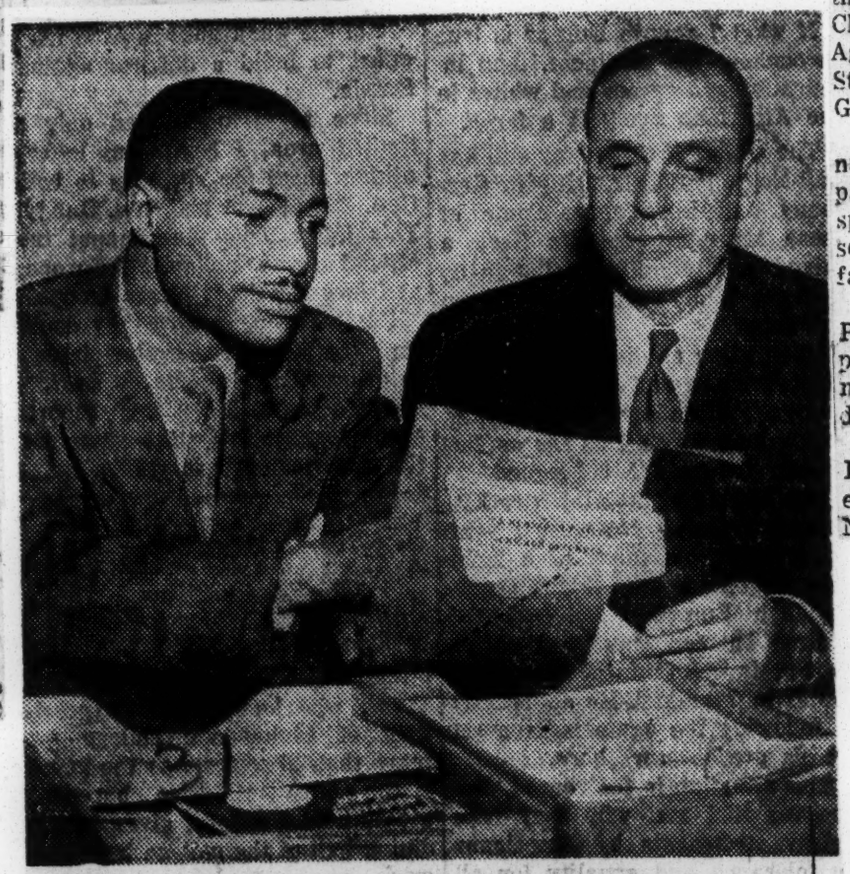
Amazing are the results produced by some advertisements. "One advertisement," the research director said, "of only 1000 lines scored the unprecedented readership of 77 per cent of the men and 83 per cent of the women."

Dr. Allen pointed out that "the record of this advertisement is all the more significant because it is only a 1,000 line space." This shows that it is possible for advertising to get important Defender readership with less than 75 inches of space.

Small advertisers also achieved creditable ratings, the survey shows. "Reduced to any kind of efficiency index which the advertiser cares to apply," the director reported, "the relatively small ads are doing a creditable job" in the Chicago Defender.

Concluding his report, Dr. Allen said: "It is my feeling that the Chicago Defender is doing a very splendid job, both in editorial and advertising content."

The readership survey, conducted in 25 areas, was city-wide in coverage.



JOHN H. SENGSTACKE (left) publisher and editor of the Chicago Defender, checks the results of a readership survey of the Chicago Defender conducted by Dr. Charles L. Allen (right) assistant dean and director of research of the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern university.

Unveil New Defender Family Of 7 Papers

John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Chicago Defender this week formally disclosed the organizational structure of the Defender Publications, a group of seven weekly papers serving both national and concentrated markets.

Sengstacke

Browning

Sengstacke, president of the new organization, announced that Charles P. Browning, former public relations director for the Chicago Defender has been named vice-president and advertising director of the Defender Publications.

Browning will make his headquarters in the main offices of Defender Publications, 101 Park ave., New York City.

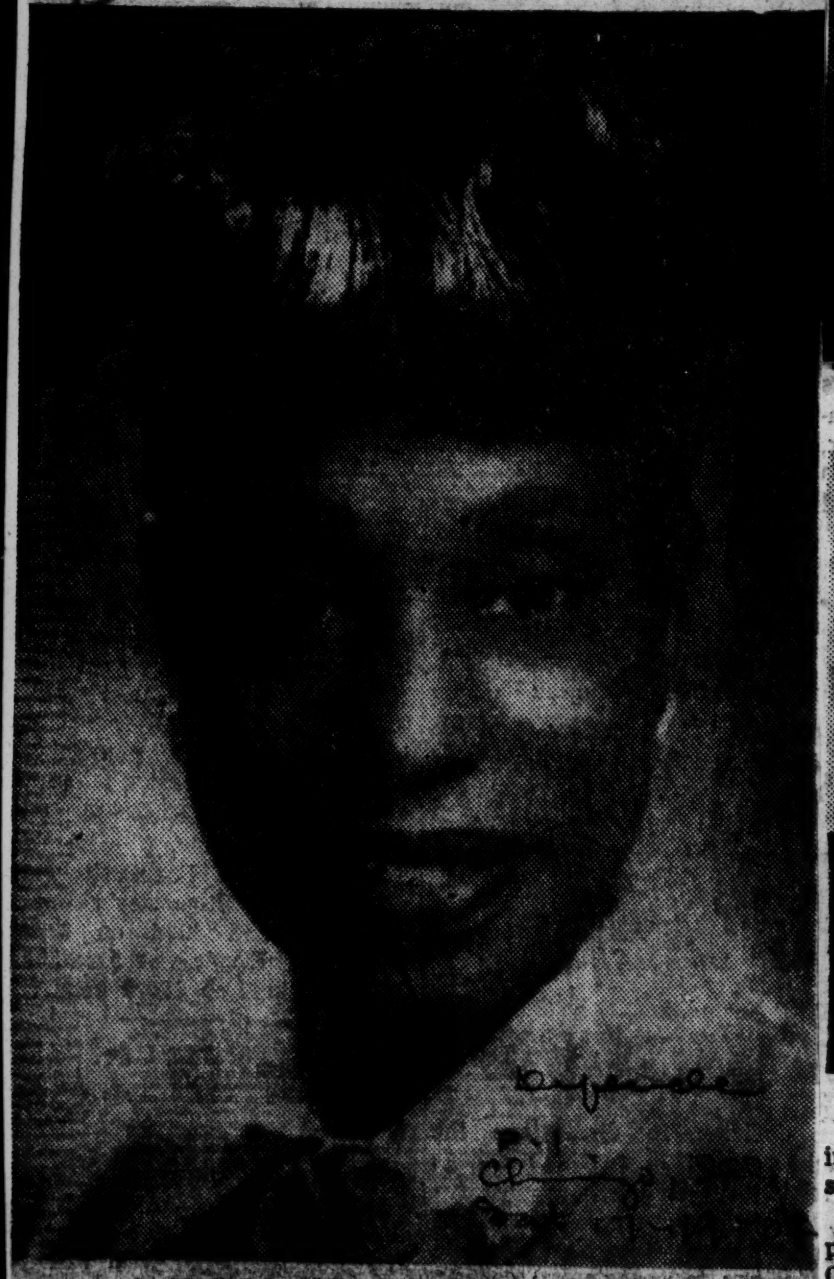
Members of Defender Publications are the Chicago Defender, the National Defender, Michigan Chronicle (Detroit), New York Age, Louisville Defender, Tri-State Defender (Memphis) and Gary Defender.

Defender Publications is the first national group of Negro newspapers to operate through a special coordinated organization to serve advertising agencies, manufacturers and others.

Primary objectives of Defender Publications are to provide pin point services to advertisers and maximum coverage at minimum dollars costs.

Publishers representative for the Defender Publications is Associated Publishers, Inc., 31 W. 46th st., New York City.

Michigan, Illinois Second And Third



MISS LORETTA E OWENS (First Prize)

The three top prize winners of the Chicago Defender $10,000 Popularity contest are probably the happiest women in the world today as they bring fame and honor to themselves and their home states.

Miss Loretta E. Owens of Jefferson City, Mo., polled over 71,000 votes to nose out 512 contestants and earn the right to wear the Defender Popularity Crown for 1952 along with the title of being "America's Most Popular Lady."

Following her across the tapeners in the Chicago Defender's 1952 Popularity contest which has become the biggest event in the history of weekly journalism, were Mrs. Alice E. Davis, of Saginaw, Mich., and Mrs. Aloyituis Lawson of Chicago.

They are the top three winners who will see Haiti and be feted with all the magnificent array of the only French speaking republic in the western hemisphere.

Collectively, the three winners polled a total of 202,190 votes. Of the entire 66 place winners more than four million votes were polled. Miss Owens had 71,290 votes to top the field. Mrs. Davis had 69,810 votes and Mrs. Aloyituis Lawson, 61,090.

John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Chicago Defender, extended his warmest welcome this week to the winners and contestants. He said:

"My sincerest congratulations to all the winners of the Defender contest. My sincerest thanks to all who combined to make the contest the biggest event in the history of weekly journalism."

Arriving here Saturday, July 19, they will be feted before they leave for Washington and meet the ambassador from Haiti, who will wish them "Bon Voyage" as they climb aboard a big airliner for the hop to Haiti.

There, they will be the guest of the Haitian government.

For the complete list of other winners and prizes which will be awarded to each, turn to page three.

MRS. ALICE E. DAVIS (Second Prize)

MRS ALOYISUIS LAWSON (Third Prize)

Defender Wins Ill. Press Prize

ETHEL L. PAYNE

DANVILLE, Ill.—The Chicago Defender was awarded first prize for the best feature story appearing in a newspaper serving a community of more than 10,000 this year, by the Illinois Press association.

The award was made for a series written by Ethel L. Payne, entitled "Why Not Adopt A Baby." It dealt with the need for homes for thousands of waifs who otherwise would be deprived of a chance to grow up normally.

Announcement of the award was made during the 87th annual meeting of the association here, Friday night. Second place in the category was won by the North Town News, of Chicago, based on a story written by Louise Stephens, a former Defender staff member.

Miss Payne has been a member of the Defender staff for two years. Prior to that she was an army service club director in Japan. While there, she wrote a widely discussed series on Negro soldiers and Japanese women, which also appeared in the Defender.

Awards in 10 other categories were presented to the best entries submitted by some 100 Illinois papers.

1952 PRIZE WINNER ILLINOIS PRESS ASSOCIATION STATE NEWSPAPER CONTEST

31 1952

Chicago Sun Times

Chicago Daily Hires Negro Staff Man

CHICAGO— (A N P) —Fletcher Martin, city editor of the Louisville Defender and also the first Negro recipient of a Nieman fellowship, will be the first colored staff writer for the Chicago Sun Times when he joins that daily newspaper about April 15.

Martin has been with the Defender, a weekly newspaper, for some 10 years. He received the Nieman award for outstanding work in his field. About 12 journalists received the award each year.

During World War II he served as a correspondent in the South Pacific theater for the Defender and later for the National Newspaper Publishers Association.

Besides his duties with the Defender, Martin conducted a weekly radio program, "Stories of Our Town," on a local station.

The Sun-Times is considered one of the liberal dailies in the country. It is owned by Marshall Field.

Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalism fraternity, last week awarded its public service award to the Sun-Times for the paper's crusade for justice in the Michael Moretti murder case. The daily was credited with obtaining the conviction of Moretti, a policeman who shot two youths of Mexican descent to death following a barroom brawl. The judge who presided over this trial was a Negro, Wendell E. Green.

The hiring of Martin brings to a total of three the number of colored men working on the editorial staffs of Chicago daily newspapers. Both the Herald-American an dthe Daily News each has a reporter who is not confined to strictly Negro news.

THE PRESIDENT PICTURED AT THE COLUMBIA SCHOLASTIC PRESS CONVENTION

Mr. Truman presenting advertising awards to the winners. Left to right: William P. Maloney, director of publicity and public relations at Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn; Anne Raleigh McCarthy, Home Economics Director, Department of Education, Rhode Island, and Joan Cowie, editor, The Acorn, Upper Darby, Pa., High School.

Young journalists photographing the President. Left to right: Anne Fowler, Toledo, Ohio; Dave Kenninson. Orange High School, New Jersey, and James Indindoli, St. Francis Prep, Spring Grove, Pa.

STUDENT EDITORS SURPRISE TRUMAN

Award Hails Him as 'a Cause of Copy'—Obligations of the Press Assayed in Forum

In the presence of an enthusiastic ex-editor of The Gleam, the newspaper of the Independence, Mo., High School, 3,520 student journalists ended yesterday the business of their twenty-eighth annual convention, the largest ever conducted by the Columbia Scholastic Press Association.

The young editors and reporters, who came here from 750 schools in thirty states and several foreign countries for the three-day meeting, gathered for their final luncheon in the main ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel and filled another three overflow halls to hear President Truman's address and honor some of their colleagues.

For having written the best poem in school publications during the year, "The People in the Gothic Cathedral Pretended to Pray," Jonathan Saville of the Bronx High School of Science received a bronze medal. Gilbert Tauber, also from the Bronx school, got a similar award for the best short story, "Late City Edition," and Rebecca Garrison of Tudor Hall School in Indianapolis, was honored for her article, "Why Do Boys Like Girls?"

Special Award For President

President Truman, the ex-editor who later warned the journalists to be careful lest they "end up by living in the White House," applauded the winners energetically and was surprised by the special award presented to him.

Lieut. Col. Joseph M. Murphy, director of the association, gave the President a certificate of membership and a special citation for having been "the cause of a considerable amount of newspaper copy of a wide variety." A Columbia blue-and-white ribbon and a gold key accompanied the award.

Other prizes included the Socrates Jr. plaque, given to The Acorn of Upper Darby, Pa., High School for the best advertising display; certificates of merit for sixteen newspapers for the best use of typography and gold keys to six teachers for their advisory work during the year.

All the award winners were introduced to the President at a photo session before the luncheon. Also presented was Marilyn Lewis, aged 9, the youngest delegate, who remarked on Thursday that she thought Mr. Truman was managing the country "just fine." She shook hands, but had nothing to add.

In the morning, 1,000 of the students attended a discussion of "The Vital Role of the Newspapers" by six convention delegates on the New York Times Youth Forum, broadcast over station WQXR. Lester Markel, Sunday editor of THE TIMES, was the guest. Dorothy Gordon was the moderator.

Mr. Markel commented that these were "exciting and challenging days" that made it imperative for newspapers, to give the American people accurate and understandable news. The press could meet its responsibility, he said, if the papers took it upon themselves to make vital stories as exciting as those of a heroic sea captain or of a murder.

No story can be meaningful if it presents only bare facts, he declared, explaining that the facts need interpretation, "not from the point of view of editorial opinion, but from the point of view of their significance."

Norman E. Rothstein of Lafayette High School in Brooklyn suggested that if the newspapers did not give the public what it wanted the community should "demand what we want."

Cadet First Sgt. Silliam J. Rodenbach from Fork Union, Va., Military Academy, told the forum that "too many papers today try too much to sell papers with only one side of the story." This led Margaret Crowley of the Sacred Heart High School in Waterbury, Conn., to remark that "people have sense enough to avoid papers that stress only scandal and crime."

Mr. Market agreed that the responsibility of a free press could be best achieved through the use of discretion by readers. He said it could not be "imposed from the top."

A suggestion from Anne Fowler of the Thomas A. DeVilbiss High School in Toledo, Ohio, that "the average reader looks for the sensational news," was seconded by Lucy Frohlicher, representing the Central High School in St. Paul, Minn. She added that for the sake o fbetter business "too often papers become lax and lose the ideals they started out with."

The panel agreed that the newspapers and public alike must assume the responsibility for making all Amreicans aware of this country's important role in the world and concluded with Bill Brewbaker from Sidney Lanier High School in Montgomery, Ala., saying that the world could not be free without a free press.

A delegation of students from the Near and Middle East, who are here for The New York Herald Tribune Forum for High Schools, attended the luncheon and brought a scroll for President Truman.

"Before we came we were patriotic and nationalistic in the way every person is," the message read. "Now, we sometimes find ourselves thinking of humanity as a whole. We ask you to give our thanks to the American people who helped us understand these things."

Sectional meetings, clinics and round-table discussions on the campus of Columbia University preceded the luncheon. They covered aspects of magazine and newspaper publishing. Following the President's address, the convention adjourned until March 12, 1953.

Text of Truman Talk Before Columbia Scholastic Press Association Luncheon

The text of address by President Truman before the Columbia Scholastic Press Association luncheon at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel yesterday follows:

Dr. Murphy, Distinguished guests, Mr. Mayor, Delegates to the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Columbia Scholastic Press Association: You know, I was very much afraid that you were going to take that admonition of Dr. Murphy's seriously, but I am very glad that you didn't—when he told you not to make any noise when the broadcast went on.

I am happy to e with you today. It is a pleasure to talk to the young people who run the school papers of this great country of ours. You probably don't know it, but I was a school editor myself once for a high school paper in Independence, Mo., and it was a first edition, too. It started off with five other kids and myself. We got out the first number of *The Gleam*, named after that admonition in Tennyson's poem—after it, follow it, follow the gleam. I have been trying to follow it ever since.

From then on I kept going, and you know the trouble that I am in today. So you see if you are not very careful you may end up by living in the White House. And I will say to you that it is a wonderful experience indeed, in spite of all its troubles.

All my life I have been interested in the Presidency and the way Presidents are chosen. I remember very well the first Presidential nominating convention that I attended. It was in Kansas City, Mo., in 1900, when [William J.] Bryan was nominated the second time for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. I was sixteen, and I enjoyed that convention very much because I thought old man Bryan was the greatest orator of the time, and I still think so. President Roosevelt said he was one of the great progressive of all time, but he was ahead of his time—and a lot of us are in that condition.

Truthful News Stressed

Now, besides being nominated for the Presidency three times, Mr. Bryan became an editor, and you know I am very much interested in editors and publishers. It is a very great responsibility to be an editor of a great newspaper, or a great periodical, and we have some wonderfully great magazines and newspapers in this country. It is the duty of editors of these great publications to see that the news is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and these great ones do just that; but we do have among us some publications that do not care very much for the truth in the news and sometimes make propaganda out of it, and then write editorials about it. An editorial written on misrepresentation in the news and propaganda is just as bad as the foundation on which it rests.

I hope that if any of you become editors of great publications, and you are now editors of great publications in your field, that you will stick strictly to the truth and nothing but the truth when you publish the news.

I heard Mr. Bryan say one time that the first convention he attended was at Philadelphia in 1856, and tha the crawled in through the window. And ever since that time they had been trying to put him out, but never succeeded.

The first convention that I attended was the one I referred to in 1900. I walked into that convention, and I also later walked into the White House, which Mr. Bryan did not. Not one of us knows who got the best of it. Mr. Bryan got his message over just as well as had he been elected President. I don't know whether I am getting mine over or not.

Another convention I remember very well was the one in Baltimore when Woodrow Wilson was nominated. I was running a tractor around a quarter section of land and it took two miles to map that circuit. At the corner was a little telegraph station, about a quarter of a mile from where I was working. I'd go down to that telegraph station and see how the convention was coming on. That is how I found out Woodrow Wilson was nominated. We did not have radio or television in those days, and we did not have any pollsters or false political prophets. I voted for Wilson, and I believe ever since in the policies he followed. He was one of our greatest Presidents, and I sincerely believe that if we had followed him in what he wanted to do we would certainly have avoided the second World War. I hope that we will not make that same mistake after this last World War.

Now, I understand that a lot of people are mystified and wondering why I came all the way up here from Key West to talk to you today. The answer is very simple. I came because the future of this great republic of ours depends upon young people like you, and also for the reason that for the last seven years the young people have been coming to see me at the White House. There is hardly a week goes by that I do not see some delegation of young people who pass through my office and shake hands with me, and I either have a word or

And now I was in Latin. I will never forget it—"Juvenes Specmundi"—I have never forgotten it. I think youth is the hope of the world, and it always will be. It is just as true now as when I came out of that small town high school. It is necessary for the young people to understand the road to be followed. And now I am here, and you are in exactly the same position that you would be at the White House—you'd have to listen.

The United States is the greatest republic in the history of the world. We want to keep it the greatest republic. It will be up to you young people to do that job in the future.

Youth is the hope of the world. That was the motion on the front door of the high school from which I was graduated, only it

lowed if this country is to accomplish the mission which God intended it to accomplish in the world.

I hope I can give you some idea of how to follow that road into tomorrow, the future of the world. I hope you will go back to your schools and talk about it and discuss it. I hope you will write about it in your publications, because it is your responsibility as editors to work for the good of your great country, and for the future of the world. Both are in your hands.

Now, the thing I want to impress upon you is that Government must be operated on the basis of the greatest good for the greatest number of its citizens. That is the fundamental basis of the domestic program and foreign policy of this Government of yours and mine. No nation is good and can last unless it is built upon ideals. Our nation is built upon ideals, ideals of unselfishness and respect for the rights and welfare of others.

The fundamental basis of this nation's ideals was given to Moses on Mount Sinai. The fundamental basis of the Bill of Rights of our Constitution comes from the Exodus, St. Matthew, Isaiah, and St. Paul. The Sermon on the Mount gives us a way of life. Maybe some day men will understand it as the real way of life.

The basis of all great moral codes is "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." Treat others as you would like to be treated. Some of you may think that such a philosophy as that has no place in politics or government, but it is the only philosophy on which you can base a lasting government. Governments built on that philosophy are built on a rock and will not fail.

To Aid Average Man First

When our own Government has looked after the average man first, we have grown and prospered, but when those in power have used our Government to increase the privileges of the few at the top, the life and spirit of our country have declined. Thank God most of the time we have been on the right road.

We have had a chance to see how this works, although some of you are not old enough, and I know some of you are not old enough to remember the last depression. In the last twenty years the Government of the United States has made great progress in measures and efforts to protect the average man. We have not been ashamed to work for human welfare at home and abroad.

I just want you to examine the facts and see for yourself what the results have been in better living conditions for the American people and in strengthening the base of our democracy. More and more people have been able to have better and better living conditions.

In 1939 only one out of four families had an income of more than $2,000. In 1949 it was two out of three. There are fewer poor people and more well-to-do people in this country now than ever before, not only in this country but in the history of the world.

We have been reducing inequality, not by pulling down those at the top but by lifting up those at the bottom.

This great record of progress is the result of our policy in the Fair Deal, and under that policy we look out for the other fellow as well as for ourselves. That same program applies to our foreign policy. We cannot isolate ourselves from our neighbors in the rest of the world. When something helps them, it helps us. The way to keep our own country strong and prosperous is to encourage and develop prosperity in the rest of the world.

Exchange of Ideas Urged

We can learn a lot from the rest of the world. There are many things that even the people of undeveloped countries in the world can teach us. We must exchange ideas. We must exchange goods. We must exchange friendship.

We are not imperialists. We do not want to conquer any people or to dominate them. The Russian propaganda says that we are imperialists and want to conquer the world. That just isn't true. We know the Soviet Government is a menace to us and to all the free world. That is why we are building up our strength, not to march against them, but to discourage them from marching against us in the free world.

We want to help people in other countries to help themselves, because that makes for prosperity for us all.

I want you young people to understand that if we accomplish the purpose which we propose to accomplish, it means the greatest age in the history of the world, and you will live in the most peaceful time the world has ever seen. It is up to you to help carry on that purpose, for it may take more than one generation to accomplish it, but we can accomplish it. We are going to accomplish it, and I know that you will help accomplish it.

I appreciate again being here May God bless you all!

31 1952

The Contemporary Reader

New Publication Opens Field For Writers

NEW YORK — The publication of works by new and established colored writers and about colored life is one of the major aims of a new literary quarterly to be issued by the Writing and Publishing Division, New York Council Arts, Sciences and Professions.

Entitled "The Contemporary Reader," the magazine plans to distribute its first issue this winter, according to Dr. Edwin B. Burgum, New York director, ASP and Associate Professor of English, New York University. It will include fiction, poetry and (one-act) plays.

31 1952 Daily News (Jackson,Miss).

Negro Section Makes Debut In Southern Daily

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — A section devoted exclusively to Negro news made its debut last week in the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, a newspaper which has been noted for its uncomplimentary reporting of news concerning colored persons.

"Negro Activities," is the "stet" head of section which boasts of being the only one published in a Jackson Daily newspaper "devoted to news about civic and cultural activities of colored citizens in Mississippi."

Two columns make up this section every day but Saturday. On Saturday an entire page is devoted to Negro news.

An analysis of the news content for the first week disclosed stories of the activities of clubs, schools, churches, and fraternal groups. However, nothing concerned civil rights, segregation, or other issues which might offend white southerners appeared here.

Last Saturday's section carried a caption showing Mrs. Edith Sampson, special state department representative to Europe, attending the Mississippi Teachers association meeting.

Another picture showed the newly elected president of the association, J. O. Boyd.

The section is editied by Mrs. Sue McLinn Lewis.

31 1952

DENVER INQUIRER

Denver Paper Member Of Press Association

DENVER, Colo. (ANP) — The Denver Inquirer, a weekly newspaper published here last week became the first Negro-owned newspaper in Colorado history to be admitted to the powerful Colorado Press Association.

Daily Newspaper Circulation Over 54 Million Mark

NEW YORK —(INS)— Editor and Publisher reported Friday that total daily newspaper circulations reached over the 54,000,000 mark for the first time in history in 1951.

The 32nd annual edition of the Editor and Publisher International Yearbook says there were 1,773 daily newspapers in the United States as of January 1, 1952. They have a combined daily net paid circulation of 54,017,938. This is an increase of one daily over a year ago, and an increase in number of copies sold of 188,886 or .35 per cent.

Chicago

Vigorous Attack On Policy of Chicago Tribune

CHICAGO. — (ANP) — Publication of news about Negroes in America's daily newspapers has been a problem in journalism through the years.

In the south, most newspapers label any Negro mentioned in a news story. Some newspapers limit such stories to crime news and unavoidable sports stories in relationship to such personalities as Jackie Robinson. Others add to this a daily "news column" and possibly a Sunday news page.

This particular treatment of Negro news, however, is not accepted in the north by everyone. Although a few papers do continue to publish a Negro news section, most of them do not present Negro news in this fashion. Many of them, however, have decided to integrate the Negro into the news columns with no mention of race.

Although the practice of race labeling except in unusual stories is dying out in the north, it still is a lingering tradition, often criticized by both whites and Negroes. Of Chicago's four daily newspapers, three do not label Negroes.

One does. Although it has been often criticized, it has continued to utilize this policy, particularly in reference to crime stories. Its severest critic has been the City Club of Chicago, a group of city leaders with no restrictions against Negro members.

For the past two years this club has issued reports, denouncing the actions of this newspaper —the Chicago Daily Tribune, the city's largest newspaper and the nation's third largest selling daily.

A year ago, the City Club issued its first report on the Tribune's race labeling habit(listing four reasons why it objected to such practice:

1. ". . . In a paper that emphasizes crimes of violence as the Tribune does there are inevitably many news stories connecting Negroes with such crimes. The inference is drawn by readers that Negroes have an inherent biological tendency toward crime . . ."

2. ". . . Race labeling is selectively used against the poor and the friendless. Joe Louis, Percy Julian and Ralph Bunche are not usually labeled."

3. "'Even the items which are not associated with crime tend to set Negroes apart as second class citizens.

4. ". . . Selection of the Negro group for this treatment is arbitrary . . . It is a matter of feeding the vulgar appetite for a scapegoat. The fact that many readers fail to find anything offensive in race-labeling is typical of the scapegoat mentality and illustrates the insidious character of the practice . . ."

The Tribune contends that readers are entitled to "every scrap of information about the persons in the story. According to this report, the paper has refused to discuss the matter. Because of this, it said, the City club is taking the case to the public.

The report lauded the Tribune for banning race labels in ads, for a series of articles concerned with Negro problems, and for the Tribune's sports pages' policy.

It recommended:

"We urge first an attempt to see the race relations problems with clear-eyed vision, free of ancient prejudices and mistakenly selfish interests.

"To our readers we recommend action through any channels of influence at their disposal . . . We leave our readers to choose among peaceful methods those that will most effectively promote our objective.

"To the Tribune itself we recommend a change of policy, although not complete abandonment of the use of the word 'Negro.' . . . The details must be worked out by the paper itself. By adopting such a policy the Tribune will not only be doing what is right and fair, but will be benefiting itself and the community."

Recently, the City club issued a second report on the Tribune, reporting no progress in a change in the newspaper's policy. This report indicated that the Tribune is not willing to change its race-labelling policies.

Although the City club has distributed its report widely, it has failed to gain ordinary news coverage in its campaign. Each of the reports has been headed, "John Smith, Negro in the Tribune.'" Both illustrated ample numbers of stories showing how the word Negro was used in most Tribune stories labelling the race.

Each one gave as a sound basis of principles for not labelling an editorial which appeared in the August 11, 1946, New York Times, "Race in the News." In this editorial, the Times told why it does not label. Here is what it said on how the Times will print Negro news:

". . . The race of a person suspected or accused of crime shall not be published unless there is a legitimate purpose to be served thereby. By this we mean that it is correct to refer to race when the accused is still at large and race seems one mark of identification. It is also correct when, as in the case of race riots or racial antagonisms, it becomes essential to the understanding of the news.

"And even though, inconsistently, we would hold that in view of difficulties under which the Negro labors it is fair to identify Negro artists or others whose achievements are a matter of pride to all of us."

The City Club has found only one organization willing to take a stand against the Tribune. Others have mentioned the City Club pamphlets as dealing with race labelling, but not naming the Tribune.

Only the Congregational Christian Action, published in Chicago by the Social Action Committee of the Chicago Congregational Association and the Women's Fellowship of Greater Chicago, has told the City Club's story.

No radio station, publication, or other medium of communications, Negro or white, has supoted the City Club.

The club nevertheless is willing to continue the fight against this practice until the Tribune adopts the same fair policies now practiced by Chicago's other daily newspapers.

Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitner Uses Negro Press For 60th Year

Atlanta, Ga.—The Galenol Co., makers of Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitner, Vanishing Cream, Skin Delight Soap and other well known beauty preparations, has announced that it is starting its 60th year as a consistent advertiser in the Negro press. Dr. Fred Palmer's products have achieved a great acceptance and demand over the years, and executives of the firm attribute a good deal of their phenomenal success and continued popularity to the high readership and important role that the Negro press plays in the Negro com-

ing a little over seventy-
ars ago on a small scale, the
l Company has come a long way to become one of the leaders in beauty aids. Today its mammoth plant in Atlanta turns out a tremendous production of Dr. Fred Palmer's cosmetics, in answer to the sweeping demand that it has garnered through its 7½ decade history. Part of this success is also due to the firm's efforts to improve upon the original formula, a work which is constantly being carried on in their modern laboratory. Dr. Fred Palmer's amazing skin whitner is now double strength and is used by millions to lighten skin.

Dealers all over the country have already made known their high approval of the Galenol Company's continued use of the Negro press, considering it a decided force in the growth of the cosmetic industry and to be an important factor in the company's own pioneer expansion.

Lincoln U. Cites Three Magazines

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. — Fresh from snaring two firsts and several other places in the Prairie View, Tex., Relays, the Lincoln University Tigers are looking forward to the remainder of their track schedule which includes participation in the Kansas and Drake Relays.

At Prairie View, Freshman James Harrison stepped the 120 high hurdles in 14.8 seconds to gain one of the firsts for the Tigers. Then Sophomore James Long leaped 6-feet, 3-inches to grab a share of first place in the high jump.

Other places at Prairie View for Lincoln included fourths in the 440-yard relay; in the discuss by Freshman James Boganey; fourth in the shotput for Henry Thomas; fourth in the 100-yard dash by Bill Robinson and a third in the broad jump by Major Edwards.

Originally 17 candidates reported to Coach Dwight Reed for track at Lincoln this year. But Reed lost one outstanding candidate when Freshman James Brooks decided to return to his home in Dallas, Tex. Young Brooks was considered an outstanding threat in the dashes for the Tigers.

Others now competing in track in addition to those named as winners at Prairie View include: James Harper, Gerald Brown, Harold Mabrey, Leo Lewis, Richard Billingslea, James Hardaway, Aubrey Hawkins, Will Kellogg Ben McCoy and Lamon Ogletree.

Athletic Director Raymond Kemp announced that the Tiger thinclads would participate in the Kansas University Relays at Lawrence, Kan., April 18-19 and the Drake Relays at Des Moines, Ia., April 25-26. Also on the schedule is the Midwestern Athletic Association meet at Houston, Tex., May 16-17. A tentative clash has been arranged for St. Louis, May 3-4, with Stowe Teachers of St. Louis, Principia, Concordia, Lincoln and possibly one or two other teams taking part.

Press Institute Set For Savannah

Pro-Amo
Dat 3-1-52

SAVANNAH, Ga.—The second state-wide High School Press Institute, sponsored by Savannah State College, will be held here March 24-26.

Samuel Brown, correspondent for a local daily, will be among the State and nationally known newsmen discussing various aspects of the press.

Miss Luetta Colvin, faculty advisor, is director; Wilton C. Scott, co-ordinator, and Esther Freeman will serve as secretary.

31 1952

Global News Syndicate

News Syndicate Announces Awards For Journalism And Public Service

NEW YORK—(Global)—An announcement that a series of annual awards will be sponsored by Global News Syndicate for journalism and public service, was made this week by Julius J. Adams, Executive Director of the Syndicate, following a meeting of the Board of Directors.

"Tentative plans," Mr. Adams said, call for a gold medal and a cash prize for the top writer, with smaller cash prizes for runners up. Also, there will be Certificates of Merit to newspapers and to outstanding individuals for public service particularly in the field of human relations.

"We feel there is a great need for providing some kind of recognition for writers on the weekly newspapers, who are hardly considered for the awards and honors that go annually to writers on the daily newspapers," Mr. Adams said.

The Syndicate head said he has strongly supported the idea of awards and deeply regretted the failure of the sponsors of the Wendell L. Willkie Award Committee to make their program work.

"The plan is an excellent one," Mr. Adams said, "and will be drafted and managed so as to give recognition to members of the journalistic fraternity as a means of encouraging initiative, good writing and public service.

"Until recently," Mr. Adams continued, "we haven't had much really good writing on the Negro newspapers and few had developed really good reporters. This was due partly to the immaturity of the press itself and partly to the inexperience of the writers. Today, that has changed greatly and is getting better as time goes on. Not only has the writing in the Negro newspapers improved, but practically every weekly newspaper in the country has several writers that could properly be classed as star reporters. Most of them are directed by well-trained and competent editors."

Mr. Adams said he was not sure that awards for 1951 would be made this year, but said some of the Directors felt that if the program could be completed in time, they would be made, most likely, at Global's annual Public Relations Conference and Newspaper Workshop at the Hotel Theresa in June.

"It is our hope that the Global News Syndicate Awards will come to have real meaning," Mr. Adams said. "This can be achieved only if we get the full support of the Press in our efforts. One of the weaknesses of the Willike Awards was that the winners were determined on too narrow a basis."

It will be recalled that the first winner of the Willkie Award was Miss Almoni Davis, of the Los Angeles Tribune for a piece about the love-life of Negro men. There were persons who thought second prize winners—P. Bernard Young of the Journal and Guide for his reporting of the activities at the United Nations conference in San Francisco, and John H. Young for his series on the South for the Pittsburgh Courier — gave better examples of present day journalism. This was not intended to imply that Miss Davis' piece was not a well-written, delightful story. The Awards Committee was dominated by whites and it was felt that their choice of the "lighter" piece as best highlighted the attitude many white people still have regarding the seriousness of the Negro Press in American journalism.

31

Advocate P-6 Jackson, Miss.

Dec 6-1952

Speakers at Press Awards Dinner: Leaders from many professions and businesses attended the Global News Syndicate's Press Awards Dinner in the Skyline Room of the Hotel Theresa last Friday evening, and heard outstanding executives talk about Journalism, Advertising and Public Relations. This group reads one of the citations presented for outstanding community service. In the picture, left to right, Philip G. Reed, Managing Editor, International News Service, principal speaker; Julius J. Adams, Director of Global News Syndicate; Harold Smith of Smith, Rose Company, Public Relations; George De Pue, Jr., of Robert W. Orr Associates; and Ted Cott, Vice President of National Broadcasting Company.

31 1952

4-H Scholarships
Chicago Defender

4-H Clubbers In 17 States To Seek 4 New $300 Defender Scholarship

Four 4-H scholarships, totaling $1,200, will be given yearly by the Chicago Defender, in cooperation with the Bud Billiken club, for study at Land Grant colleges.

Official announcement of the new scholarship program, designed to give recognition to outstanding young men and women members of 4-H clubs in 17 states was made by the sponsors last week

The scholarships of $300 each, will go to two young men and two young women each year, beginning in September at the beginning of the school year and continuing through the regular academic year. Each scholarship will be valid for one year only. Recipients may undertake higher training at a Land Grant college for their choice in a program leading to the bachelor of science degree in Agricultural Science or Home Economics.

The scholarships specifically aim to give recognition to 4-H club members for work done in agriculture, home economics, citizenship, leadership and other phases of improved rural life.

Applicants must have been bona fide 4-H club members for at least three years, enrolled during current year, and eligible to receive a high school diploma enabling them to enter college by September, 1952. Candidates must indicate their interest in the field of agricultural science or home economics, or related fields and state that it is their intention to work further in his field.

Applications will be considered from 17 states: Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Texas, Delaware, Maryland, Oklahoma, Missouri, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Applications for scholarships would be made on an official application blank to the county extension agent in the county in which the applicant lives. Applications should be accompanied by a recommendation from the applicant's high school principal. Winners' applications must be certified by the county extension agent and forwarded to the State Extension office, which with the aid of a committee will select state winners, one boy and one girl.

Applications of state winners will be certified by the state 4-H club leader and sent to reach T. M. Campbell, chairman of the Committee on Selection, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., by June 1, 1952. A committee composed of outstanding educators and leaders will be named to work with Campbell in making the final selection.

Applications will be made available to county extension workers. Candidates selected will be notified by July1 of each year. Presentation of the scholarships will be made by the publisher of the Chicago Defender at the annual Regional 4-H Club Encampment.

Student Organ Becomes Member Of Press Group

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. (ANP) —The Lincoln Clarion, student publication of the Lincoln university (Mo.) School of Journalism recently became the first Negro member of the Inland Daily Press Association.

The board of directors of Inland ..which includes some 453 daily newspapers and a few college organs..unaminiously approved the Clarion membership application at the quarterly meeting of the association in Chicago.

College journalism students and campus newspaper staff members may attend open and luncheon meetings of the association but are barred from round-table discussions. Faculty members of the member school, however, are admitted to all meetings.

Membership in the association entitles the school to receive the regular Member's Service Bulletins and to participate in the activities of one of the foremost newspaper organizations in the country.

L. U. Clarion Becomes Inland Press Member

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—The Inland Daily Press Association, mid-continental organization of 455 daily newspapers and a few college organs, now has its first Negro member, The Lincoln Clarion, published by the Lincoln University (Mo.) School of Journalism.

The Board of Directors of Inland unanimously approved the Clarion membership application at the quarterly meeting of the association in Chicago, Feb. 11.

College journalism students and campus newspaper staff members may attend open and luncheon meetings of the Inland group but are barred from round-table sessions. Faculty members of the member school, however, are admitted to all meetings.

Membership in the association entitles the school to receive the regular Members' Service Bulletins and to participate in the activities of one of the foremost newspaper organizations in the country.

31 1952

JACKSON WEEKLY ADVOCATE

RACE PROBLEM DISCUSSED

'Jim Crow' Sign Must Go, Asserts Jackson Editor

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 13.—The peoples of the world "are not going to follow American leadership from behind a Jim Crow sign," Percy Greene, Negro editor of the Jackson weekly Advocate, said Friday in addressing the race relations class at Millsaps College here.

He cited the rising protest of natives of Africa, the people of India and teh Philippines against the manifestations of white supremacy."

Asserting that "segregation and racial discrimination is not a part of our way of life," Green said: "A growing number of American people feel that the race problem is the most important question confronting the nation."

"The key to the nation's race relations problem is in the South," he said. "The first need to better race relations in the South is more getting together and open and frank discussions among the Negro and white people of the South."

31 1952

Johannesburg Star-(Africa)

African Editor In New Orleans

NEW ORLEANS.—(ANP) — Arriving here last week to study race relations in the United States was J. W. Patten, assistant editor of the Johannesburg Star, Union of South Africa publication. The visitor was quick to admit that race conditions in his own country were equally problematic.

Patten was glad to learn that the tendency here in America is to wipe out racial distinction. He said that in his own nation the system of separation is gaining ground.

He explained that there was possible indications of opposite trends in the right of franchise exercised by Negroes in America and the recent requirement for the "Cape colored" to vote only for candidates to represent themselves in South Africa.

The major population groups in the Union are native Africans Patten said, and of these the greater portion are primitive with some 9,000,000 maintaining tribal organizations.

The whites number more than 2,500,000; and a large mixed-race, "color group," descendants of Malaya slaves, about 1,000,000. Indian brought from India about 90 years ago for work on sugar plantations number approximately 400,000.

While here Patten will study United Nations organization and then go to Canada where he will spend some time observing the relationship between the French and English speaking people.

31 1952

John H.Johnson- Editor and Publisher-
Ebony, Tan Confessions, Jet and Negro Digest

Signal Honor To Publisher

JOHN H. JOHNSON
signally honored

TULSA, Okla.—John H. Johnson, editor and publisher of the Johnson Publications (Ebony, Tan Confessions, Jet and Negro Digest), has been named as one of the ten outstanding young men of the country for the year 1951 by the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce. He is the first Negro businessman to receive this honor.

Johnson was cited "for developing publications that record and describe the progress of the Negro in America and serve as an inspiration to all Negroes." The young editor and publisher will be 34 years old on the same day he receives the Jaycee award, Jan. 19.

Johnson and his wife, Eunice Walker Johnson, a former social worker, live in Chicago's South Side. Johnson is engaged in several national and local philanthropic organizations and is currently co-chairman of the United Negro College Fund.

Central State Publishes Human Relations Journal

WILBERFORCE, Ohio — Central State College has begun publication of a quarterly periodical, "Journal of Human Relations," designed to place emphasis upon a "better life in larger freedom."

31 1952

Journal Founder Is Cover Feature

WASHINGTON — Dr. Miles Vandahurst Lynk, founder, editor and publisher of the first Negro medical journal, and founder and president of a defunct Tennessee medical school for Negroes, is featured as the front cover illustration of the November issue of the Journal of the National Medical Association.

Journal Of Negro Education To Observe 20th Anniversary

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The editorial board of the Journal of Negro Education, a quarterly professional journal, will commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Journal by sponsoring a conference on "The Courts and Racial Integration in Education."

The conference will be held at Howard University April 16-18, and a tentative program has been worked out with addresses to be delivered by outstanding educators, editors, law teachers, lawyers and representatives of organizations concerned with the social, civic and economic advancement of colored people.

The Winter issue of the Journal of Negro Education contains a statement on the nature and scope of the conferences. The editorial comment on the subject of the conference, signed by Dr. Charles H. Thompson, dean of the Graduate School of Howard University, states:

"The success of such a conference as here proposed, involving critical issues which should have thorough consideration, is dependent upon the fact that the group should be small enough to make rather consideration possible, but large enough to be representative.

"Accordingly, it has been decided that the number of participants be limited to not more than 200 persons who would be representative of a large number of organized groups.

"We have been mindful of the fact that the general public is also keenly interested in this conference. Hence, it has been decided that provisions be made for two sessions which will be open to the public—the first session which would involve a broad definition of the problem, and the final session which would present a summary of findings. The other sessions would be open only to accredited delegates.

"It probably should be emphasized that the main interest of the Editorial Board of the Journal and Howard University in holding such a conference is to render a service to the cause of education in our democratic social order. This has been one of the major aims of the Journal during the twenty years of its existence."

Appearing quarterly, the Journal of Negro Education is published by the Howard University Press, Howard University, under the auspices of the Bureau of Educational Research of that institution with the assistance of a national board of contributing and advisory editors. Its editor-in-chief is Dr. Thompson.

John McCray . . .

Crusading S. C. Editor Pens New Dixie Doctrine

Stings Bigots, Defies Threats

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

COLUMBIA, S. C. — Report from Columbia. It's business as usual with John McCray. The lean, lanky editor of the Lighthouse and Informer is quietly and persistently carrying on his role as gadfly stinging the guilty conscience of the reactionary South.

McCray was the central figure in a sensational trial, two years ago, in which he was charged with criminal libel for publishing the name of the alleged rape victim in the infamous conviction and electrocution of Willie Tolbert. Tolbert was sent to the chair in October, 1949, for the rape of a white woman in Greenwood County, S. C. He was never called to testify in his behalf at the trial.

Before his electrocution, Willie was interviewed in jail by a representative of the NAACP and Deling Booth of the Associated Press. Tolbert gave both persons the same story of his innocence in the charge.

Booth and McCray filed similar stories of the case in their respective publications. On Jan. 4, 1950, the two were indicted at Greenwood County, charged with criminal libel for violation of the state law prohibiting the publishing of the names of rape victims. McCray's trial got under way May 19, 1950. It attracted nationwide attention and drew sympathetic support from organizations and top-flight legal experts.

Subsequently, McCray was convicted and fined $5,000 and a year in jail. The sentence was later changed to a $3,000 fine and three years probation. Booth was never brought to trial.

In Oct. 1950, McCray accepted an invitation to be the guest speaker at a testimonial dinner in Chicago for Congressman William L. Dawson. Before he left the state, he was advised by his lawyers that he could leave the state under the technicality of the law. Two weeks after speaking in Chicago, the editor addressed a meeting in Durham, N.C.

On August 13, 1951, almost 10 months after the trips out of the state, McCray was informed that he had violated parole and given a 60-day sentence at hard labor. He served five days of the sentence in the Newberry County jail, but was released, pending an appeal, by his lawyers, Erich Thomson, William Donelan, Roy Towell, and Norbert Theodore.

At this writing, the appeal is still pending; with no disposition of the case. McCray would like to have the thing settled finally, but an authoritative source says that the reason it is kept swaying over his head like the sword of Damocles is because Gov. James Byrnes of South Carolina has taken a personal interest in the case.

JOHN McCRAY

As state chairman of the Progressive Democrats, and the editor of a small, but powerful organ, McCray constitutes a roadblock to the plans of the governor to perpetuate the status quo of segregation in the schools and the state in general.

Byrnes is painfully aware that the Progressive Democrats kept Strom Thurmond, notorious Dixiecrat former governor of South Carolina from going to the Senate in 1944.

Because of McCray's fearlessness and utter disdain to threats, Negroes in South Carolina have developed a formidable stiffness and militancy. Moreover, the voting power of the Negro has increased tremendously. It is estimated that more than 200,000 of them will vote this year. Almost to a man, they are solidly behind McCray.

Byrnes has been stymied in his efforts to enlist the support of Negroes in his plan for separate but equal schools. Not more than two have dared to risk the wrath of the Lighthouse and Informer and the ostracism which would follow if they aligned themselves with the governor's program.

Gov. Byrnes would like, therefore, to be rid of the annoying little sheet which stands in his way; and particularly, the tall, cool, casual pipe-smoker who does not know the interpretation of fear.

Either way, Byrnes is in a quandary. If McCray is jailed again, he runs the risk of creating a martyr and stirring up the hostility of 200,000 voters. If McCray remains free, he stands in the way of the 143 million dollars needed to carry out the improvement of Negro schools as ordered by the Federal District court. The three percent 'jim crow' sales tax levied by the governor last year to meet the cost has proved insufficient. South Carolina is poor in resources. To meet the additional cost, Byrnes is seeking to float a new bond issue, which may be turned down in a referendum.

Harried on the flanks by the possibility that even if the schools can be improved, suits against segregation may be filed in a dozen counties simultaneously, the outcome for the die-hards of segregation looks very bleak. The next hearing on the Clarendon County schools case is scheduled for early March.

Meanwhile, John McCray, who is quietly going about his business of publishing a paper as usual has earned the respect and admiration of thousands of decent citizens in and out of South Carolina.

John McCray Jailed; S.C. Citizens Irate

Term Follows His Defeat Of Byrnes' Plan To Swing State To Ike

COLUMBIA, S.C. — Dixiecratic South Carolina appeared Monday to have won the final match in the three-year-old battle to jail John H. McCray, editor of The Lighthouse and Informer and state chairman of the South Carolina Progressive Democrats.

On Nov. 5, the State Supreme Court rejected an appeal for reversal of a 60-day chain gang sentence in Newberry County, imposed August 15, 1951 by Judge Steve C. Griffith on a charge that the editor violating terms of a parole issued by the same judge June 19, 1950.

McCray left the state to make

John H. McCray, editor of the South Carolina Lighthouse and Informer, who dared to defend a colored youth accused of attacking a white girl, is slated to go to jail this week for breaking his three-year probation on a libel rap.

adresses in Chicago and Durham, N.C.

To Report On Tuesday

Mr. McCray said on the week end that he planned to report to authorities in Newberry County some time Tuesday of the current week. He has until Friday night to report, barring extension of time which might be allowed.

However, he said, he wished no extension, nor, to use his time of grace.

The surprise action, coming less than 24 hours after McCray's Progressive Democrats had beaten Gov. James F. Byrnes' supreme effort to swing the state into the column, of Eisenhower, touched off a mounting tide of anger, rebuke and grief.

Want Reconsideration

Three days later this anger had brought forth strong appeals for a reconsideration of Judge Griffith's sentence, a full pardon by the Parole and Probation Board and also stinging denunciations to Governor Byrnes.

By Saturday night more than three dozen persons had offered to substitute for Mr. McCray on the chain gang, one a 74-year-old AME Church presiding elder, Dr. W. J. Robinson.

Another was the Rev. George H. Chism of Mullins, who three years ago, lay critically ill from a back sore, sustained under suspicious circumstances, while being treated by a physician who disagreed with him politically and racially.

However, under South Carolina law such substitutions aren't possible. Besides, Mr. McCray said he didn't want anyone to take his place.

Friends To Publish Paper

His newspaper will be gotten out by friends during the interim, it was announced Saturday.

Meanwhile, reports of general mass meetings of indignation were received here, the undertones of which were obvious even before they were held.

A state-wide committee, headed by Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins of Columbia and A. J. Clement Jr., of Charleston, Julius E. Williams of Spartanburg, and representatives of the religious and civic organizations in this state of 850,000 colored citizens, was in motion handling a volume of correspondence and invitations.

Unprecedented Case

The development grows out of an unprecedented libel action against Mr. McCray and Del Booth of the Associated Press for strangely similar stories, though written separately, with neither man having consulted the other, nor interviewed together the accused colored man, electrocuted in October, 1949.

The man was accused of criminal attack of a Greenwood county white girl, 16. Neither violated a general state law which forbids publishing the name of the woman victim in such cases.

But a Greenwood county grand jury, relying upon a hidden statute which has been used but once in nearly 100 years, indicted the men for repeating what it held was a libelous statement of the accused man, 24-year-old Willie Tolbert.

No action was taken against the men until Tolbert had been executed. The indictments were returned Jan. 4, 1950.

On advice of counsel, and under direction of Thurgood Marshall, special NAACP counsel, the editor entered a guilty plea when the case came to trial in 1951.

Booth Never Tried

Judge J. Robert Martin had allowed a change of venue to Newberry from Greenwood County. Booth's case has never come to trial, and inside rumors are that it may be considered closed.

Testimony before Judge Griffith last year shows that Mr. McCray left the state on the two occasions after first understanding that customary and routine visits outside the state were permissible.

On October 29, 1950, Mr. McCray delivered the keynote address at a nation-wide testimonial for Rep. William L. Dawson at Chicago; two weeks later, he delivered the annual address for Omega Psi Phi fraternity in Durham, in celebration of Achievement Week.

Advance Notice

Though advance notice of both meetings were published in his and other nearby newspapers and summaries of these meetings, no action was taken by the state against him until Aug. 8, 1951 when he was arrested and held in the Newberry County jail for five days before trial.

About a year ago it was reported that the matter had been worked out, but when the editor continued to belabor state officials who favor continuation of segregation in public schools, and supported the pending case from Clarendon County which will be argued before the U.S. Supreme Court, the case was brought out again.

Similar Case Overlooked

It is no secret among those who discuss it here that the trivial trips outside of the state are the core of the matter. About one month ago, in an almost identical case involving a white man, the judge overlooked the matter.

The trouble, as explained to this correspondent, seems to be one of non-co-operation by McCray with leaders of the state government.

There are reports that he has rejected huge sums of money for support of the state's stand on segregation and for his support in the Dixiecratic element.

In the latter instance, it may be significant that the united strength of some 80,000 voters behind McCray voted for Governor Stevenson, opposed by Byrnes, and kept the state Democratic by approximately 165,000 to 154,000 votes.

Defeated Thurmond

Two years ago, McCray's organization was credited with defeating former Gov. J. Strom Thurmond, and Dixiecratic leader by some 30,000 votes, which were given to Olin D. Johnston, U.S. Senator, who had behind him perhaps 60,000 colored votes.

Early this year one source was reported as saying that Governor Byrnes, whom McCray's group opposed in the gubernatorial campaign in 1950, considered the editor his "number one" opponent. James M. Hinton, S.C. NAACP Conference president, holds the number two spot.

There are also indications that the jailing of McCray is disapproved even by anumber of key state officials. The names of those demanding it include Dixiecratic leaders who are regarded as bitter racists.

Those known to be against it are afraid to risk the wrath of Governor Byrnes and his backers, now running the state.

"I'll Be Back"

In a signed statement in his paper on the week end Mr. McCray urged his friends and supporters to "Be of good cheer; I'll be back." He repeated a dramatic statement of 1951 he made regarding his arrest on the probation charge.

"Men are made to be spent in civic fights, just as they are spent on battlefields. I am not better than any other man. I want no less nor more than that man."

The editor has long been a luminary figure on the southern scene, credited with inititating many gains for colored southerners in this and surrounding states.

Equal Salary Issure

His newspaper opened and set up the fight for equal salaries to school teachers in this state, organized and led the Progressive Democrats who gained world-wide attention in unprecedented contests for seats in the Democratic conventions of 1944 and 1948.

He spearheaded the fight to end racial segregation in public schools and has constantly broken out with accounts of sordid crimes against colored people other papers avoid.

About all of these he once remarked:

"I am proudest most of the fact that no man has ever been able to prove I lied, or accepted one penny or favor to concede." And perhaps it is ironic that both Judge Griffith and the state supreme court, by inference, hold he lied about his trips outside of the state through misunderstanding the probation.

Pastors Pay Him Tribute

Over the state Sunday, hundreds of pastors paid tribute to his unselfish leadership and daring in South Carolina. But friends were cheered and inspired by his refusal to wilt or show signs of disturbance.

One man who traveled more than 100 miles to talk with him here Friday, and who was admitted to his office with tear-filled eyes, emerged half an hour later smiling, remarking on his way out:

"That man isn't worried. Nobody's going to be able to hurt him. Here I come all this distance because me and my folks back home cried and worried and prayed all night over him. And he's in there worrying about us worrying. He isn't studying about himself."

How To Make A Martyr

In South Carolina, John McCray, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer, is serving a three-month jail sentence at hard labor for contempt of court. McCray will be remembered as the central figure in the libel suit brought against him in May, 1950 for violating the state law which prohibits the publication of names of rape victims.

This was an aftermath of the infamous Greenwood County case of 1949, in which Willie Tolbert was convicted without testimony for the rape of a white woman and later electrocuted. Before his electrocution, he was visited in jail by an NAACP official and Deling Booth of the Associated Press. Tolbert gave both men the story of his innocence.

Subsequently the story was published by Booth and McCray who were indicted for violation of the law. Booth, however, was never brought to trial. McCray was convicted, fined $3,000 and placed on three years probation.

On two occasions, in 1950, McCray left the for state speaking engagements, having first informed his parole-officer of his intentions. In August, 1951, he was informed that he had violated parole and was given a 60-day sentence at hard labor. He served five of these and was released on bail pending a further hearing.

The significant thing about the McCray case is that the enforcement of the contempt of court sentence did not come until after the national elections. This was to all intent, purposely calculated because of Governor Byrnes' fear of the reaction it would stir up among Negro voters and sympathetic liberal whites in South Carolina. McCray has long been a stinging political gadfly constantly irritating the governor and the embattled Dixiecrats in the carrying out of their white supremacy policies.

The Lighthouse and Informer though harried by pressure, is one of the most outspoken journals in the South. It has never ceased its attack upon segregation, and it has kept up a steady campaign to have all citizens exercise their right to vote.

But the real irony and injustice in the McCray case is that while the militant fearless Negro editor is behinds bars, Deling Booth is free and pursuing his duties as a newsman. When Booth published his story it was in the interest of seeing justice done for a man who had proclaimed his innocence. Nevertheless, if John McCray is guilty of violation of the law, then Deling Booth is also guilty and subject to the same punishment as McCray.

But in South Carolina, where Governor Byrnes wants to enforce the "Apartheid" segregation laws similar to those of Prime Minister Malan in South Africa, justice is measured by the color of a man's skin.

Byrnes supported the election of General Eisenhower to the presidency. Apparently, he feels that Ike's victory is a vindication of his white supremacy tactics. But by jailing John McCray, he has succeeded in making a modern day martyr in South Carolina and like the situation in South Africa, he is inviting trouble.

S.C. Editor McCray On Chain Gang

COLUMBIA, S. C.—John McCray, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer, is serving a 60-day sentence on the chain gang for violation of parole. He is confined to the Newberry county jail, where he served five days of his sentence last year before being released on bond while the case was being argued.

McCray is the militant editor who was convicted on a libel charge for revealing the name of the alleged rape victim in the infamous Greenwood county case of 1948 when Willie Tolbert was sentenced and electrocuted without being allowed to testify on the rape charge.

Deling Booth of the Associated Press, who was indicted along with McCray on the same charge of violation of the state law, was never brought to trial. McCray drew a $3,000 fine and a suspended sentence of three years probation. He is serving time now for violating his probation when he left the state on two occasions in 1950 to make speeches.

McCray is allowed visitors for 15 minutes once a week on Sundays. He seems in good spirits and says he has not been mistreated.

From his cell, he issued a statement that prison stripes could not hurt his pride or spirit; that he had no regrets and he could only hope that the cause for which he as been fighting for 15 years will be strengthened by his imprisonment.

McCray was the active leader of the Progressive Democratic organization of the state.

Meanwhile, the Lighthouse being operated by McCray's loyal associates. With time off for good behavior and adding in the five days which he has already served, he may be released on Dec. 19. His probation period will be up in June of 1953.

Prison Sentence Won't Silence Crusading Editor

COLUMBIA, S. C.—John H. McCray, editor-publisher of The Lighthouse and Informer, is serving a sixty-day sentence on a road gang.

Why is he in prison?

He was placed on probation and fined $3,000 back in 1951 after writing and printing a rape story in which a white woman was involved. The courts have ruled that he violated those probation terms by leaving his state twice to carry out speaking engagements.

But, is that the real reason?

Editor McCray is a champion of equal rights. He has openly fought state officials who insist on keeping the laws of segregation alive. He opposed the Dixiecrats and he spearheaded the drive for Adlai Stevenson when South Carolina's Governor Byrnes came out for General Eisenhower in the last Presidential election.

Strange, too, is the fact that a white reporter for the Associated Press has not been called up for trial, although he was indicted along with McCray for writing a similar story in connection with the rape case. Neither writer mentioned the white victim's name.

Then, too, it has been pointed out that a white man who violated his probation terms in this state has not been sent to the chaingang.

Attorneys here say the judge who ordered McCray to the chaingang could have lectured him, given him a fine or a suspended sentence.

But, it is apparent that Editor McCray is a marked man . . . because of his crusading tactics.

* * *

MEANWHILE, HIS weekly paper continues to make deadlines, thanks to friends and Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins who is serving as acting editor.

McCray stands a good chance of serving only part of the sentence since he is a "good prisoner."

His three-year probation would have ended next June, but his current sentence extends the probation through next August.

Wednesday, Nov. 5, the State Supreme Court rejected an appeal for reversal of a sixty-day chaingang sentence in Newberry county, imposed Aug. 13, 1951 by Judge Steve C. Griffith on a charge that the editor violated terms of a parole issued by the same judge, June 19, 1950, by leaving the state to make addresses in Chicago and Durham, N. C.

The surprise action came less than twenty-four hours after McCray's Progressive Democrats had helped beat Gov. James F. Byrnes' effort to swing the state into the columns of General Eisenhower.

* * *

MORE THAN three dozen persons offered to substitute for Mr. McCray on the chaingang, one a 74-year-old AME Church presiding elder, Dr. W. J. Robinson. Another was the Rev. George H. Chism of Mullins. Under South Carolina law such substitutions aren't possible. Besides, Mr. McCray said he didn't want anyone to take his place.

A state-wide committee, headed by Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins of Columbia; A. J. Clement Jr. of Charleston, Julius E. Williams of Spartanburg, and representatives of all the religious and civic organizations in this state of 850,000 colored citizens, began handling a volume of correspondence and visitations which followed the high court's affirmation.

The development grows out of an unprecedented libel action against Mr. McCray and Del Booth (white) of the Associated Press for strangely similar newspaper stories, written separately and at different times with neither man having consulted the other, nor interviewed together the accused colored man, electrocuted in October of 1949 for alleged rape upon a teen-age Greenwood county white woman.

* * *

NEITHER VIOLATED a general state law which forbids publishing the name of the woman victim in such cases. But a Greenwood county grand jury, relying on a hidden statute which has been used but once in nearly 100 years, indicted the men for repeating what it held was a libelous statement of the accused man, 24-year-old Willie Tolbert. No action was taken against the men until Tolbert had been executed. The indictments were returned Jan. 4, 1950.

On advice of counsel, and under direction of Thurgood Marshall, special NAACP counsel, the editor entered a guilty plea when the case came to trial in 1951. Judge J. Robert Martin had allowed a change of venue to Newberry from Greenwood county. Booth's case has never come to trial, and inside rumors are that it may be considered closed.

Testimony before Judge Griffith last year shows that Mr.

JOHN H. McCRAY
. . . why is he in prison?

McCray left the state on the two occasions after first understanding that customary and routine visits outside the state were permissible. On Oct. 29, 1950, Mr. McCray delivered the keynote address at a nation-wide testimonial for Representative William L. Dawson at Chicago; two weeks later, he delivered the annual address for Omega Psi Phi fraternity men in Durham, in celebration of Negro Achievement Week.

Though advance notice of both meetings were published in his and other nearby newspapers, and summaries of these meetings, no action was taken by the state against him until Aug. 8, 1951 when he was arrested and held in the Newberry county jail for five days before receiving a hearing.

* * *

ABOUT A year ago it was reported that the matter had been worked out, but when the editor continued to belabor state officials who favor continuation of segregation in public schools, and supported solidly the pending case from Clarendon county which will be argued this month before the U. S. Supreme Court along with cases from Virginia, Kansas and the District of Columbia, the case against him was brought out again last spring and appeal was perfected before the Supreme Court, which heard arguments on Oct. 15.

It may be significant that the united strength of some 80,000 voters behind McCray voted for Governor Stevenson, opposed by Byrnes, and kept the state Democratic by approximately 165,000 to 154,000 votes in the Nov. 4 general election.

Two years ago, McCray's organization was credited with defeating former Gov. J. Strom Thurmond by some 30,000 votes, which were given to Olin D. Johnston, U. S. Senator, who had behind him perhaps 60,000 colored votes.

Early this year one source was reported as saying that Governor Byrnes, whom McCray's group opposed in the gubernatorial campaign in 1950, considered the editor his "number one" opponent. James M. Hinton, South Carolina's NAACP Conference president, holds the number two spot.

IN A signed statement in his paper, Mr. McCray urged his friends and supporters to "Be of Good Cheer; I'll Be Back." He repeated a dramatic statement of 1951 he made regarding his arrest on the probation charge: "Men are made to be spent in civic fights, just as they are spent on battlefields. I am not better than any other man. I want no less nor more than that man."

The editor has long been a luminary figure on the Southern scene, credited with initiating many gains for colored Southerners in this and surrounding states.

His newspaper opened and set up the fight for equal salaries to school teachers in this state, organized and led the Progressive Democrats who gained world-wide attention in unprecedented contests for seats in the Democratic conventions of 1944 and 1948, spearheaded the fight to end racial segregation in public schools in this state, and has constantly broken out with accounts of sordid crimes against colored people which other papers here avoid.

Penal Officials Release Militant Carolina Editor

McCray Figured In "Freedom Of Press Case" In Columbia

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (SNS) — John McCray, editor of the Light house and Informer weekly newspaper, was released from the Newberry County chaingang after serving 37 days of a sixty day sentence for violation terms of his parole in the South Carolina "freedom of the press case."

The militant South Carolina editor had his parole revoked for leaving the state which was forbidden in terms of his original release. McCray had originally been convicted and placed on probation and fined $3,000 back in 1951 after writing and printing a rape story in which a white woman was involved.

The National Newspaper Publishers association intervened in his case and charged that his conviction was a violation of the freedom of press. The NNPA voted $3,500 for his defense.

He was subsequently accused of violating the terms of his probation by leaving his state twice to carry out speaking engagements.

A white Associated Press reporter, who was accused of writing a similar story in connection with which McCray was convicted has never been called up for trial. Neither writer mentioned the victim's name.

McCray's three-year probation period would have ended next June, but the recent sentence extends the probation period through next August.

November 5, the South Carolina Supreme Court rejected an appeal for the reversal of a sixty-day sentence in Newberry County, imposed August 13, 1951, by Judge Steve C. Griffith on a charge that the editor violated terms of a parole issued by the same judge, June 19, 1950, by leaving the state to make addresses in Chicago and Durham, N. C.

McCray's conviction grew out of an unprecedented libel action against him and Del Booth of the Associated Press for strangely similar newspaper stories, written separately and at different times neither man having consulted the other, nor interviewed together the accused colored man, electrocuted in October 1949 for alleged rape upon a teenage Greenwood County white woman.

Neither violated a general state law which forbids publishing the name of the alleged victim in such cases. But a Greenwood county grand jury, relying on a hidden statute which has been used but once in nearly 100 years, indicted the men for repeating what it held was a libelous statement of the accused man, 24-year-old Willie Tolbert. No action was taken against the men until Tolbert had been executed. The indictments were returned January 4, 1950.

On advice of counsel, and under direction of Thurgood Marshall, special NAACP counsel, the editor entered a guilty plea when the case came to trial in 1951. Judge J. Robert Martin had allowed a change of venue to Newberry from Greenwood county. Booth's case has never come to trial, and inside rumors are that it may be considered close.

Although, McCray was to have served time in Greenwood County, he was transferred to Newberry. The South Carolina State Supreme Court handed down a denial of his freedom plea November 5 and gave McCray 15 days to get his business okay. He began his sentence November 11. His release came December 17. He was given credit for five days served between August 5 and 13 and 30 days off for good behavior.

31 1952

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS
JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI

14 Different Publications At Lincoln U.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. — When it comes to publishing reading matter, Lincoln university is not to be put in the silent category. The people around this campus are certainly articulate. They like to communicate bits of information — sometimes extended treaties and narrative — to themselves and to the outside world.

At present count there are no fewer than 14 different publications — five printed and nine mimeographed or multigraphed — emanating from the Lincoln university campus. You cannot tell, another one may have cropped up while we write this.

Heading the list in frequency and circulation is the Lincoln Clarion, printed weekly tabloid. Everyone knows about the Archives, annual senior review, and the Midwest Journal, scholarly-literary journal published twice a year with Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, editor.

The MIEA bulletin, organ of the Missouri Industrial Education Association printed in the Graphic Arts Department, is a quarterly. The Hill Top Kitten is a student produced Laboratory High School publication.

It is in the mimeographed field that Lincoln Shines in numbers. First off, there is the eight-year-old Journalism Newsletter, published at the School of Journalism with news of the Negro journalist and his activities.

The School of Journalism also has three other organs: Headliner Topics, two-months-old organ going to almost 2,000 high schools monthly; LUC Staffer, monthly Jounalism student sheet purely house-organ in nature published by a class in advanced newspaper practice, and Alumni Notes, which goes each month to journalism graduates.

The student council this fall started its monthly student's voice Last year Page library established the monthly Lincoln's Page, with news of interest to students and faculty, and this fall we saw the first of Your Credit Union Statement, published by the Lincoln University Credit Union.

From Page Library's librarian A. P. Marshall, comes the monthly NAACP Branch Newsletter, and from the Office of Public Relations come occasionally the printed Public Relations Newsletter (last issue at Homecoming). So, there you have it. Fourteen in all. Count 'em.

4 Journalists Commended

Lincoln U. Fetes Top Newsmen

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. — A woman editor, a noted publisher and two writers were among the journalists honored with distinguished contributions to journalism awards by the Lincoln University School of Journalism at its annual Headliner Banquet held April 25 on campus.

Miss Anne Einselen, assistant editor of the Ladies Home Journal Carl Murphy, president of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers George S. Schuyler, associate editor of the Pittsburgh Courier and Carl T. Rowan, staff writer for the Minneapolis Tribune were the honorees.

Conferred By Dean

Dr. Murphy could not be present to receive his award but the others received their citations from A. S. Pride, dean of the journalism school and Sherman Scruggs, president of the university.

Miss Einselen accepted the award on behalf of her magazine, cited for its 1951 article by a soutern colored girl which had been widely acclaimed.

The woman editor said that her publlcation would continue to carry articles that would bring better understanding between races.

Magazines Commended

Similar human relations awards went to Tide Magazine, an advertising journal, and The Nation. John Lane, midwest manager of Tide represented his organization.

William O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland Call and Post, was main speaker. In developing his topic, "Editorial Responsibilities in an Undeveloped Market," he told how the colored market had increased in the last ten years and of its future.

Students Honored

At the banquet also, winners in the national scholastic essay contest, and the Missouri high school feature writing contest were presented with awards by Miss Consuello C. Young, associate professor of journalism.

Charles Sharpe, editor of the Lincoln University Clarion, won journalism alumni prize.

Winners in the essay contest were Edward L. Fogg, a senior, Summer High School, Kansas City, Kas. Barbara Graves, junior, Washington School, Reidsville, N.C. Mary Alexander, sophomore, Western Baptist Seminary, Kansas City, Mo. Ronald Cecil, senior, Gary district high school, Gary, W. Va., and Dorothy Watson, junior, Summer High School, Kansas City. Fogg, who is studying to be a minister, gave a summary of his essay.

There was a tie between Theresa Love, senior, Central High School, Hayti, Mo., and Joan F. Thomas, senior, Douglass High School, Webster Groves, in the feature writing contest. Each received $50 and gave summaries of their stories.

Lincoln Hears Ebony Editor

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., June 21, 1952— A talk to students attending the summer session and the Journalism Institute at Lincoln University (Mo.) will be made Monday, June 30, by Mr. Era Bell Thompson, managing editor of Ebony magazine.

Miss Thompson's appearance features the second week of the newly-inaugurated workshop in journalism for high school teachers and publications advisors. Classes in the workshop are being conducted by Miss Consuelo C. Young, associate profesor of journalism at Lincoln and former staff member of the Chicago Defender and Pittsburgh Courier. Students meet with Miss Young in five hour daily sessions of discussions, lectures, and laboratory practice for three weeks, June 23-July 12.

In addition to Miss Thompson, the visiting speaker list includes Charles Steers, editor, the Missouri Legonnaire..

31 1952

Los Angeles Daily News

Elks laud Daily News for hiring Negro

A resolution commending the Los Angeles Daily News for adding J. Robert Smith, Negro newsman, to its staff of columnists, was unanimously passed by the Civil Liberties Department of the Elks' Golden West Lodge No. 86 at its monthly meeting this week.

The action was largely the result of efforts of Adolphus B. Clay, director of the department.

"We feel that daily newspapers like the Daily News should be encouraged to integrate more and more capable colored writers on their respective staffs," stated Clay. "We further feel that like Jackie Robinson in baseball, J. Robert Smith is an excellent type to pioneer this field in journalism here on the West Coast. He is an able and informed writer and has vast experience in his chosen field. Our Civil Liberties Department will be working to help create similar openings on other metropolitan papers."

6-6-52

Most recent achievement of the Elks Civil Liberties was its successful campaign for Negro participation in the Pasadena Rose Parade last New Year's day. For the first time in the 63-year history of the Tournament of Roses a Negro unit, the Elks' band, took part.

31 1952

Los Angeles Daily News

LA Daily Hires First Newsman

LOS ANGELES — (ANP) — A three-year campaign launched by the Los Angeles Urban League to break down the racial barrier on western daily newspapers was climaxed last week with the Los Angeles Daily News hiring J. Robert Smith as one of its political analysts.

Smith thus becomes the first Negro, west of the Rockies to work on a daily staff.

Smith will write a column on politics as it affects minorities, locally, nationally and from a world wide viewpoint. From time to time he will write on civic and community problems.

JOHN BENJAMIN HORTON, Jr. advertising director of the Louisville Defender, has completed the full course in public relations at the University of Louisville. He is the first Negro to finish the entire course at the institution. Horton, who plans to open a public relations consulting firm in the fall, studied law at Omaha Law college and took a year in advanced economics at Louisville Municipal college before studying at the University of Louisville.

31 1952

MEMORIAL PRESS CENTER HONORING WAR CORRESPONDENTS

ALBERT HINTON
... killed in action

Newspapermen Will Honor Albert Hinton

NEW YORK (By ANP) — A $30,0000 campaign for a memorial press center honoring correspondents killed in World War II and Korea was launched here by the Overseas Press Club of Amer

Albert Hinton, Norfolk Journal and Guide correspondent (the lone Negro) killed in Korea in discharge of his duty in 1950, was among American correspondents included in the momentous plan.

Mrs. Claire Boothe Lu and Edward R. Murrow are serving as co-chairmen.

31 1952 Memphis, Tennessee WORLD

Mrs. Bracy New World Staffer

MRS. ROSA BROWN BRACY

Officially added to the staff of the Memphis World newspaper is Mrs. Rosa Brown Bracy, for several years prominent in the business, civic, social and religious life of Memphis.

Mrs. Bracy, a native Mississippian and long-time resident of St. Louis, has done and is doing most outstanding work with the Memphis Negro Chamber of Commerce in the capacity of executive secretary.

While still functioning as Chamber executive, she will work with the Memphis World in several capacities, chief among which will be advertising and public relations.

James H. Purdy, Jr. Named Editor Of Memphis World

James H. Purdy, Jr., has been named editor of the Memphis World, C. A. Scott, Editor and the General Manager of the Atlanta Daily World announces today. Mr. Purdy, who has been working as night editor of the Atlanta Daily World, begins his work with the Memphis World this week. He will suucceed Chester M. Hampton, who

JAMES H. PURDY, JR.
will return to Atlanta and resume work with the Atlanta Daily World as acting managing editor during the absence of William Gordon, managing editor who leaves for Harvard University on a Nieman Fellowship in September.

Prior to joining the staff of the Scott Newspaper Syndicate, Mr. Purdy worked as city editor of the Tampa Bulletin, Tampa, Florida. He also worked as filed representative for Color Magazine prior to taking the position at Tampa Bulletin.

Other newspaper affiliations include work on the city desk with the Chicago Defender, the Afro-American Newspapers, Inc. ;the Amsterdam News, New York Age, and the now defunct Memphis Sentinel.

Mr. Purdy has had wide experience as a journalist and photographer. He has traveled extensively throughout the country, and is well known in newspaper circles.

The new editor is a native Memphian and is known througout the Tri-State area. He formerly wrote a column for the Memphis World, called "Here and There."

Southern Paper Marks New Trend

MORRISTOWN, Tenn. — The Morristown Daily Gazette recently devoted an entire section of its paper to the sessions of the East Tennessee annual conference of the Methodist church which met at Morristown college, Aug. 27-31.

The four-page section of pictures and stories gave lavish treatment to the program of the conference and the historic background of the body. It also paid tribute to Bishop A. P. Shaw, retired resident bishop and praised the new bishop, Rt. Rev. Edgard A. Love.

Negro Newsman Serves White News Service In Panama

Panama City, R. P. — An appointment of great significance to Negroes in Panama was made this week when a longtime newsman was named interim correspondent for International News Service.

Ernest J. Jamison, staff writer for the Panama afternoon daily, THE NATION, was appointed to cover Panama and the Canal Zone for INS until the arrival from the United States of another writer, Miguel Acoca.

Acoca has been appointed regular correspondent for INS and will replace L. Bordio Burnham, former editor of the Nation who this week resigned his charge. Jamison will act until the return of Acoca.

31 1952

WINNERS OF RUSSWURM AWARDS ANNOUNCED

Eight individuals, Drake University and the National Conference of Christians and Jews have been named winners of the annual Russwurm awards of the National Newspaper Publishers Association. The announcement was made Sunday as the association opened its celebration of Negro Newspaper Week, March 10-16, with a CBS network broadcast.

The Russwurm awards honor the memory of John B. Russwurm, the first Negro newspaper publisher. They are given in recognition of outstanding achievements in making possible a richer conception of democratic principles and for upholding the highest American traditions.

Winners are: Arthur Godfrey, for democratic method of handling TV broadcasts; General Matthew Ridge way, for the elimination o fsegregation in the Army in Pacific com mand; Pvt. William Thompson, winner of Congressional Medal of Honor; Drake University, for its forthright action in withdrawing from the Missouri Valley Conference because of treatment given Johnny Bright who was injured in football game with Oklahoma A and M; Dwight Palmer, chairman of the Board of General Cable Corporation, for outstanding work in integrating Negroes in industry; Lester B. Granger, executive director of National Urban League, for widening employment opportunities for Negroes and creating better racial understanding in the industry field, Judge J. Waites Waring, for taking forthright stand constantly; in behalf of equal rights for Negroes; Harry T. Moore, Florida NAACP martyre, who gave his life for democracy; National Conference of Christians and Jews, for seminar work throughout country on integration and better race relations. In addition constant fight against intolerance; Henry Ford, II, using his power and resources for promoting better human relations.

Negro Press Week Founder Commends Press On Anniv.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The American Negro Press has been described as a "traditional tool of the American way of life" by Moses H. Kendrix, originator of National Negro Newspaper Week and former director of the observance.

The Kendrix statement was issued from Washington on the eve of the 13th annual celebration of press week and the 125th anniversary of the founding of "Freedom's Journal," the first Negro newspaper to be published in the United States.

"Freedom's Journal" was issued from Number 5 Varich Street, New York City, March 16, 1827, with John B. Russworm and the Rev. Samuel Cornish as editors and publishers. Russworm later published the first newspaper in the Colony of Liberia, West Africa.

Kendrix, who is a public relations counselor and newspaper columnist, offered his commendations to the Negro press by calling it "an institution devoted to the basic principles of democracy, and as such is a traditional tool of the American way of life."

The press week observance was initially a project of Delta Phi Delta Journalists Society, which was organized by Kendrix and two other students at Morehouse College Atlanta, Ga., in 1937. The organization was formed to foster intercollegiate journalism.

The two other students were Bernard Milton Jones and V. Trenton Tubbs, Jr. Jones is a minister in Chicago, while Tubbs is engaged as an editor in the Afro-American Newspaper chainn.

For several years the student journalism group sponsored the project in cooperation with the National Publishers Association. In recent years, the NNPA has promoted the event as an annual project.

National Negro Newspaper Week

Six Negro editors heard in press anniversary program

Six top editors of Negro newspapers participated in a special program on CBS Radio, in observance of the 125th Negro Newspaper Anniversary Week last Sunday morning.

The program was built around the Anniversary Week theme, "America's Stake in Democracy," with 6 editors speaking from various points.

Dowdal Davis, general manager of the Kansas City (Mo.) Call, and former president of the National Negro Newspaper Publishers Ass'n. opened and closed the program with keynote remarks, made from New York.

Frank L. Stanley, publisher of the Louisville (Ky.) Defender, dwelt on educational phases of "America's Stake in Democracy," speaking from Louisville.

P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, discussed "Segregation," with special regard to housing. He was broadcast from Pittsburgh.

Thomas W. Young, president and general manager of the Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide, discussed "The Armed Forces" from Richmond.

Carl Murphy, president and editor-in-chief of the Baltimore Afro-American, related his talk to "Congressional Responsibility," speaking from Baltimore.

Louis Martin, editor of the Chicago Defender and president of the National Negro Publishers Association, spoke from the subject, "125 Years in Search for Democracy." His talk originated at Chicago.

Press Week Founder Commends Negro Press On 125th Anniversary

Washington, D. C.—The American Negro Press has been described as a "traditional tool of the American way of life" by Moss H. Kendrix, originator of National Negro Newspaper Week and former director of the observance.

The Kendrix statement of press week was issued from Washington on the eve of the 13th annual celebration of press week and the 125th anniversary of the founding of **Freedom's Journal**, the first Negro newspaper to be published in the United States.

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For several years the student journalism Association. In recent years, the NNPA has promoted the event as an annual project.

Six Editors Take Part In Press Week Program

NEW YORK — (NNPA) — Six of the top editors of colored newspapers in large cities of the United States participated in a special program on CBS Radio in observance of the 125th Negro Newspaper Anniversary Week, Sunday March 9, from 1 to 1:15 p.m.

The program was on the Anniversary week's theme, "America's Stake in Democracy," with six editors, speaking from various points, dwelling on different phases of the main topic.

Dowdal Davis, general manager of the Kansas City Call, and former president of the National Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, opened and closed the program with keynote remarks, from the New York studio of WCBS Radio.

Frank L. Stanley, publisher of the Louisville Defender, dwelt on the 'education' phase of "America's Stake in Democracy." He was heard via WHAS, Louisville.

P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courie, discussed "Segregation," with special regard to housing. He broadcast via WJAS, Pittsburgh.

Thomas W. Young, president and general manager of the Norfolk (Virginia) Journal and Guide, discussed "The Armed Forces." He was heard from WRVA, Richmond.

Carl Murphry, president and editor-in-chief of the Afro-American Newspaper an chairman of the National Negro Press Association, related his talk to "Congressional Responsibility." He spoke via WCAO, Baltimore.

Louis Martin, editor of the Chicago Defender and now president of the National Negro Publishers Association, keynoted his talk with a discussion of "125 Years in Search for Democracy." His talk originated at WBBM, Chicago.

Russwurm Lauded By President

President Harry S. Truman, in observance of Negro Newspaper Week which began Monday, praised John B. Russwurm, founder of the first Negro newspaper, and called for a militant fight for human freedom.

On the 125th anniversary of the first publication of Freedom's Journal, President Truman said John Russwurm founded his newspaper to aid the cause of Emancipation. Today, he added, we have in sight the goal of equal opportunity. But meanwhile, the challenge to human rights has become world-wide.

The National Newspaper Publishers Association, in opening its celebration of Negro Newspaper Week, announced that eight individuals, Drake University and the National Conference of Christians and Jews have been named winners of the annual Russwurm awards given by the association.

The Russwurm awards honor the memory of the first Negro newspaper publisher. They are given in recognition of outstanding achievements in making possible a richer conception of democratic principles and for upholding the highest American traditions.

LETTER TO NNPA

"History has many lessons for those who will take the trouble to learn them," President Truman said in a letter to the NNPA. "The struggle for human freedom is not limited to one time or to one place, or to one class or condition of men."

Comparing slavery to today's threat of Communism, the President said the supremacy of the Communist state over the individual is as destructive of human dignity as chattel slavery ever was. Like slavery, he added, Communist totalitarianism will eventually disappear. In the meantime, Mr. Truman continued, we must be vigilant to guard our liberties, strong to protect our existence, and united in our devotion to democracy.

Individual winners of this year's Russwurm awards are: Arthur Godfrey, for his democratic method of handling TV broadcasts; Gen. Matthew Ridgway, for the elimination of segregation in the Army's Pacific command; Pvt. William Thompson, Congressional Medal of Honor winner, and Dwight Palmer, chairman of the Board of General Cable Corp., for outstanding work in integrating Negroes in industry.

Other individual winners were: Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, for widening employment opportunities for Negroes and creating better racial understanding in the industrial field; Judge J. Waties Waring, for taking forthright stands constantly in behalf of equal rights for Negroes; and white children did attend high school together, but grade schools were segregated.

The latest court case stemmed from attempts by 175 colored pupils to enter heretofore all-white schools at the beginning of the second semester of 1949-50 school year. The Alton Board declared that insufficient time between semesters prevented making mass transfers. Negro parents agreed to send their children back to the schools from which they had come, but within two weeks had filed suit seeking prohibition of state aid payment to the Alton district. The much-amended case has been in court since February, 1950.

According to Mack Davis, "We are hopeful of continued cooperation of the school officials, teachers, pupils and parents in our efforts to assure the operation of the Alton schools in accordance with the laws of Illinois."

Meet Held By NNPA In Detroit

DETROIT—The thirteenth annual convention of the National Newspaper Publishers Association will be held in St. Louis June 19-21, at which time Publisher J. E. Mitchell of the St. Louis Argus will receive a special citation from the association, it was announced this week.

The announcement followed the annual mid-winter workshop of NPA which was held at the Gotham Hotel here recently. Over forty publishers, editors and newspaper executives from all over the country participated in the workshop sessions.

The opening session was highlighted by a symposium on editorial techniques, which was directed by William Nunn of the Courier, Charles Loeb of the Cleveland Call and Post, Enoc P. Waters of the Chicago Defender and William Matney of the Michigan Chronicle.

A symposium on advertising was presided over by Frank Stanley of the Louisville Defender, and the discussions were led by Arnett Murphy of the Afro-American, Dowdal Davis of the Kansas City Call, Irving Williamson of the St. Louis Argus and John Sengstacke of the Chicago Defender.

SPECIAL REPORTS were given by Thomas W. Young of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, Howard Murphy of the Afro-American, W. O. Walker of the Cleveland Call and Post and Carter Wesley of the Houston Informer.

Les Griner, production manager of the Detroit News, was the featured speaker at a dinner meeting during the workshop conference.

The newspaper executives were feted by the Booker T. Washington Trade Association at a luncheon and were entertained by the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. Host papers were the Detroit Tribune and the Michigan Chronicle.

Publishers Set 31 June Meeting

Argus-Crusader

DETROIT—The 13th annual convention of the National Newspaper Publishers Association will be held in St. Louis June 19-20-21, at which time Publisher J. E. Mitchell of the St. Louis Argus will receive a special citation from the association, it was announced this week.

The announcement followed the annual Mid-Winter Workshop of NNPA, held at Gotham Hotel here last week end. Over forty publishers, editors, and newspaper executives from all over the country participated in the workshop sessions.

The opening session Friday was highlighted by a symposium on editorial techniques, directed by William G. Nunn of the Pittsburgh Courier, Charles Loeb of the Cleveland Call and Post, Enoc P. Waters of the Chicago Defender and William Matney of the Michigan Chronicle.

Dat 7-2-52

Advertising Symposium

A symposium on advertising at Saturday's session was presided over by Frank Stanley of the Louisville Defender and discussions were led by D. Arnett Murphy of the AFRO-AMERICAN, Dowdal Davis of the Kansas City Call, Irving Williamson of the St. Louis Argus and John Sengstacke of the Chicago Defender.

Special reports were given by Thomas W. Young of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, Howard Murphy of the AFRO-AMERICAN, W. O. Walker of the Cleveland Call and Post and Carter Wesley of the Houston Informer.

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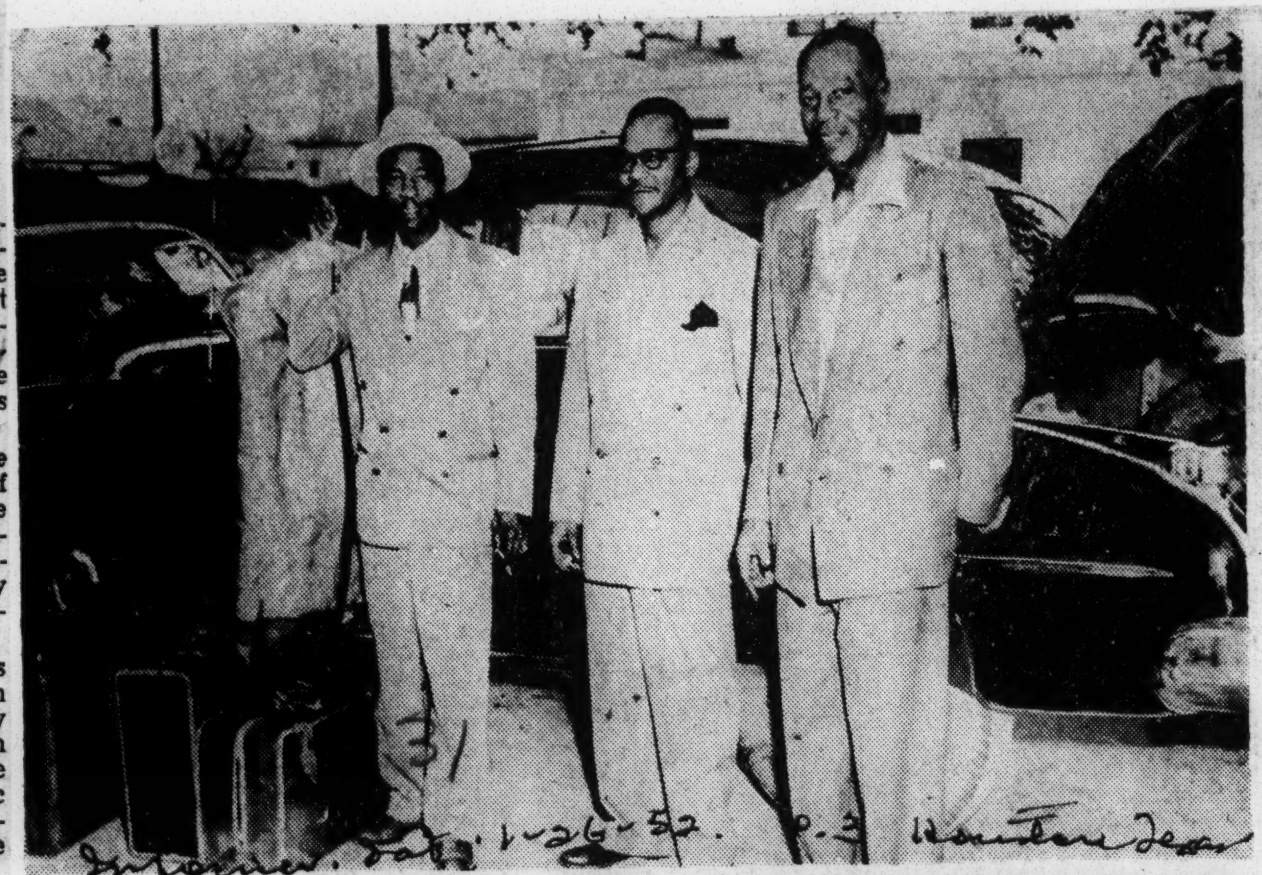

Informer Date 1-26-52 p. 3

OFF TO DETROIT TO ATTEND the workshop sponsored by the National Negro Newspaper Publishers Association Wednesday were these representatives of the Informer Group of Papers. Left to right: Carter W. Wesley, president and general manager; Clarence W. Cubia, vice president, and mechanical superintendent; and Joseph B. Carper, advertising director. The trio reluctantly posed for this photo in Houston just before they set off for the Motor City confab.

St. Louis Progress Astonishes Publishers

Afro-American p. 1

Baltimore

By CARL MURPHY

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Weekly newspaper publishers spent a week end here in the 13th annual National Newspaper Publishers' Association convention, and a number of things happened:—

All downtown hotels, for the first time, opened their doors to colored guests. Publishers registered at the Chase, Jefferson, Sheraton, Statler and Mayfair hotels;

A white taxi driver told one. "You know we have lost a lot of conventions because downtown hotels wouldn't take colored guests."

Dat. 6-28-52

St. Louis College of Pharmacy (private), joined St. Louis and Washington Universities here in its decision to register colored students;

New Police Lieutenant

The police department promoted one of three colored sergeants, Thomas E. Brooks, to be a police lieutenant. The city has over 100 colored policemen;

Missouri Prince Hall Masons burned the mortgage on a $250,000 temple;

Newly appointed assistant circuit attorney, George W. Draper 2nd, first to be used as a trial lawyer, won his first case. The other assistant circuit attorney is Harrison Holley.

Veeck Talks

Bill Veeck, owner of the St. Louis Browns, announced at the publishers' luncheon that he is trying to sign Willie Harris, Chicago schoolboy pitcher, and in bidding for new players it was important to impress them that St. Louis is a good place to live.

He indicated good players do not want to live in a city where the team can not stay together in hotels or eat in downtown restaurants.

Harris conferred here with Veeck recently. I couldn't ask him to eat at the railroad station with all these restaurants around the ball park," Veeck said.

"This convention has done something if delegates by staying at downtown hotels, make it possible for me to get more Willie Harrises."

Why Hornsby Was Fired

Veeck said he fired Manager Rogers Hornsby because among other things the latter refused to make the best use of Satchel Paige, whom eVeck termed a favorite of the players and one of the baseball club's best assets.

On Friday night, Veeck used "Satch" in a 19-inning tie game against the Washington Senators, and invited the publishers as his guests to see for themselves the hold that this fabulous ballplayer, and showman, has upon baseball fans in St. Louis.

Paige pitched ten innings and had the stands in continuous uproars.

Two Fire Companies

St. Louis has two colored fire companies and mixes them on occasion.

There are three colored city councilmen, Sidney Redmond, the Rev. Mr. Ben Oliver and Dewit Lawson.

Three colored members of the legislature include, Leroy Tyus, Walter Lay and John Green.

Police magistrate is Frank S. Bledso, and constable is Jordan W. Chambers.

Assistant city counselor is Freeman L. Martin.

City Proudly Boasts

With Lt. Gov. Jim Blair, gubernatorial candidate, W. Stuart Symington, eloquent civil service commissioner, Bill Holland, all St. Louis is proud of progress in race relations.

The city's colored leaders, including A. N. Sweets, St. Louis American publisher, the Mitchell family, which publishes the Argus, and John Kirkpatrick of the Crusader, provided hospitality for each minute of the three-day sessions, and delegates were agreeably surprised.

The fact is that the city has changed greatly in recent years, since it opened its residential areas, swimming pools, parks, municipal opera and airport facilities to all citizens.

Publishers, representing 27 newspapers, had difficulty in realizing that this is Missouri, and a so-called border state between North and South.

In fact, no one seemed surprised to hear that suits to open the public schools to all are pending in the courts.

Agree to Rate Raise

Publishers listened to technical papers on circulation, advertising and mechanical subjects. They also:—

Agreed that rates would be raised to cover increased costs;

Ordered directors to devise additional means for distribution of which have increased prices 100 per cent since World War II.

pooled news, pictures and feature services;

Officers Re-Elected

Denounced super-taxes on cigarettes, liquors and other items;

The convention re-elected: Louis Martin, Michigan Chronicle, president; Carl Murphy, AFRO-AMERICAN, ice-president; Mrs. Robert L. ann, Pittsburgh Courier, treasurer; William O. Walker, Cleveland Call-Post, secretary.

Approved the Case Bill to create a joint committee in Congress on increasing the production of domestic newsprint by new processes;

Condemned Canadian firms; Among the publishers, their representatives, and consultants present were:

C. C. De Jole, Louisiana Weekly; William O. Walker, Charles H. Loeb, all of Cleveland Harry Alexander, Public Relations, Washington; N. N. Young, Call-Post; Moss H. Kendrix, San Diego Lighthouse; Louis Martin, L. M. Quinn, Wardman, William Matney, Leatherwood, all of Michigan Chronicle; D. F. Martizes, Associated Press; New York; N. A. Sweets, N. B. Young, both St. Louis American; Dowdal H. Davis, James H. Benton, Call Representatives

Lena B. Smith, Johnnie Johnson, Betty Tucker, J. Delmas Escoe, Lucille Bluford, all Kansas City Call; John Kirkpatrick, E. St. Louis Crusader; Carl Murphy, D. Arnett Murphy, AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers; Frank Thomas, Alabama Citizen; Emory O. Jackson, Birmingham World; J. H. Williamson, J. C. Jamar, Birmingham Mirror; Russell Jackson, Ohio Sentinel; Mrs. Mitchell Turner, Frank Mitchell Sr. Frank Mitchell Jr., Howard Woods, Steven Duncan, Otis Thompson, Belva Simmons, Irving Williamson, Chick Finney, all of St. Louis Argus;

Plaque Awarded Editor Mitchell

THIS PLAQUE WAS PRESENTED J. E. Mitchell, managing editor of the St. Louis Argus as one of the highlights of the NNPA convention here last week for "40 years of devotion to the highest traditions of the profession of journalism."—Additional stories and pictures on the convention on pages 3. 8. 12. 13 and 15.

Publishers Seek Cut In Costs; Cite J. E. Mitchell

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Members of the National Newspaper Publishers Association at their 13th annual convention in St. Louis' Kiel auditorium, June 19, 20 and 21, concluded that Negro newspapers must cooperatively seek a stabilization of newsprint prices and improve their products if they are to survive the present crises of rising production costs and increasing competition.

Representatives from 19 of 27 member papers reviewed the growing competition from dailies, magazines, radios and television and considered the plea of NNPA secretary William O. Walker, Cleveland Call-Post, for the "Strength of Cooperative Action."

The convention agreed to again urge the United States Congress to exhaust every effort in getting the Canadian government to hold down the cost of newsprint and to encourage development of newsprint production in this country. At present the newspaper industry is dependent upon Canada for the paper used in the United States.

At the Saturday morning session, all officers were re-elected. They are Louis E. Martin, editor of the Michigan Chronicle, president; Carl Murphy, Afro-American, vice president; William O. Walker, secretary, and Mrs. R. L. Vann, Pittsburgh Courier, treasurer.

The Board of Directors includes Frank Stanley, John Sengstacke, C. C. DeJoie, John Kirkpatrick, Dowdal Davis, Emory Jackson, Thomas Young and Carter Wesley.

At a luncheon on Friday, June 20, the convention heard Bill Veeck, owner of the St. Louis Browns baseball team, laud the feats and value of Satchel Paige, veteran pitcher presently with the Browns. Veeck said he was highly appreciative of the support which the press has given him in the past and impressed NNPA members that the Browns will sign more Negro ball players.

He mentioned the name of Willie Harris, Chicago high school youth, who impressed him favorably.

Lt. Gov. James T. Blair, Jr., sharing the speaker's table with Veeck, declared that if the United States is to maintain its position as a world leader it must divest this country of prejudice and win the great struggle for the minds and hearts of men.

Following the annual banquet in the auditorium refrectory Saturday night a group of publishers visited the home of Joseph E. Mitchell, editor-publishers of the St. Louis Argus and presented him with a placque for distinguished service in the field of journalism.

Among those present were: C. C. DeJoie, Louisiana Weekly; L. C. Jarman, Birmingham World; William O. Walker, Cleveland Call-Post; N. M. Young, San Diego Lighthouse; Louis Martin, Michigan Chronicle; Carl and D. Arnett Murphy, Afro-American; Russell Jackson, Ohio Sentinel; Emory Jackson, Birmingham World; Mrs. Lenora Rolla, Houston Informer; Frank Stanley, Louisville Defender; L. O. Swingler, Tri-State Defender; J. H. Williamson, Birmingham Mirror; P. L. Prattis, Pittsburgh Courier; John Sengstacke, Chicago Defender; Dowdal H. Davis, Kansas City Call; John Kirkpatrick, East St. Louis Crusader; N. A. Sweets, St. Louis American; Mrs. Nannie Mitchell Turner and Frank Mitchell, St. Louis Argus.

The 1953 Mid-Winter Workshop will be held in New Orleans, La. The dates will be announced later.

Sengestacke Urges Increased Revenue

NNPA Told to 'Expand,' Take Products to People

Courier P. 2 Dat. 7-5-52

ST LOUIS, Mo.—Members of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, at their thirteenth annual convention in St. Louis' Kiel Auditorium, June 19-21, concluded that Negro newspapers must cooperatively seek a stabilization of newsprint prices and improve their products if they are to survive the present crises of rising production costs and increasing competition.

Representatives from nineteen of twenty-seven member papers reviewed the growing competition from dailies, magazines, radios, and television and considered the plea of NNPA Secretary William O. Walker, Cleveland Call-Post, for the "Strength of Cooperative Action."

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The Board of Directors includes Frank Stanley, John Sengestacke, C. C. DeJoie, John Kirkpatrick, Dowdal Davis, Emory Jackson, Thomas Young, and Carter Wesley.

In a symposium on "How to Cut Production Costs and Boost Advertising and Circulation Revenues," John Sengestacke, editor-publisher of the Chicago Defender, said Negro newspapers can't very well cut cost but he pointed up the urgency of increasing revenue by improving the appearance and content of weeklies. He said that expansion of population means papers must expand circulation by employing more facilities and personnel.

Walker proposed a greater use of promotional projects and said the need for the Negro press today is as great as ever, but the product must be taken to the people. He noted the lack of complete cooperation among member papers in news syndicates. Walker contended that the membership of NNPA must make a sincere attempt to bring in new members to strengthen the association and thereby establish security.

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Lt. Gov. James T. Blair Jr., sharing the speaker's table with Veeck, declared that if the United States is to maintain its position as a world leader it must divest this country of prejudice and win the great struggle for the minds and hearts of men.

John Martin Cates Jr. of the State Department adressed the body on three aspects of "Human Rights and the State Department."

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The 1953 Mid-Winter Workshop will be held in New Orleans, La. The dates will be announced later.

Publishers Re-Elect Martin, See Ways To Battle Increasing Costs

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Louis E. Martin, editor of the Michigan Chronicle, was reelected president of the National Newspsper Publisher's association at its recent convention here.

All other officers were reelected. They are: 31

Carl Murphy, Afro-American, vice-president: William O. Walker, secretary, and Mrs. B. L. Vann, Pittsburgh Courier, traesurer. Defender

The board of directors includes Frank Stanley, John Sengstacke, C. C. DeJoie, John Kirkpatrick, Dowdal Davis, Emory Jackson, Thomas Young and Carter Wesley.

P. 15

CONVENTION TALK

Convention talk centered on the possibility of Negro newspapers cooperatively seeking a stabilization of newsprint prices and improving their product to offset rising costs and increased competition.

Representatives from 19 of 27 member papers reviewed the growing competition from dailies, magazines, radio and television. They considered the plea from William O. Walker for the "strength of cooperative action."

OTHER SPEAKERS

John Sengstacke told the publishers that it would be difficult to cut costs, but he pointed up the urgency of increasing revenue by improving the appearance and content of the weeklies.

Other speakers included Lt. Gov. James T. Blair jr., John Martin Cates jr., of the State Department, and Bill Veeck, owner of the St. Louis Browns baseball club.

During the convention, the publishers presented Joseph E. Mitchell, publisher of the St. Louis Argus, an award for distinguished service in the field of journalism.

31 1952

125th Negro Newspaper Anniversary Week

Six Editors Take Part In Press Program

NEW YORK—(NNPA)— Six of the top editors of colored newspapers in large cities of the United States participated in a special program on CBS Radio in observance of the 125th Negro Newspaper Anniversary Week, Sunday March 9, from 1 to 1:15 p. m.

The program was on the Anniversary week's theme, "America's Stake in Democracy," with six editors, speaking from various points, dwelling on different phases of the main topic.

Dowdal Davis, general manager of the Kansas City Call, and former president of the National Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, opened and closed the program with keynote remarks, from the New York studio of WCBS Radio.

Frank L. Stanley, publisher of the Louisville Defender, dwelt on the 'education' phase of "America's Stake in Democracy." He was heard via WHAS, Louisville.

P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, discussed "Segregation," with special regard to housing. He broadcast via WJAS, Pittsburgh.

Thomas W. Young, president and general manager of the Norfolk (Virginia) Journal and Guide, discussed "The Armed Forces." He was heard from WRVA, Richmond.

Carl Murphy, president and editor-in-chief of the Afro-American Newspapers, and chairman of the National Negro Press Association, related his talk to "Congressional Responsibility." He spoke via WCAO, Baltimore.

Louis Martin, editor of the Chicago Defender and now president of the National Negro Publishers Association, keynoted his talk with a discussion of "125 Years in Search for Democracy." His talk originated at WBBM, Chicago.

31 1952 Negro Newspaper Week

The Negro Press Is YOU

This week, the Negro press is celebrating the 125th anniversary of its birth. For a century and a quarter, the Negro newspaper has been the eyes, ears and voice of the American Negro. It has chronicled the every day happenings among this minority group, it has recorded its achievements, pointed out its shortcomings and voiced its protests against the injustices and discriminations practiced against it.

The Negro press is the Negro's most vocal representative and its most forceful spokesman. It is the medium through which Negroes express their views, their desires, their ambitions. The voice of the Negro press has contributed greatly to the change in status of the Negro in America during the past 125 years. Call p. 22 Jan. 3-7-52

In the early days of the Negro press when such men as John B. Russworm, Samuel Cornish and Frederick Douglass sat at the editors' desks, the evil of slavery was the chief target of the papers. Later, the Negro newspapers began to combat the injustices brought about through segregation and discrimination.

Little by little, the Negro press, and its allies such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League and other organizations working in the interest of the Negro, have improved the Negro's lot in America a hundred-fold. Without the Negro newspapers to work in cooperation with these great organizations, we are not too modest to say that the Negro would not have advanced as far toward first-class citizenship as he has.

The Negro newspaper exists primarily to furnish to the Negro public the news, the opinion, the inspiration and the guidance that the colored man, woman and child in America can get nowhere else. The daily press, in most cities, even in this age of improved racial relations, still ignores for the most part the news which concerns Negro Americans. There are exceptions, of course. There are those few papers which consider all Americans alike and treat the news of Negro people like that of anybody else. But no matter how fair-minded the daily paper, there is little space for the routine news of Negroes in their church, civic and social life. They must depend upon the Negro press for this. The Marian Andersons, Jackie Robinsons and Ralph Bunches among us get adequate space in the daily press but Mrs. Susie Jones and Mr. John H. Smith must wait for their weekly paper to come off the press to read about their family and friends.

The Call, one of some 200 odd Negro newspapers in this country, is proud of the record that it and its sister papers have made. The Negro press at one time was a "voice crying in the wilderness." Its protestations fell principally among those who suffered from the injustices against which the press was crying. But today, the opinions expressed by Negro newspapers are viewed with respect by high government officials and by the men who mold sentiment in America.

To them, what the Negro press says and thinks is what the Negro public says and thinks. And this is as it should be, for the Negro press is really YOU. The Negro newspaper, in a sense, does not belong to the man or group of men who won it. The Negro newspaper is a public agency with the editor and the publisher the servants of the people. The sincere editor and publisher do not operate a newspaper for their own personal gain, but for the good that they can do for the public as a whole. The Negro publisher, especially, is conscious of his obligation to the people. He recognizes himself as the voice of his people. He takes his responsibility seriously and strives to be worthy of the trust which the people have in him.

Every day in every way open to it, the Negro press works to abolish segregation and racial discrimination from American life. When that great day comes when there is no distinction based upon race, the job of the Negro newspaper will have been done. Its great battle will have been won. The Negro paper at that time will either go out of existence or it will become a publication of interest to the general public.

This day cannot come too soon for the sincere and conscientious editor and publisher. But until that day comes, the Negro press, as it begins its 126th year, will hold high the torch of liberty and will continue its fight for real freedom and democracy in America.

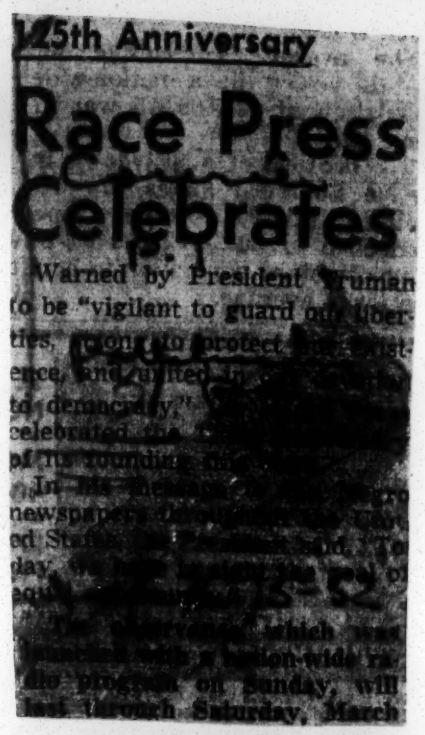
Negro Newspaper Week March 9–15

Call p. 1

Negro Newspaper Week will be observed throughout the nation from Sunday March 9, through Saturday, March 15. The celebration is held annually under the sponsorship of the National Newspaper Publishers association, composed of the publishers of Negro weeklies all over the country. This year, the Negro press is observing its 125th year.

A nation-wide broadcast is scheduled to be heard Sunday, March 9, at 12:. Central Standard Time, over the Columbia Broadcasting System. Jan. 3-7-52

Themes of the Press week this year are "The Negro Press Is YOU" and "125 Steps To Freedom," commemorating the 125 years of the Negro newspaper's fight for the freedom of Negro people.



125th Anniversary

Race Press Celebrates

Warned by President Truman to be "vigilant to guard our liberties, [illegible] to protect [illegible] existence, and united in [illegible] to democracy," [illegible] celebrated the [illegible] of its founding [illegible]

In his message [illegible] Negro newspapers [illegible] United States, [illegible] said, "To day, [illegible] of equal [illegible] 15-52

The observance, which was launched with a nation-wide radio program on Sunday, will last through Saturday, March 16. Six of the leading editors of Negro newspapers discussed the theme, "America's Stake in Democracy," over CBS stations in their communities. P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Courier, spoke on segregation in housing; Frank L. Stanley, publisher of the Louisville Defender, talked on education; Thomas W. Young, Norfolk Journal and Guide president, spoke on the armed forces; Carl Murphy, president of the Baltimore Afro-American, made a critique of Congress; and Louis Martin, Chicago Defender editor, discussed the 125-year "search for democracy."

DOWDAL DAVIS, general manager of the Kansas City Call, and former president of the NNNPA, opened and closed the program with keynote remarks from New York. Jan. 3-15-52

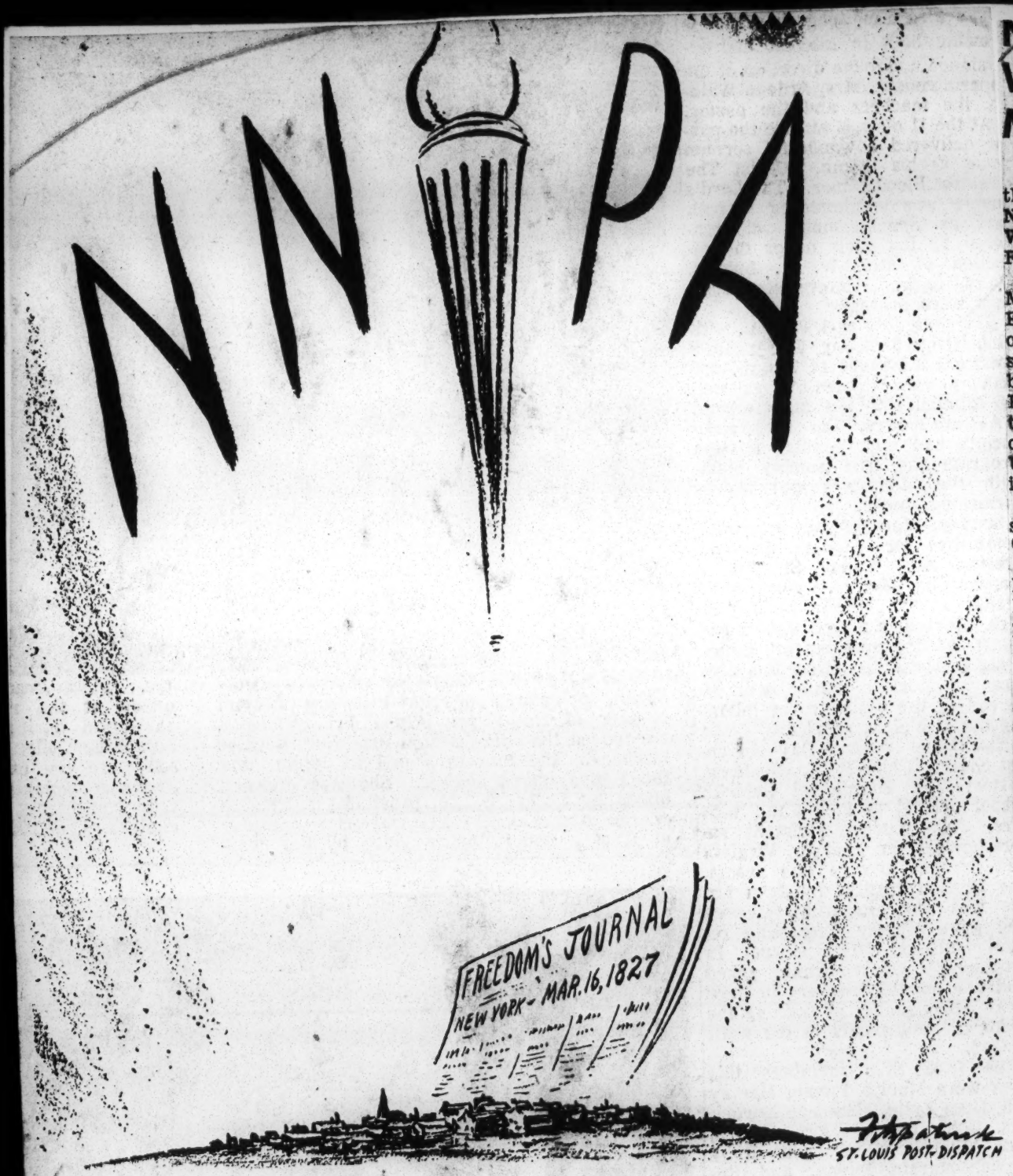
Announcement of the winners of the annual Russwurm Awards of the NNNPA was made during the radio program. The awards honor the memory of John B Russwurm, first Negro newspaper publisher.

The winners for 1952 were Arthur Godfrey, Gen. Matthew Ridgeway, the late Pvt. William Thompson, Medal of Honor winner; Drake University because of the support it gave star halfback Johny Bright during the 1951 controversy with Oklahoma A. and M. University; Dwight Palmer, chairman of the board of the General Cable Corporation; Lester B. Granger, Urban League executive director; Judge J. Waties Waring; Harry T. Moore, Florida bomb victim; the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and Henry Ford II.

MOSS H. KENDRIX, former director of National Negro Newspaper Week and one of the three originators, described the American Negro Press as a "traditional tool of the American way of life" as the week began.

Initially a project of Delta Phi Delta, journalists' society organized by Kendrix, V. Trenton Tubbs Jr., an Afro-American editor, and Bernard Milton Jones, the observance has been sponsored by the NNNPA in recent years.

Freedom's Journal, the first race publication, was issued from 5 Varich Street, New York City, March 16, 1827. Russwurm later published the first newspaper in the colony of Liberia.



Call. P. 22.
Ju. 3-7-52 125 YEARS LATER 31
Kansas City Negro Newspaper Week March 9 to 15

Negro Newspaper Week Program At Morehouse Today

Morehouse College will be among the colleges and schools celebrating National Newspaper Week from Wednesday, February 27 through Friday, February 29.

Today the Maroon Tiger staff at Morehouse College is sponsoring Emory Jackson, managing editor of the Birmingham World as guest speaker. Thursday's program will be highlighted with a speech from Robert Johnson, staff writer of the Atlanta Daily World who recently returned from Syracuse University where he has been doing advanced study in journalism.

Both Mr. Johnson and Mr. Jackson are graduates of Morehouse College.

On Friday, the Tiger staff will hold a panel discussion on problems in publishing collegiate newspapers.

The panel will consist of representatives from the "Emory Wheel," Emory University; the "Georgia Technique," Georgia Tech; the "Clark Panther," Clark College and the "Maroon Tiger," at Morehouse College.

The program is being sponsored by the "Maroon Tiger," student publication at Morehouse College.

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Thomas W. Young, president and general manager of the Norfolk (Virginia) Journal and Guide, discussed "The Armed Forces." He was heard from WRVA, Richmond.

Carl Murphy, president and editor-in-chief of the Afro-American Newspapers, and chairman of the National Negro Press Association, related his talk to "Congressional Responsibility." He spoke via WCAO, Baltimore.

Louis Martin, editor of the Chicago Defender and now president of the National Negro Publishers

3 Children Die and 4th Saved In House Fire

Three small children burned to death when their home at 330 rear E. Oak caught fire at 12:20 p.m. yesterday. A fourth child was rescued unharmed from the second-floor apartment.

The dead, children of Mrs. Dora Lee Gant, 22, are: William H. Gant, 5; Charles Edward Gant, 17 months, and Dorothy May Gant, 3 months.

Robert Earl Gant, 3, was rescued by Charles T. Lewis, who lives downstairs in the two-story frame building.

The father of the children, William Gant, is in a hospital in Memphis with tuberculosis, Mrs. Gant said. She came here about six years ago from Thomaston, Ala.

She said she was in the back yard washing when she saw flames coming from an upstairs window. She started in, but was held back by bystanders.

"I'd have saved my children if they hadn't pulled me back," she sobbed. She was treated for shock at General Hospital, then returned to the scene of the fire.

Maj. Harold Foster, head of the Fire Prevention Bureau, and Fire Chief John Krusenklaus were listening to a speech on fire-prevention at a Lion's Club meeting in the Brown Hotel when the alarm sounded. Foster left the meeting to go to the fire.

The Lions Club speaker at the Brown Hotel was Richard E. Vernor, Chicago, manager of the fire-prevention department of the Western Actuarial Bureau. This is Fire Prevention Week.

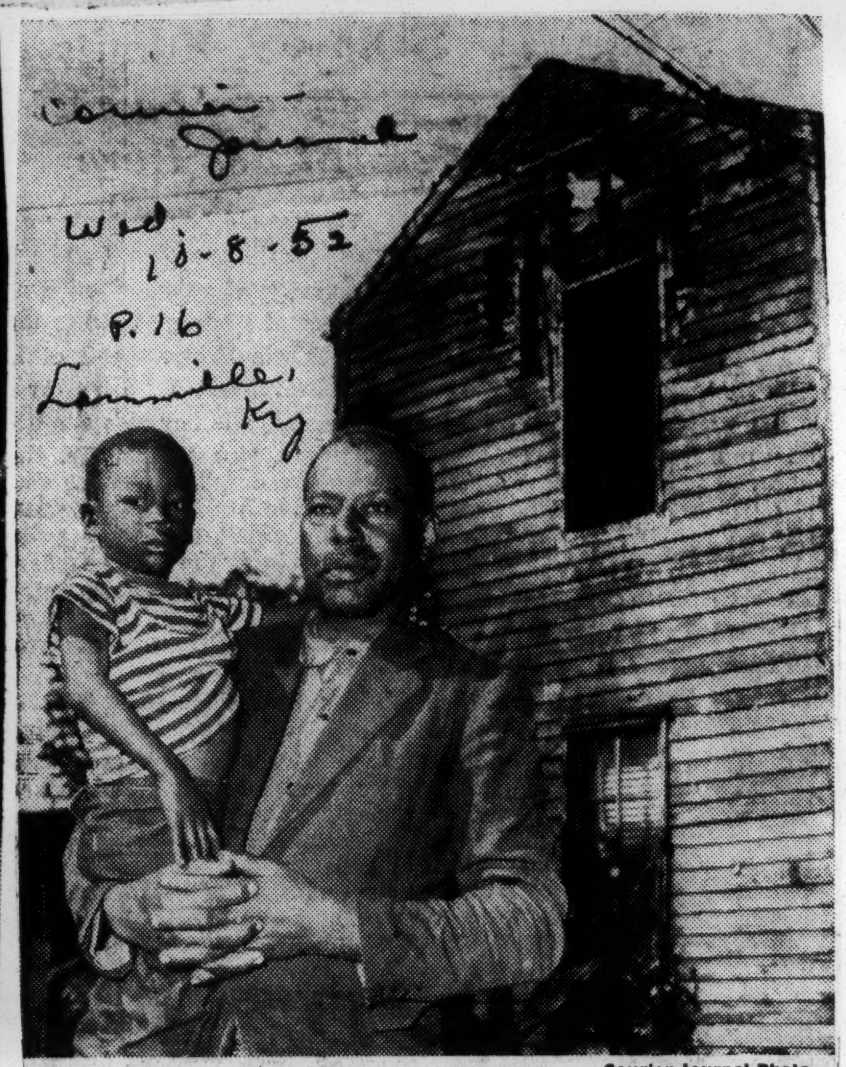
Carl Keely, Third District battalion chief, said the roof of Mrs. Gant's apartment was blazing when his company arrived. Four firemen wearing gas masks went in and found the three children dead—two on a bed and one on the floor. Deputy Coroner Harry Elstone said they died of third-degree burns.

Major Foster said the blaze might have been caused by coals popping from a small stove in the room where the children were.

Neighbors said the same building burned about 15 years ago and was rebuilt. Another occupant, Flora Donaldson, who lived downstairs, escaped yesterday's blaze unharmed.

Courier-Journal Photo

THE MOTHER of three children burned to death, Mrs. Dora Lee Gant, 330 rear E. Oak, is comforted by the Rev. Richard O'Hare, Fire Department chaplain.



Courier-Journal Photo

THE ONLY SURVIVING Gant child, Robert Earl Gant, 3, is held by Charles T. Lewis, who rescued the boy from his burning home. Lewis lives downstairs in the building.

Fire Razes House as Woman Is Moving Across Street

Fire destroyed the frame home of Mrs. Louise Schlatter, Cane Run Road at Murrays Lane, as she had almost completed moving to another home across the road yesterday.

Only a few household articles remained in the house when flames, apparently starting in the attic, spread through it.

The Lake Dreamland Volunteer Fire Department arrived at 9:35 a.m., but was unable to save the house. The Pleasure Ridge Volunteer Fire Department arrived a few minutes later.

R. A. Darnell, assistant chief of the Lake Dreamland group, estimated the loss at $8,000. He said Mrs. Schlatter owned the house that burned.

31 1952

NEWSPAPER PHOTOGRAPHER

DeMille Camera Snaps Calvert 'Success Men'

Defender p. 13

NEW YORK—Arnold DeMille, one of the country's top newspaper photographers, can point to many interesting experiences in the past year shoting "successful men" for the current Lord Calvert advertising series in Negro publications.

To photograph these men ,DeMille travalled with Calvert officials to Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New York and other cities.

Among the celebrities DeMille has photographed for the Lord Calvert series are: George Olden, chief art director of CBS-TV; Joel A. Rogers, historian; Hillyard R. Robinson, architect; Charles W. Jones, attorney; James Edwards, actor, and others.

ARNOLD DeMILLE

Explaining how he works, DeMille said: "The nature of the Lord Calvert series requires that I photograph each of the men at his work and with his business associates, also at home entertaining friends."

One thing they all had in common, he said. "They are all men of fixed purpose and strong character which they needed in order to achieve prominent positions in their fields of endeavor."

DeMille's photo work has been praised for clarity, composition and human interest touch. Long before DeMille won this Calvert assignment, he had made a name in the field of journalism as a photographer and writer. He started writing in 1927 for ECHO, a small New Jersey paper. In 1937, he was awarded a scholarship as a result of an unfinished novel.

His short stories and poems have appeared in Negro publications, and he has edited house organs. In 1948, he became a columnist and feature writer on the Chicago Defender. He still edits the National Beauty School Journal.

CHICAGO DEFENDER PURCHASES N. Y. AGE, OLDEST NEGRO PAPER

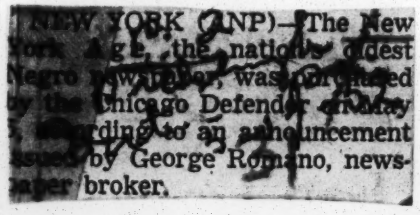
Plans For Development of New Venture To Be Announced By Sengstacke Later

PUBLICATION LAUNCHED BY THOS. FORTUNE

By Conrad Clark

NEW YORK — (ANP) — The New York Age, the nation's oldest Negro newspaper, was purchased by the Chicago Defender on May 5, according to an announcement issued by George Romano, newspaper broker.

Romano stated that John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Chicago Defender, had completed negotiations with V. P. Bourne-Vanneck, editor and publisher of The New York Age, for the purchase of the newspaper.


NEW YORK (ANP)—The New York Age, the nation's oldest Negro newspaper, was purchased by the Chicago Defender on May ... according to an announcement issued by George Romano, newspaper broker.

In a joint statement with Romano, the new owner declared: "The purchase of the Age adds another key market at the Chicago Defender and its affiliated newspapers. A formal announcement of plans for the development of the Age will be made public in the near future."

First established in 1880, the New York Age was first owned by Thomas Fortune and later acquired by the late Fred R. Moore, publisher from 1907 to 1943.

On the death of Moore, his grandson, Ludlow Werner, now in the field of public relations, became the head of the paper. The Moore heirs sold the paper to Bourne-Vanneck in 1948.

The Chicago Defender became the second owner of the paper since the death of Werner's grandfather.

Prior to the new owner, the Age was published weekly by the New York Age, Inc., and officers of the corporation were: V. P. Bourne-Vanneck, president; Victoria Bourne-Vanneck, secretary-treasurer. Business manager was Walter H. Scott, Jr.

Sengstacke was in New York for the past week for the negotiations. He made no further statements concerning the policy of the paper.

The Defender's local office is represented by Anrold DeMille.

Chicago Defender Adds New York Age To Chain

NEW YORK — George Romano, New York newspaper broker, announced Monday, May 5, that John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of The Chicago Defender has completed negotiations with V. T. Bourne-Vanneck, for the purchase of the New York Age, oldest Negro newspaper in the United States.

Sengstacke noting that the Age was acquired on the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Defender, stated that "the purchase of the Age adds another key market to the Chicago Defender and its affiliated papers."

"A formal announcement of plans for development of the Age," he said, "will be made public in the near future."

The Age founded in 1880 by T. Thomas Fortune has had a number of distinguished editors, among them Booker T. Washington and Lester Walton, former U. S. minister to Liberia.

Changing Site Of New York Age Ends Harlem Era Of Newspaper Rivalry

By ALVIN E. WHITE

NEW YORK— (ANP)— When the New York age moves from its old location at 230 West 135th st., it will mark the end of an era in Harlem.

Once, three powerful Negro publications were located within two blocks of each other on 135th street. The New York News at 135 West 135th st., the Amsterdam News at 135th and Seventh Avenue, and the Age.

Twenty years ago, these papers flourished and were bitter rivals. George W. Harris, editor-publisher-owner of the New York News was a staunch Republican. He had served as a city alderman and was high in Republican circles.

When the Patersom-McCormick interests decided to establish a daily tabloid in New York City, they offered Harris $20,000 for the name, New York News. Harris refused and from that time. his paper began to decline. Originally full sized paper, it was converted to the tabloid form before Harris lost his paper to Father Divine.

Meanwhile, the Amsterdam News was having its difficulties under the old administration of Sadie Warren Davis. Strikes put the paper on the rocks, and she sold out to the present owners, the Powell-Savory corporation.

The Age, known as "The Old Lady of 135th Street," had been in the possession of the Moore family ever since Fred P. Moore bought out the controlling interest of the paper founded by T. Thomas Fortune. When Moore edited the paper, he leaned to the Republicans but played "footsie" with the Democratic administration. At one time, he too was a city alderman.

When Moore died, his heirs attempted to keep the dying paper on its feet, finally selling to an Englishman, Richard Bourne-Vanneck. With reorganization, Bourne-Vanneck attempted to resusisate the paper, spending large sums trying to make the antiquated printing press funciton.

Bourne-Vanneck sold out to the Chicago Defender.

Reverting to the old name, New York Age, the Defender plans to abandon the outmoded spot in West 135th Street for more modern offices closer to the new center of Negro activities, West 125th street.

When the Age offices move to its new location, there will be nothing left to remind Harlemites of the days when the Age, the News and the Amsterdam waged relentless battles for supremacy in the Harlem Market.

New York Age To End Harlem Era

BY ALVIN E. WHITE

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During prohibition, Moore openly published addresses where liquor was being sold. It is believed that his continual pounding away at this laxity resulted in the arrest of three Negro prohibition officials who subsequently were sentenced to penitentiary terms. One was a noted political figure in Harlem Republican circles as was his wife. Both died recently.

When Moore died, his heirs attempted to keep the dying paper on its feet, finally selling to an Englishman, Richard Bourne-Vanneck. With re - organization, Bourne-Vanneck attempted to resusicate the paper, spending large sums trying to make the antiquated printing press function. When he couldn't meet his obligations, the paper was sold to the Chicago Defender.

Reverting to the old name, New York Age, the Defender plans to abandon the outmoded spot in West 135th street for more modern offices clser t the new cntr f Negro activities, West 125th Street.

SALE OF NEW YORK AGE MARKS END OF REMARKABLE CAREER OF JOURNALISM IN HARLEM

Defender Purchase Recalls Warring Newspapers of Famous Roaring "Twenties"

PUBLICATION TO BE MOVED TO NEW SPOT

(By Alvin E. White)

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Divine had been invited to use the News to publish his weekly sermons before he started his own paper, "The Day." Harris lost his political prestige fighting the regular organization and became financially involved with Divine. When Divine stepped in and took over the News, liquidating the paper entirely.

Meanwhile, the Amsterdam News was having its difficulties under the old administration of Sadie Warren Davis. Strikes put the paper on the rocks and she sold out to the present owners, the Powell-Savory corporation.

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When Moore died, his heirs attempted to keep the dying paper on its feet, finally selling to an Englishman, Richard Bourne-Vanneck. With reorganization, Bourne-Vanneck attempted to resusicate the paper, spending large sums trying to make the antiquated printing press function. In this he failed, and outside interests printed the paper. Bourne-Vanneck also became involved financially with the Rockefeller interests and others. When he couldn't meet his obligations, the paper was sold to the Chicago Defender.

Reverting to the old name, New York Age, the Defender plans to abandon the outmoded spot in West 135th Street for more modern offices closer to the new center of Negro activities, West 125th Street.

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31 1952

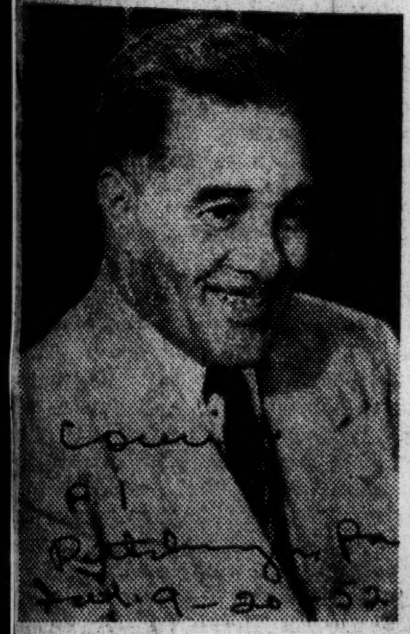
NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM

ON HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM.—Charles J. Dennis (left), publisher of Liberia's only daily newspaper, "The Listener," and William S. Paley, chairman of the board of directors of the Columbia Broadcasting System, were both speakers at the 21st Annual New York Herald Tribune Forum at the Waldorf Astoria, New York. Said Mr. Dennis: "Your country and mine have a long historical association. Liberians are proud and happy that our great friend, the United States, has always been at our side." Said Mr. Paley: "It is not just humanitarianism to talk about wanting other nations to match or better our growth. It is sound business and political sense . . ." Both addresses were also heard over the CBS radio network from New York.

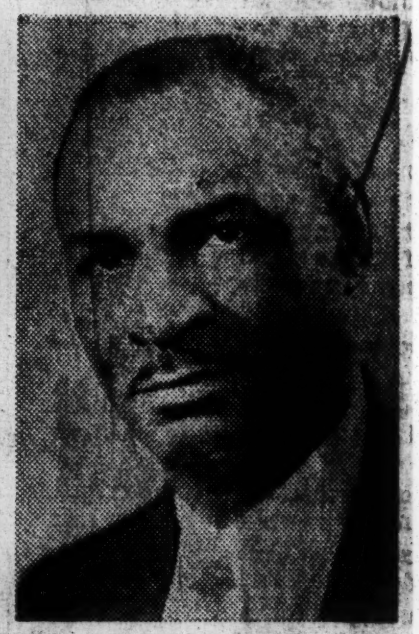
31 1952 Pittsburgh Courier

Gaither Heads Circulation

Courier Promotes Hord to Top Post



EARL V. HORD
... Courier's new general manager



A. D. GAITHER
... Courier circulation manager

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The appointment of Earl V. Hord as general manager of Courier publishing operations was announced last week by Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president and publisher of the newspaper. He succeeds the late Ira F. Lewis who was named to the same post by Mrs. Vann's late husband, Atty. Robert L. Vann.

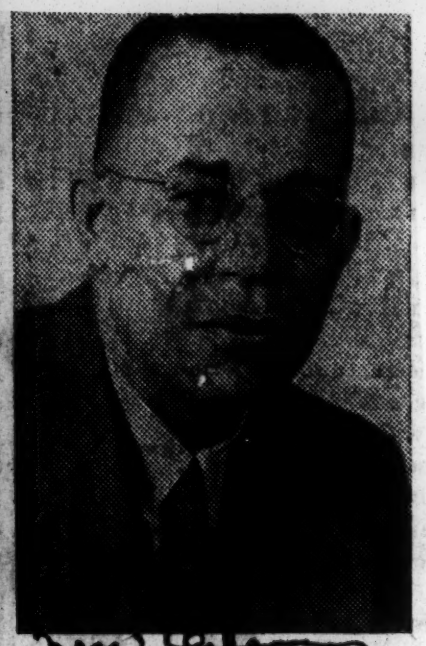
The appointment of Mr. Hord was announced during the same week in which announcement was made of the appointment of A. D. (Jake) Gaither as circulation manager of the Courier.

MR. HORD came to the Courier in 1933 as an operator in the composing room. He became successively an advertising solicitor, advertising director, mechanical department head, and then business manager.

Mr. Gaither was formerly administrative assistant and director of the bureau at Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio. A graduate of Knoxville College and Ohio State University, he was more recently general manager of the Parks Sausage Company in Baltimore.

The appointment of both men to their present positions is another step in the long-range expansion program of Courier publications and was taken to effect a more closely knit organization. Arthur I. Morris, veteran circulation employe with the Courier, will be assistant to the circulation manager.

Both Mr. Hord and Mr. Gaither enjoy a wide range of business contacts, and while the latter named will travel extensively in contacting schools, colleges, churches and fraternal organizations, the new general manager will coordinate all departments and branch offices of the Courier publications.



The Public Affairs Committee, publishers of the educational series of Public Affairs Pamphlets, has named Edward S. Lewis (above) to its board of directors. The announcement was made by the Committee's Secretary, Maxwell S. Stewart. Mr. Lewis is the executive director of the Urban League of Greater New York and has during his quarter of a century in the Urban League movement served in the same capacity in Baltimore and Kansas City.

31 1952

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

On Public Affairs Committee Board

The public affairs committee, publishers of the educational series of public affairs pamphlets, has named Edward S. Lewis, above, to its board of directors. The announcement was made by the committee's secretary, Maxwell S. Stewart.

Mr. Lewis is the executive director of the Urban League of Greater New York and has during his quarter of a century in the Urban League movement served in the same capacity in Baltimore and Kansas City.

He is also on the boards of the Herald-Tribune Fresh Air Fund, Citizens Housing Council and Citizens Committee on Children.

31 1952

RUSSWURM AWARDS
National Newspaper Publishers Association

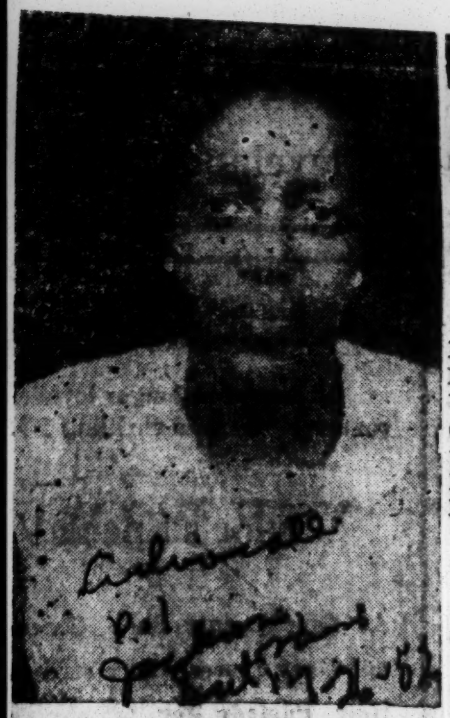
Drake University Among Russwurm Award Winners

(Special)

Eight individuals, Drake University and the National Conference of Christians and Jews have been named winners of the annual Russwurm awards of the National Newspaper Publishers Association. The announcement was made Sunday as the association opened its celebration of Negro Newspaper Week, March 10-16, with a CBS network broadcast.

The Russwurm awards honor the memory of John B. Russwurm, the first Negro newspaper publisher. They are given in recognition of outstanding achievements in making possible a richer conception of democratic principles and for upholding the highest American traditions.

Winners are: Arthur Godfrey, for democratic method of handling TV broadcasts; General Matthew Ridgeway, for the elimination of segregation in the Army in Pacific command; Pvt. William Thompson, winner of Congressional Medal of Honor; Drake University, for its forthright action in withdrawing from the Missouri alley Conference because of treatment given Johnny Bright who was injured in football game with Oklahoma A and M; Dwight Palmer, chairman of the Board of General Cable Corporation, for outstanding work in integrating Negroes in industry; Lester B. Granger, executive director of National Urban League, for widening employment opportunities for Negroes and creating better racial understanding in the industrial field; Judge J. Waites Waring, for taking forthright stand constantly in behalf of equal rights for Negroes; Harry T. Moore, Florida NAACP martyr, who gave his life for democracy; National Conference of Christians and Jews, for seminar work throughout Country on integration and better race relations, and for a constant fight against intolerance, Henry Ford, II, who is using his power and resources for promoting better human relations.



Miss Sallie Redmond, District Nutritionist with the Mississippi State Board of Health, is the subject of a feature article in the August issue of SERVICE Magazine, published at Tuskegee Institute.

Miss Redmond works on nutrition problems with individuals, families, and organized groups in thirty Delta counties, encouraging the home production of adequate foods, and pointing out the direct relaion of proper diet to the maintenance of health and well being.

The nutritionist is a native of Lexington, received her degree in Home Economics from Alcorn A & M College, and her Master's Degree in Nutrition from Western Reserve University.

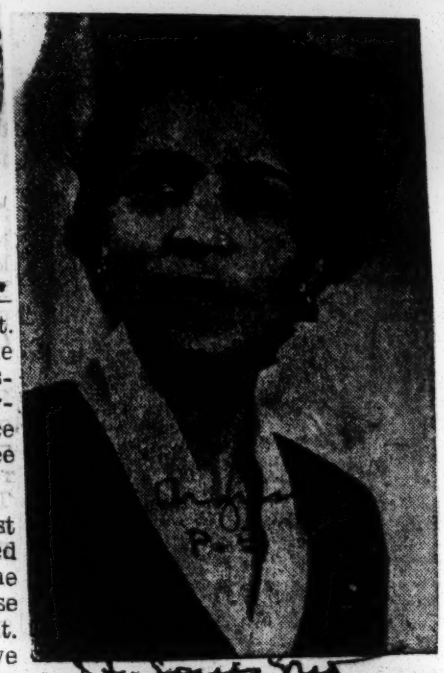
Service Magazine, a monthly publication devoted to all branches of the fod industry and nutrition i scarrying a series of articles on the work of home economists in the various areas of foods and nutrition .

Woman Becomes Feature For Magazine

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala. — Mrs. Blanche Boone Davis of St. Louis, a Home Economist with the Union Electric Company of Missouri is the subject of a feature article in the June issue of Service Magazine, published at Tuskegee Institute.

Mrs. Davis was one of the first Negro home economists to be hired by a public utility company for the purpose of demonstrating the use and care of electrical equipment. She has been on the staff for five years and her success in this area points the way for employment by other companies of qualified home economists who can best reach the vastly expanding Negro market.

Mrs. Davis is the daughter of Mrs. Fannie Mae Boone, District Home Demonstration Agent of the Arkansas Extension Service. Wife of Herschel Davis of St. Louis, she is a graduate of Tennessee State University, Nashville.



MRS. BLANCHE BOONE DAVIS of St. Louis, Home Economist with the Union Electric Company of Missouri, who is the subject of a feature article on her work appearing in the June issue of Service Magazine, published at Tukegee Institute. Mrs. Davis is the wife of Herschel Davis, and resides at 4337 Aldine avenue. She has been employed by the Union Electric Company for five years and was one of the first Negro home economists to be hired by a utility company for the purpose of demonstrating the use and care of electrical equipment.

Magazine Features Food Specialist

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala. —Mrs. Bessie Beale Ramseur, food and nutrition specialist of the North Carolina Extension Service with headquarters at Greensboro, is the subject of an article in the April issue of Service Magazine, published at Tuskegee Institute.

The work of Mrs. Ramseur in the promotion of better nutrition for farm people is described with a brief history of her training and experience.

The article on Mrs. Ramseur is one of a series being written under the general heading "Careers in Food" by Patsy Graves, home economist of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

31 1952

SUN-TIMES (Chicago,Ill).

Chicago Daily Hires Negro Staff Man

CHICAGO— (A N P) —Fletcher Martin, city editor of the Louisville Defender and also the first Negro recipient of a Nieman fellow ship, will be the first colored staff writer for the Chicago Sun Times when he joins that daily newspaper about April 15.

Martin has been with the Defender, a weekly newspaper, for some 10 years. He received the Nieman award for outstanding work in his field. About 12 journalists received the award each year.

During World War II he served as a correspondent in the South Pacific theater for the Defender and later for the National Newspaper Publishers Association.

Besides his duties with the Defender, Martin has conducted a weekly radio program, "Stories of Our Town," on a local station.

The Sun-Times is considered one of the liberal dailies in the country. It is owned by Marshall Field.

Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalism fraternity, last week awarded its public service award to the Sun-Times for the paper's crusade for justice in the Michael Moretti murder case. The daily was credited with obtaining the conviction of Moretti, a policeman who shot two youths of Mexican descent to death following a barroom brawl. The judge who presided over this trial was a Negro, Wendell E. Green.

The hiring of Martin brings to a total of three the number of colored men working on the editorial staffs of Chicago daily newspapers. Both the Herald-American an dthe Daily News each has a reporter who is not confined to strictly Negro news.

Chicago Daily Hires Reporter

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31 1952

St. Louis Argus

J. E. Mitchell Slated For Citation

Argus P.1

St Louis, Mo.

31

J. E. Mitchell, managing editor of the St. Louis Argus, will be cited by the National Newspapers Publishers Association when that body holds its national convention in June of this year.

Jun 22-52

Mr. Mitchell, a former member of the NNPA's board of directors, was one of the three "deans of journalism" honored during the group's mid-winter workshop in Chicago in 1950. At that time, the group also paid tribute to Virginius Dabney, of Ohio; C. A. Franklin of the Kansas City Call; and P. B. Young, Sr., of the Norfolk Journal and Guide.

Over 100 delegates and visitors are expected for the June meeting here.

31 1952

Tri-State Defender (Memphia, Tennessee)

COMMITTEEMAN — L. O. Swingler, editor and publisher of the Tri-State Defender, Memphis, Tenn., was mentioned in Shifting Scenes, official magazine for the National Travelers Aid Association, as a member of the public relations committee of the local Travelers Aid. Mr. Swingler is a graduate of Nebraska University, second Negro student to finish from the School of Journalism.

31 1952

Times Picayune (New Orleans,Ia.)

Daily Snubs Own Writer—He's Negro!

NEW ORLEANS — (ANP) — The Rev. Henderson H. Dunn, a reporter for the Times-Picayune daily here, was ignored last week when employes serving more than twenty-five years were honored at a dinner at the Roosevelt Hotel.

The services of 151 workers, active and retired officers and employes were commended for the paper's buildup over the years. Dunn, who has covered church conferences, conventions and other events in connection with Negro assemblies, was not even given favorable mention.

Negro Reporter Ignored in New Orleans

NEW ORLEANS — (ANP) — The Rev. Henderson H. Dunn, a reporter for the Times-Picayune daily here, was ignored last week when employes serving more than 25 years were honored at a dinner at the Roosevelt hotel.

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Dunn, who has covered church conferences, conventions and other events in connection with Negro assemblies, was not even given favorable mention.

31 1952

Washington Post

Booker In D.C.

Simeon Booker, a former AFRO reporter, a Nieman Fellow at Harvard and a winner of a Wendell Willkie award for excellence in journalism, has joined the staff of the Washington Post, a daily. Previously, Booker, a schoolmaster, was on that staff.

Washington Post hires Negro writer

WASHINGTON, D. C.—First Negro newspaperman has been hired by the liberal Washington Post. He is Simeon S. Booker, Jr., 1950-51 Nieman fellow at Harvard university. Former political and court reporter for the Cleveland Call and Post, Nieman has been hired on the copy desk as a re-write man.

31 1952

White Newspapers with Negro News

PRIZE PRINTS OF THE YEAR

31

New Values Recognized In the Top Awards

By JACOB DESCHIN

AN abrupt reversal in contest judging standards, from the conventional hobby and "salon" approach to the high level of mature appraisal, marks the choice of awards in the 1952 Photography Magazine's $25,000 (in face value United States Defense Bonds) contest. The list of winners will be published in the December issue of the publication, out tomorrow. Drawing the record number of 73,297 entries from many parts of the world as against last year's total of 55,689, the magazine for the first time in its sixteen-year history gave first prize awards of $2,000 each to a "documentary" picture in both the black-and-white and color categories.

Top prize in the black-and-white class went to Leon Levinstein, Brooklyn layout artist, for a candid shot of a group of Negro youngsters watching a Harlem parade. The winner, who also took two other prizes, is represented by seven photographs in the permanent collection of the Museum of Modern Art. The first award in color went to Marine Sgt. Frank D. Praytor of Birmingham, Ala., now stationed in Tokyo with Stars and Stripes, for a color shot of a wounded marine being treated after participating in a patrol on Korea's Bunker Hill.

The other four top selections in each class were on a similar plane, thus reflecting unmistakably a definite improvement in editorial values. This change has been gradually made apparent during the past year and is pointed up most directly in the magazine's 1953 picture annual and in the contest results. In both cases the publication departs sharply from its former attitude toward photography as chiefly a hobby. It now recognizes photography's potentials as a medium of expression as well.

A Prize for Japan

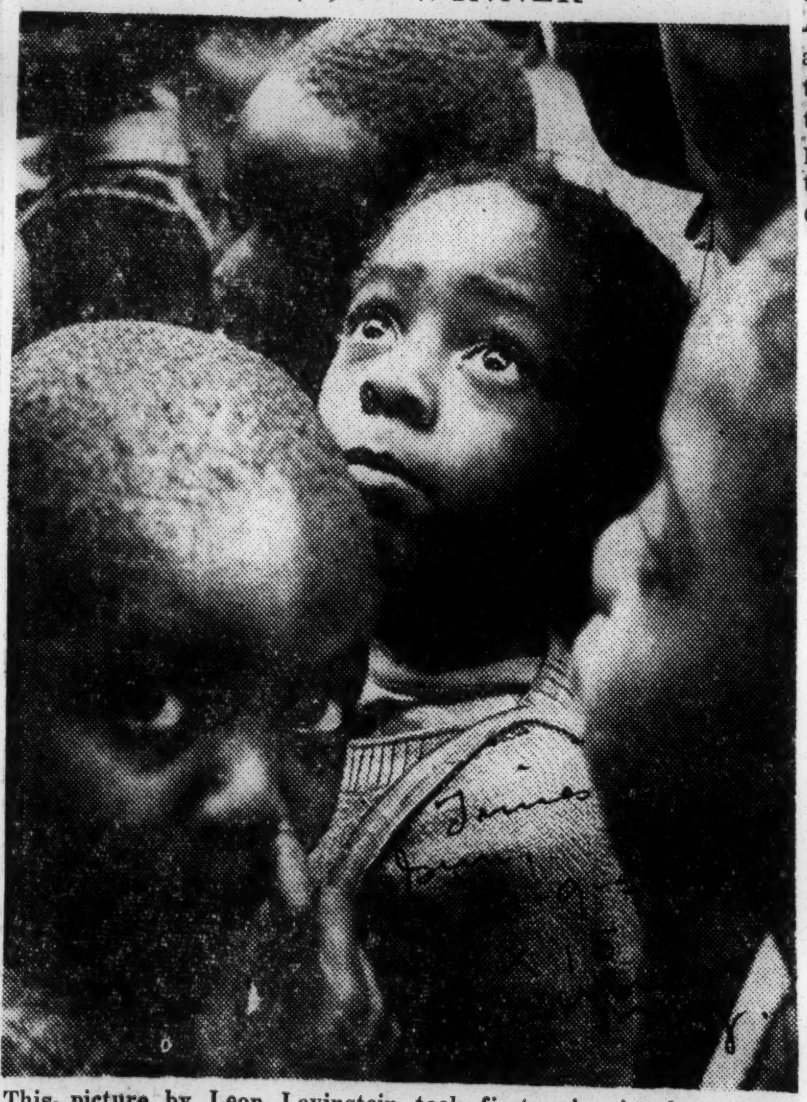
The second prize of a $1,000 bond in black-and-white and color went respectively to Yoneji Yuki, head of a brewery in Japan, for his portrait of a Japanese painter, and to Herbert Gottesman, color consultant for Camera Craft Stores, for his color studio portrait of a girl clad in a Spanish costume. The other three top bond awards of $750, $500 and $250 in black-and-white went respectively to Harry F. Tepker of Venice, Calif.; Quentin Keynes of New York, and Jack Fields of Loveland, Colo. Similar awards in color went respectively to Salvatore C. Valastro of Brooklyn, Joseph Costa of The Sunday Mirror Magazine and Jack Zehrt of The St. Louis Globe-Democrat Sunday Magazine.

One-third of the total awards, or $8,600 in bonds, were won by photographers in the metropolitan area—the five boroughs, Long Island and Westchester County. This section's fifty-five winners shared eighty-seven prizes out of the total of 280 which included five of the top honors. Other major metropolitan winners are Peter Basch, Richard Bruguiere, William J. Carter, Sam Falk, Walter Ian Fischman, Herbert Jerome Flatow, Howard A. Foote, Ormond A. Gigli, Fritz Henle, Charles O. Hinninger, Gita Lenz, Benn Mitchell, Louis Nemeth, Romeo Di Nubila, Ruth Orkin, Ernest E. Pascucci, Ernest Sisto and Bob Stubenrauch.

Tendencies in the contest as noted by the jury, which consisted of the magazine's editorial staff, included an improvement in the entries from Japan and Israel, and an increase in the number of color entries, particularly from abroad. The ages of the entrants ranged from 9 to 87 years old, their occupations from clerks and housewives to chemists and business executives.

Top winning prints will be placed on exhibition tomorrow for a month's run at Kodak Information Center behind the Colorama, East Balcony of Grand Central Station; in the street windows of International Business Machines, Madison Avenue and Fifty-seventh Street, and in a chain of shows throughout the country and in principal capitals of the world. Winners of top prizes will receive their awards at the opening ceremony at the Kodak Center at 5 P.M. tomorrow.

A $2,000 WINNER



This picture by Leon Levinstein took first prize in the $25,000 Photography Magazine 1952 contest, which drew over 73,000 entries.

31a 1952

National GRAPEVINE

The Great Awakening

The myth of Eisenhower the "Great Liberal" went up in smoke last week when Candidate Eisenhower made clear his position on race and what Negro Americans could expect the leadership to do toward assuring them basic Constitutional rights.

At Abilene, Kans., Ike stated his position on compulsory FEPC and by implication on poll tax abolition and protection against mob violence. His willingness to leave these basic issues to the whims and fancies of the States where often responsible state officials themselves are among the chief violators of civil rights, establishes Presidential hopeful Eisenhower as an avowed "State's Righter" thus making understandable the support he has received in several Southern States.

At New York Ike adroitly sidestepped the question of appointing a Negro of the caliber of Dr. Ralph Bunche to his cabinet, emerging Eisenhower the "white supremacist." In New York Eisenhower also said he didn't know what he'd do about the Senate's present unworkable cloture rule. He said he thought the Senate and House had been doing a good job of writing their own rules although he knows full well that the compromise cloture rule saddled on used to shut off filibusters and bring measures to a vote on their own merit. On cloture Eisenhower "The Reactionary" showed his true color. But when Eisenhower the former president of one of the nation's outstanding institutions of higher education said he didn't even know about the costly practice of maintaining racially segregated schools in the South, he proved himself to be either the nation's prize ignoramus or its biggest liar.

Yeah, Pal, we agree with Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing, Republican Presidential hopeful Dwight Eisenhower is just a plain elephantine reactionary who has surrendered to the Dixiecrats.

New Faces

Margaret Just Butcher, professor of English at Howard university, was sworn in the other day as member of the President's Advisory Committee on Civilian Defense filling the spot vacated by Mrs. Bethune who resigned early this year. Husband "Beany" Butcher also a staffer at Howard, and daughter Sheryl were on hand to witness the oath-taking.

Ensign Lawrence Chambers of Washington is the second Negro to weather the Naval Academy. He is the first to be commissioned a line officer making him eligible for a command position. Wesley Brown, who broke Annapolis' color line to be the first Negro Academy graduate, was on hand to see Chambers receive his commission.

Haiti's President Paul E. Magloire, supreme commander of the Republic's armed forces, has been promoted to major general. . . Dr. Joe Johnson and Charley Burbridge were hosts to more than 100 former Freedmen's Hospital interns and residents from 20 states attending the thirtieth annual Interns and Residents meeting of their Association.

Ralph Metcalfe will replace bossman John Sengstacke as alternate-at-large from the Illinois Democratic National Convention. Mr. Sengstacke stepped down because of paper policy. The 1936 record of the Democratic National convention lists Robert Vann, late publisher of the Pittsburg Courier, as a convention delegate. The paper has been consistently favorable to the Republican Party in recent years.

Stormy Weather

President Truman signed that bill this week giving the District Commissioners full control of the Recorder of Deeds office, including power to appoint the chief official. The bill has put the fear of unemployment in some of the employees' hearts, since it provides that all of those now drawing pay checks must take and pass non-competitive civil service examinations with in six months or hit the pavement.

Rub in this provision is that qualifications for the assigned job was not always the prime consideration in hirings in the past. And if you see some headturner in the area of the Deed's office practicing her sums, take no thought of the spectacle. She's just trying to put brains where glamour long since has kept her in three hots. (With Apologies to you DO Faithfuls)

Eight faculty members at "Sewanee" —seven of whom are Episcopal clergymen said they will resign unless a trustee board decision barring Negro students from the School of Theology was rescinded.

The eight served notice that they will continue to teach "under protest" until June, 1953 to give the trustees time to purge their souls. The delay is dictated by virtue of the fact that the trustees don't meet again until the end of the 1953 academic year.

Bishop Mitchell, chancellor of the University said the trustees made their ruling after receiving a legal ruling that the admission of Negroes might be a violation of Tennessee's race segregation law. Mygawdamighty! how long does it take to get word down to Sewanee that the Supreme Court brushed aside that segregation law when it ordered the University of Tennessee to admit Negro students. Or is there one code of lawbreaking for the State and another for private institutions.

National GRAPEVINE

Age Of Recognition

Year by year we've watched the Negro in America rise to new levels of political recognition in the Democratic Party under the astute guidance of Congressman Bill Dawson of Illinois. Often we've heard Dawson's leadership loudly criticized and his followers subjected to biting sarcasm by a few green-eyed pretenders to the throne we could name who disagree with Dawson's methods, but mainly oppose the Congressman because they can't make the political grade and thus are moved to compensating their own disappointment by grade-labeling his efforts.

Last Saturday, however, some 100 Negro Democrats from throughout the Nation gathered for a day long meeting in Washington's Statler hotel and heard their own political significance and Dawson's leadership raised to their proper level when Chairman Steve Mitchell of the Democratic National Committee addressed them. He stated in unequivocal terms what he considered to be the fine and indespensible relationship of Negro Democratic leaders to the entire Democratic Party leadership. But of even greater significance and assurance was the statement he made in clarifying Dawson's position as vice chairman of the National Democratic Committee.

He told the group that when Dawson made them any promises or statements or spoken it would be just the same as if the promises or statements were being made by himself or Governor Stevenson, the Democratic Party's standard-bearer. This sobering recognition of a Negro political leader is the most significant we've seen in our lifetime and oughta serve notice on would-be headline grabbers that it requires more than showmanship to qualify as a leader of men.

There's no denying that Dawson's strength lies in the rank and-file balance of power vote represented in the eligible voter group among nearly 16-million Negro Americans. The Illinois Congressman would be the first to admit this as he tries to give expression to their needs and rewards their loyalty and support to their country and the Democratic Party.

Fla 1952

Negro (Albert Barnett)

Albert BARNETT

Negro Farm Workers Rush North In Search Of 'The Promised Land'

"BLAME IT ON THE I. C.," has long been the jocular retort by many Northerners when asked to explain the continued migration of Negroes from the South to the industrial centers above the Mason and Dixon Line.

The Illinois Central, as the direct line through the Mississippi Valley, daily brings its quota of "refugees," fleeing to "the promised land," in search of economic, social and civic freedom.

But many have learned, to their sorrow, that the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow is but a snare and delusion, and that the transition from the farm to the skilled jobs of factory and industrial plants is no "nickel-in-the-slot" affair.

How great the migration north to the great plants of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and other states has been, is seen in a comparison of labor figures for 1940 and 1952. In 1940, about seven out of ten Negroes were engaged in farm, domestic and non-farm labor. At present, surveys indicate that only about three out of ten are engaged in these three forms of labor.

It's interesting to note that in 1940 more than one-third of all Negro workers were employed in agriculture, but that the World War II migration to industry reduced the number of workers on farms down to one in five. In the 1947-1952 period, observers declare the ratio is still lower.

During the same period (1947-1952), another noticeable employment drop was in the number of Negro women employed as domestics. Before World War II, more than 70 percent, not working on farms, were employed as domestics. At present, an estimated 20 to 25 percent of Negro women, not working on farms, are household employes. What are the others doing? They're working as cooks, waitresses, beauticians, hotel maids and in other service establishments.

What does this mass migration from the South to industrial centers of the North mean. We all know the answer. Ghetto districts, fire-trap kitchenettes, juvenile and adult delinquency, loose living, lowering of moral standards, children "born out of wedlock," dope, wine-heads and every form of crime, from tort to rape and murder.

Here's how a nationally known white newsman views the situation. He's Harding Carter, Pulitizer Prize-winning editor of the Greenville, Miss. Delta Democrat Times. In a current issue of Look Magazine, Carter writes an article in reply to another Look Magazine story, by Carl Rowan, noted Negro newsman. Rowan authored "How Far From Slavery," in which he penned pointed protest to the Negro's low status in the South.

White newsman Carter predicts that so many Negroes are leaving the South, that by 1960, half the Negro population in the U. S. may be living in Northern and Western states. He wants to know if the Northern cities are prepared to welcome these newcomers with adequate housing and schools for their children.

Carter asks: "Do the great cities of the North have carefully considered programs for integrating these bewildered, sometimes belligerent and generally unprepared strangers, so that they can be more complete citizens than they were in the South?"

The Greenville editor also states that no responsible Southerner can deny that the white South has deliberately imposed severe legal and extra-legal restrictions on the Negro as a citizen. But, he sees a hopeful sign in the changes that are coming about in the South's treatment of the Negro.

The "incident in Korea" has also caused a shortage of agricultural workers, of both races. Colonel Paul G. Armstrong, Illinois Selective Service Director, recently announced results of a national survey, which sought an answer to the question: "What are the major causes of farm labor shortages?" Here are the three main factors:

1. **Heavy migration of farm workers to industry.**
2. **Non-selective recruiting by the armed forces.**
3. **Inductions through Selective Service.**

To forestall further depletion of farm labor, Col. Armtsrong said that Selective Service National headquarters has proposed that immediate action be taken to check the allurement of manpower from the farms and establish an orderly system of withdrawal so that the necessary workers, of both races, may be retained on the farms of the nation.

Summarized, this means that all true Americans are interested in one thing—liberty and preserva-

End Of Barnett's Column

tion of the Union, whose Constitution guarantees equal rights and privileges to all. It's a long, lonely road, but all must travel it, remembering the words of the great Colton:

"Liberty will not descend to the people; a people must raise themselves to liberty; it is a blessing that MUST BE EARNED before IT CAN BE ENJOYED."

Albert BARNETT

U. S. Celebrates Its Independence; South Africa Still Longs For It

GLOBAL NEWS REPORTS over the July 4th holiday weekend left much to be desired in the field of race relations and world peace.

In the Union of South Africa, dispatches from Johannesburg report tension rising as the Union's blacks, mulattoes and Indians pressed their non-violent disobedience campaign against the 'white supremacy" edicts of Prime Minister Daniel Malan.

The situation would be ludicrous if it were not so serious and fraught with danger. Stated briefly, the two-and-a-half million "whites" or Europeans are exploiting and taking advantage of 10 million non-whites. There are social, political and economic considerations involved, each of the three being related to the other.

There are two leaders of the disobedience movement, both of whom have been jailed—Nelson Bandela, Negro chief of the African National Congress and Yussif A. Cachalia, secretary of the campaign and a former follower of Ghandi, revered leader of the Indian people. According to these two stalwarts, more than 10,000 non-whites stand ready to break Malan's segregation laws and go to jail in a Union-wide protest against the vicious system.

South African police thought that by arresting Bendala and Cachalia they would break up the resistance movement, but the non-whites know otherwise. The leaders shouted: Give us six months and we will have 200,000 volunteers ready to go to jail. Eventual goal of the campaign is to fill the nation's jails to overflowing and thus draw world-wide attention to their plight.

Strategy of the passive belligerents is to be arrested for a minor offense and be jailed for 14 days. Malan wants them held for a more serious charge—conspiracy against the government, thus imprisoned for longer terms. Police say the non-whites have not broken any laws, but have "aided and abetted" persons to commit crimes.

Here's how the non-conformists aid and abet." Natives are supposed to abide by the curfew law, must have passes to remain in the streets after 9 p.m. So, they stay out until late at night and tell police they have "forgotten their passes." Whereupon they are jailed.

Women also play their part. Two were arrested, along with 28 male natives when they walked nonchalantly into a "white" rail road station. All were taken to the hoosegow. In another instance 50 natives and Indians riding in autos had themselves arrested for minor traffic violations.

In the mining town of Boksburg, natives serenade prisoners on the way to court by singing the national anthem of the Bantu tribe.

While the situation is tense, to date, there has been no reported violence, and the "belligerents" are scheduled to go to trial on July 11. One of the prisoners released was young Okamae Ojikibu, 19 years old, alert and active, with the gleam of determination in his eyes.

An inquiring American reporter overtook Okamae as he was about to enter his "restricted district," and asked the young native to give him all phases of the program, the master minds behind it, the manner of approach, the follow thru and what recourse they had, should the non-resistance campaign be a flop. Okamae, both vocal and enthusiastic, replied in good English:

"We respect our elders and are guided by their sage wisdom and advice. We believe in the statement "Old men for counsel, young men for war," even though the resistance is passive. As for our youth, we just don't give a darn about this Malan "white supremacy" idea and we're going to hew close to the line and let the quips fall where they may. That was the American Stephen Decatur who said that, I'm sure.

"And again, we're like the Arkansas Negro tenant farmer who wanted to sell a mule to a white owner of a neighboring farm for $50. The mule was brought out into the field, apparently healthy and in good shape. Suddenly the white man grabbed a stick and struck the mule a sharp blow on the rump. The mule leaped forward at full speed — and ran smack-jam into a big tree, trembling from head to foot.

"The white farmer shouted: 'Josh, I oughta have you put in jail for this! That mule is blind.' "But Josh shot back: 'No, Boss, don't give a damn.' "

Albert BARNETT

Britishers Say 'End Color Bar;' Writer Hits African 'Jim Crow'

TWO NEWS ITEMS OF GREAT INTEREST to liberty-loving people of all races were relayed to the United States, last week, by way of Great Britain, both items appearing in THE OBSERVER, London daily, established in 1791.

Item No. 1 was a "squib" headed "End Colour Bar," and stated: "The Liberal Party Council, at its recent quarterly meeting in London, passed a resolution urging the Government to use its influence to try to end the COLOUR BAR within Great Britain and the Commonwealth.

"The Council also passed a resolution, moved by Frank Byers, defining discipline within the Liberal Party. After restating the individual rights of Liberals, the motion declared that those members who became Party candidates or officers should not publicly oppose policies approved by the party's major councils."

The last resolution, of course, means that should the Council petition the Government to end Jim Crow and segregation in the Union of South Africa, for instance, the Party candidates MUST SUPPORT and NOT OPPOSE IT. The resolution in the final analysis may fall short of the mark, but at any rate it's a step in the right direction.

Item No. 2 has the punch of a miniature verbal atom bomb. With a JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, date line, the article also published in the LONDON OBSERVER, is authored by Peter Abrahams, native of the Bantu Tribe, that powerful segment of African population, living south of the Sahara Desert. His piece is titled "African Documentary: Degrees of Degradation."

In his opening paragraph, Author Abrahams refers to "Apartheid" (literally meaning keep them apart), which is the real motive behind the South African Group Areas legislation, sponsored, aided and abetted by South Africa's Prime Minister, Daniel Malan.

APARTHEID means keep Europeans (white), coloured (mulattoes) and natives (blacks,) separate and apart, into communities where each will be a complete unit within itself—with no aid, political, economic or social from the other. And, remember Malan wants all non-white groups separates from the whites, (Europeans).

Now comes Author Abrahams, the Bantu, who points up a "Jim Crow Apartheid," among the non-whites, Malan's strategy to keep them fighting among themselves and thus aid the cause of "white supremacy."

Explaining all this, Peter Abrahams, speaks:

"The Government, like all its predecessors, has encouraged racial division among the three main non-white groups. So successful has this been, that the Coloured, with "the privilege of white blood in his veins, as Hertzog once put it, looks down on the Indian and African; the Indian, from his superior history of "an ancient civilization" looks down on both Coloured and African; and the African (native), in turn, looks down on the Indian as a "foreign Coolie" and on the Coloured as a "bastard half-breed."

So, you see, even in Africa, with the darker races fighting for a living wage and a chance to live in accordance with modern standards, they have a "schism" within the ranks, and all the time playing into the hands of the Premier who wants to see the non-whites 'feudin' among themselves.' "

Showing the unjust apportionment of land, Abrahams points out that the non-whites constitute more than 79 percent of the total population, but are allotted only 13 PERCENT OF THE LAND. Here's the breakdown: of the total land area of the Union of South Africa, excluding South West Africa, 87 percent is reserved FOR WHITES ONLY. There 2,616,000 white people; 323,000 Indians; 1,030,000 Coloureds and 8,347,000 Africans. The Coloureds are, of course, mulattoes.

And here's how the non-whites work and live, according to Abrahams. "Today, the Indians form the bulk of the inhabitants of slums of the towns and cities of Natal. They are the waiters, street sweepers and casual laborers of Durban; they are the inhabitants of the notorious Cato Manor slums, where up to a dozen people sleep in the same room.

"Some 70,000 work in the Natal sugar industry. Average monthly wage for a field worker on the sugar estates is between $9.60 and $14.40. This is supplemented with a free ration of food and oil. . . Some of the sugar estates are owned by Indians and conditions of field workers on these plantations are no better than on the estates owned by whites. It is not surprising that South Africa can produce a ton of cane sugar more cheaply than any other country in the world.

"Values of the Coloured are exclusively European. Like the whites, he places a high value on skin pigmentation, straight hair and regular 'European' features. Among the upper social levels prejudice against the African is quite as sharp as it is among the whites. . .A section of the Coloureds, the skilled tradesmen, still enjoy a standard of living comparable to that of the poore whites.

"They are to be found in their most degraded state in the Cape Valley. Here workers are paid an average of 84 cents a day and a 'tot' of wine per day. This 'tot' system has gone on for generations and has produced a breed of Coloureds who are wine adicts, people who are never sober, who work only till it is time for the next 'tot'. . .It is a system that is deliberately and systematically degrading."

Albert BARNETT

Ethiopia And Eritrea Unite As Locust Swarms Peril Countries

ETHIOPIA, ONLY REMAINING ABSOLUTE MONARCH IN THE WORLD, made news again last week when Eritrea—former Italian colony—was made an "autonomous unit federated with Ethiopia."

The 58-member Eritrean Assembly, equally divided between Moslems and Christians, approved the 100-article constitution and passed it on to Emperor Haile Selassie for ratification.

The coalition is considered of great importance because of Eritrea's strategic position and its close kinship by race, religion and culture, to historic Ethiopia, whose royal family claims descent from the Queen of Sheba and from the great Menelek, son of King Solomon.

The mailed fist of Mussolini brought gloom to the land of Selassie in 1935, when Italian troops invaded the country, and Addis Ababa, seat of government, fell the following year. The Emperor fled to England and the Italians welded Ethiopia, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland into the colony of Italian West Africa. But World War II brought liberation to Ethiopia, which became the first of the Axis-occupied nations to be retaken by the Allies, the Italians surrendering to British and Ethiopian troops in 1941.

This year Addis Ababa marked the historic event on May 5, when a cheering populace and roaring cannons at daybreak ushered in the 11th anniversary celebration of the country's liberation from Italian occupation and the return of Emperor Selassie to his throne.

Eritrea has a 670 mile coastline along the Red Sea, its main seaport being Massawa, connected with the capital, Asmara, by a 75-mile railroad. The country's one million population held a day of prayer, feasting and thanksgiving following the decision of its assembly to unite with Ethiopia.

Eritrea exports coffee and salt, also raises barley, tobaccao and sesame—whose seeds yield oil and are used as food. The pearl industry is another important source of income for the nation which boasts some of the world's best swimmers and divers. The most valuable gems are found in the pearl-oyster, some even finding their way to Continental and American dining rooms, to the delight and profit of the lucky patron.

But Ethiopia's May celebration was dimmed by a return of the locust plague — those over-sized grass-hoppers numbering millions which threatened to do to the country what Mussolini couldn't. A confirmed report from Selassieland stated that a dense locust swarm covered an area four by two miles destroying everything in its path, and settled down in the southern outskirts of Addis Ababa. Their weight bent the branches of the trees.

The report also stated that the menace was placing one-quarter of the world's food supply in peril. Last October, after a determined effort, it was confined to the Somalilands and adjoining areas of Ethiopia and Northern Kenya.

At the close of 1951, however there was heavy breeding of the pests and control operations were retarded by heavy rains and by the opposition of some nomadic tribes to the use of poison bait.

Swarms were soon moving over Ethiopia and southern Eritrea, crossing the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden into Arabia and across its deserts. Iraq and Persia were then invaded and in the following two months, swams spread over Arabia into Jordan. Persia the infestation spread to the country's eastern frontiers.

In four months the locusts travelled nearly 4,000 miles. By the latter part of May it had become the worst plague in 100 years and planes were killing the pests by the millions. On the ground transport problems handicapped workers, and in some districts sheiks prevented the use of arsenic in killing the locusts because they thought their cattle and sheep would be affected.

Government officials said probable breeding ground of the insects was in the desert areas and until it is located the world's food supply will be liable to periodic damage.

Americans, of course, know little of the havoc done by these giant grass-hoppers. What few we have, especially in the Northern states, do their 'hopping' in the Summer, fade out with the first frost.

Authorities on the subject say that distances traveled by locust swarms are at times, incredible. In 1869 they invaded England and were believed part of a swarm that originated on the west coast of Africa. Other swarms, having the ominous appearance of thunder clouds, have been noted 1,200 miles out at sea. One which crossed the Red Sea in 1889, was estimated to be about 2,000 square miles in extent.

Some idea of the vast numbers composing these swarms may be gathered from the fact that in Cyprus, in 1881, officials reports state that 1,300 tons of locus eggs alone were destroyed. The amazing speed with which locusts propagate and multiply is one of the mysteries of nature, yet to be explained. Smug individuals are irked when caught in a sudden torrential rain. How would they feel, if caught in a cascade of locusts?

31a 1952

Negro(Albert Barnett)

Alvera BARNETT

Migration Of Workers Improves Race Relations, North And South

ONE OF THE ADVANTAGES GAINED by the mass migration of the industrial centers north of the the industrial centers orth of the Mason-Dixon Line, is a marked improvement in race relations and better treatment of the non-whites who stay at home.

Chicago, Gary, Ind., Detroit, Pittsburgh and other manufacturing centers adjacent to New York City have had their populations swelled by the great influx of workers who have deserted Dixie farms, rural communities and even larger cities, lured by the prospect of higher wages, better living conditions and the attainment of 'civil rights.'

But the cities mentioned and other centers which have absorbed the influx,' have had their own local problems increased, such as inadequate housing, increased crime rates, juvenile delinquency, disillusioned, shattered homes, and racial conflicts. That, of course, is a story within itself, but it constitutes a problem that challenges the best efforts of national, state and local social and welfare agencies.

Between the years 1940 and 1947, great masses of Negro workers invaded the North to take advantage of the high wages offered by war plants and allied industries engaged in production of materials to the defense effort.

It is estimated that nearly 3 million non-whites migrated during that seven year period, more than one million deserted farm areas of the South. Favorite city of the migrants was the greater Chicago area, which sprawls out and includes Gary, Ind., Steel Center of the World, less than an hour's ride by interurban from Chicago's loop district.

The Negro population of the Greater Chicago area is now estimated at 500,000 and so great has been the pressure on housing facilities that Chicago's long-famed Black Belt is now a thing of the past. The so-called 'ghetto' has spread out and Negroes now have homes from the Edgewater district on the North to Morgan Park and the Altgeld Gardens on the South; on the near and far west sides (except Cicero) to the Lake on the East. As a result of Negroes moving into these former 'restricted' areas, race relations have improved greatly.

Frayser T. Lane, head of the public education department, Chicago Urban League, is familiar with social and economic conditions in this great Metropolis of the West and he has done a commendable job helping migrants adjust themselves to the Northern way of life. Lane shares the view that conditions are improving in the Southland. He writes this Column as follows:

"In the next decade, Chicago, may see a slight decrease in the number of Negroes from the South who migrate here. This projection may be made on the basis of several factors. Of great importance is the change in race relations in the South as citizens from the South will not be encouraged to come. During the last war, the West Coast got many of the migrants who may have come North to Chicago.

Migration from the South has had a definite effect on the improvement of race relations below the Mason - Dixon Line. States which contributed most of the Negroes to Chicago are Mississippi, Arkansas, Lousiana, Tennessee and Oklahoma. Of all these, Mississippi had the worst reputation. One of the reasons being the fact that in 1920, there were 82,222 more Negroes in the state than whites. However, the 1930 and 1940 census figures show that the white population exceeded the non-white. The 1950 census will of course, increase the margin. This numerical advantage of white over non-white has a tendency to ease the tension.

Date. 11-22-52

While the Negro population of Illinois has practically doubled each census period since 1920—for which two European wars were the dynamic impetus—we can safely predict that this pattern will change unless another war in Europe arrives very soon."

So, opines Mr. Lane. It all makes interesting reading as it deals with one of the greatest social problems of modern times. It was the great Norweigan, Nansen, who said:

"Social problems can no longer be solved by class warfare any more than international problems be solved by wars between nations. Warfare is negative and will be indicated by the improvement in educational facilities, equalization of teachers' salaries, the reduction of lynching and the lifting of voting restrictions. Industrialization of the South will have its influence on checking migration.

"Also, the kind of publicity Chicago has received in the matter of the treatment of non-whites in the past 10 years, makes it an undesirable haven for displaced dark people from the South.

"Negro migration to Chicago received its impetus during World War I, which stopped European migration. The Negroes were needed to fill places in industry. World War II was repetition of the patvolves Europeans, there will be tern. Unless World War III inenough DP's here to fill the need for industry, and the native-born Negro sooner or later lead to destruction, while goodwill and cothe only safe basis for building operation are positive and supply a better future."

Albert BARNETT

At Last, Here's The Real Low-Down On Negro Principals In Chicago Schools

TITLED "EDUCATION IS BIG BUSINESS," the annual report (for 1951 - 1952), of Herold C. Hunt, general superintendent of Chicago Public Schools is both interesting and informative.

In February, 1952, there were 416,686 pupils enrolled — from kindergarten through college. In the grade schools, nearly 12,000 more were enrolled in 1952, than the previous year. So, for the 1952-1953 school year the enrollment might reach the 430,000 mark.

To defray cost of operating this immense system, the sum of $140,292,720 has been ear-marked for the current year.

There are 414 school buildings and 47 regular branches in the Chicago system.

To adequately care for the city's great school army at primary, secondary and college levels — requires the services of more than 21,000 people — 14,000 teachers, seven thousand non-teaching personnel. Requirements for all personnel are exacting; employes must be well qualified and trained. A grade school teacher must have at least a bachelor's degree; a high school teacher, a master's and both must pass oral and written examinations.

In the light of the foregoing, the question might well be asked: "To what extent have qualified Negro teachers and non-teaching personnel been integrated into the Chicago school system?" The answer, of course, is that integration has been neglible and not in proportion to their population strength.

For instance, Chicago's Negro population — now estimated at nearly 500,000 is about 15 percent of the city's total. That same proportion holding, of the 430,000 school children — at all levels — about 64,500 are Negroes. That proportion still holding, of the city's paid employes, 15 percent, or 3,150 should be Negroes. Now you ask: "Are there 3,150 Negro teachers and non-teachers in the school system?" The answer is an emphatic "No." If skeptical, you might make an independent survey and see for yourself.

Here's a list of schools having Negro pupils. Add to it if you know of any more: ELEMENTARY Schools: Abbott, (Wentworth Gardens); Altgeld. Burke Carter, Doolittle, Ida Wells Branch of Doolittle; Douglas, Drake, Farren, Felsenthal, Forestville, Fuller, Gillespie, Gillespie Branch; Hartigan, Haven, Horner, Keith, McCosh, Medill, Oakenwald, Oakland, Phillips, Raymond, Sexton, Shoop, Ward, Webster and Willard.

High Schools: Carver, Crane Technical, DuSable, Englewood, Fenger, Flower Technical; Hyde Park, Parker, Phillips, Tilden Technical. Vocational Schools: Dunbar Trade, Jones Commercial, Washburne Trade and Manley Trade.

College: Chicago Teachers' college; Schurz Branch of Chicago Teachers' college; Junior colleges: Herzl Branch, Wilson Branch and Wright Branch.

Of Chicago's 50 high schools we've had only two NEGRO PRINCIPALS — Mrs. Maudelle Bousfield, of Wendell Phillips, now retired, and Mrs. Virginia Lewis who succeeded her, and who is still in office. Be thankful, you say? But you might also ask "Why haven't we got a Negro principal at DuSable — largest all-Negro high school in Chicago and one of the largest in the country?"

There are 381 elementary schools in Chicago, a principal, of course, in each one. Getting back to figures, if Negroes had a 15 percent differential, we'd have about 56 principals in grade schools. Or, even at 10 percent, we'd have 38. Do you know how many Negro elementary school principals there are in Chicago? Exactly FIVE, And here's the list:

Robert Lewis — Daniel H. Williams School; Louise Daugherty — Burke School; Ann Harmon, — Ross School; Thelma Gray — Keith School; Antonia M. Thomas — Haynes School.

At Dunbar Trade School, Clifford Campbell and his aides are doing an effective job directing the vocational training of Chicago's practical-minded youth. However, Campbell is listed as Director of Dunbar, but his duties are strikingly similar to those of a Principal. Artisans and skilled trades are developed at Dunbar and many grads are now holding responsible jobs throughout the city.

You might well ask the question: "What's wrong with a public school system that has ONE ONE Negro High School principal in a total of 50 schools and ONE FIVE elementary school principals in a total of 381 schools.

Negroes pay their quota of taxes that defray expenses of the Chicago school system — and then are elbowed out of the picture when it comes to getting some of the better jobs. What's the answer? NEGROES ARE TOO DOCILE. They should stop GRABBING CRUMBS that drop from the TABLE and get in ON THE FULL MEAL

Albert BARNETT

Defender Home Service Exposition Reveals Negro's Purchasing Power

CHICAGO'S MERCHANTS, business men, industrialists and distributors—both wholesale and retail, paid tribute to the Negro's purchasing power this week at the record-breaking CHICAGO DEFENDER's Annual Home Service Exposition and Food Show, held Oct. 7-11, at Parkway Bowl, 63rd and South Parkway.

Nearly 100 booths, colorfully decorated and artistically planned, placed special emphasis on the all-important trinity of life—food, clothing and shelter. Exhibitors and lecturers pointed up the fact that the 500,000 Negro residents of Chicagoland each year spend more than 150 million dollars for food; 115 million for clothing; 40 million for liquors and tobacco; 5 million for autos; and estimated 2 million for new home construction and another 1 million for sports and amusements. One contractor, handling building supplies, said that in one section, the West Chesterfield area, 20 new homes are under construction or were recently built at an approximate cost of $400,000.

Among building contractors an outstanding exhibit was that of the Means Brothers company of Gary, Ind. headed by Andrew Means, nationally known contractor who has built more than 500 low-cost homes in the Gary area, now has under construction 200 homes in the new Park Manor section of the Steel City. Motion pictures of the project were shown and it was explained that many Chicagoans were buying the Means homes in Gary and commuting back and forth, while holding their jobs in Chicago.

More than 1,000 valuable prizes were given away during the four-day exposition, many of them household furniture and various appliances designed to lighten the burden of housewives. In addition 100 families were made happy each day of the big show when given market bags of groceries and other foodstuffs.

Samples of various types of food were given free by many exhibitors, a popular tid-bit being finger-sized red hots, handed the visitors by a comely maiden representing a meat firm. Among the attractive, specially decorated booths noted in the big Parkway Bowl concourse, were those of the Quaker Oats company, Robinson's Loop department store; Hawthorne Mellody milk firm; Peoples Gas Co.; Gold Medal Flour; Leo Rose, clothing merchants: Fleischmanns Liquors; Coca Cola company; Lincoln Bedding company and many others.

Arrangements for the big festival were headed by CHICAGO DEFENDER officials, under the supervision of John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher and more than 80,000 persons, children and adults attended the four-day fete.

In addition to the countless lectures and food exhibits, showing housewives how to cut down on budget and still 'keep peace in the family,' the Home Service Exposition took on the air of a Harvest Home Festival with the hundred or more exhibitors and concessionaires joining in entertaining the thousands who attended daily

However, despite the gay and festive air that prevaded throughout the exposition, definite interest was shown in those basic factors affecting present day food prices. One of the booths explaining preparation of the cheaper cuts of meat, was popular with housewives and notably among the younger matrons.

The various grades of beef were explained in detail—Prime, Choice and the third and fourth grades, and housewives also learned that Beef having a soft, yellow suet, comes from cattle fed with soy beans and is of inferior grade. Beef having a firm, white suet, comes from grazed, or corn-fed cattle, which, when slaughtered, give those choice, toothsome T-Bones and Porterhouse steaks.

During one of the meat lectures a matron in her early thirties and mother of four children, spoke up, saying she would like to tell of her success in making a palatable dish of the cheaper cuts of either Prime or Choice beef.

She told her hearers: "Here's my simple recipe. With six in my family I get a Chuck or Pot Roast of Choice Beef, rub it lightly with garlic, salt, pepper and paprika, then brown it in bacon drippings, on the bottom shelf of my pressure cooker. When thoroughly browned, I put on the top and let it cook until tender and well done.

"I then place the roast on a platter and make my 'home-style' sauce with the gravy base left in the cooker. I dice, very small, a celery stalk, green pepper and a medium-sized carrot. To this I add a half-cup of golden-bantam corn and a half-cup of the smallest, tender peas. A dash of Worchestershire sauce and Tabasco adds a low flame, until the essence of the vegetables all through the meat flavor. I place these in the pressure cooker with just enough palatable, low-cost recipe, she reveals how she had thought up such a gredients in order to thicken with either whipped potatoes or rice, it makes a delicious dish, and will give at least one—sometimes two, repeat servings."

Asked by the food demonstrator, and then thickening to give it the desired consistency.

"I place the roast back in the sauce and let it Saute' under a flour to give

"I put on the top and let it cook and then

cooker and

Pat 3-11-52

Albert
BARNETT

Negro Waiters Now Accepted As Members By Geneva Society

ORCHID OF THE WEEK goes to Elmer A. Carter, chief of New York State Commission Against Discrimination for his great victory in having Negro waiters admitted to membership in the International Geneva association.

Long the bug-bear of the hotel and cafe business, the Geneva Society, as it is popularly termed, was founded about 1877 in Geneva, Switzerland, and its first rule was exclude Negroes from membership.'

The 'exclusive' Society is composed of waiters, waiter captains, head waiters, chefs and hotel and restaurant managers. Most department heads work from the ranks.

The decision of the Society to admit Negroes came after more than a year of conferences between Geneva officials and Commissioner Carter and constituted the first important break in the exclusive 'white' employment pattern in the service departments of leading hotels and restaurants.

How powerful Geneva Society has been in the past is seen in the pledge taken by every new member, that wherever possible, he'll make room for another Geneva member. This pledge alone has for years kept many competent Negro waiters from working in fashionable hotels and cafes. In addition, by crafty and insidious methods, Geneva has caused the dismissal of whole crews of Negro waiters and had them replaced by whites, many of whom could hardly speak English.

The determination of Geneva officials to bar Negroes from membership proved a boomerang, however, because they apparently forgot that ALL NEGROES ARE NOT DARK. Result was that one blonde, fair-skinned member of the race who was a skilled waiter, joined Geneva and learned the intricacies of their famed French service.

French table waiting service is the highest form of the waiters' art as featured in top ranking hotels and cafes in the metropolitan centers of America. Eating places of the second and third class — although the food may be tasty and palatable — use platter or plate service which is popular with patrons because it is fast and economical.

But a la carte meals, with French service, are leisurely, formal affairs, with many diners garbed in evening dress and hosts garbed in evening dress and hotss expecting expert, personal attention. A party of six, for instance, ordering ala carte, with cocktails, appetisers, soup, a fish course, Chateau Briand for the main course, a salad, a dessert of Bombe Alaska, topped off with demi-tasse and Pousse Cafe, will require the service of at least one waiter and a bus boy. The latter's function is to assist the waiter in clearing of the table between courses and be the 'leg man,' while the waiter remains at the table to cater to immediate needs of his party.

This is the type of table service perfected by the Geneva Society and which throughout the years was a secret to Negro waiters until they learned the 'know-how' from a 'Blonde' member of the race,

And here's how it works: The typical party of six has been seated by the head waiter, who generally gets a 'fin' ($5.00 to the uninitiated) — for showing them their ringside tables in the very center of dining room activities. Then the waiter captain takes over. He seats members of the party, then waves to the waiter to start service. After the customary Manhattan, Martini or other cocktail, the food cocktail — fruit, shrimp, lobster, etc., is served. Then the soup and fish courses are served. Meanwhile, Italian Olives, celery, stuffed with Roquefort cheese dressing and Pearl Onions have been passed to the guests, who now are ready for the main meat course — the Chateau Briand.

The Chateau Briand is a double Filet Mignon, broiled about 30 minutes and topped with a rasher of bacon and a large, fresh mushroom. It's an Epicurean's sidelight and you can cut the meat with your fork. The waiter places HOT PLATES, empty before each guest, warning them not to touch them. He then uncovers a large silver platter containing the Chateau Briands, shows them to the host, who nods approval. Then, with fork and spoon he serves each guest, his bus boy following with the potatoes and vegetables.

Secret of French service is that the waiter's hands never touch the patron's food. And the 'lily-white' founders of the Geneva Society never realized that black hands, serving food, can be just as expert as white. And what Geneva is now learning, is that DEMOCRATIC AMERICA wants service, and DEMANDS IT, without reference to race or national origin. Understanding and mutual cooperation always spell progress. An expert waiter shares his knowledge with his fellow worker. It increases the earning capacity of both.

Albert
BARNETT

14 Negro Banks In Nation; 13 Below Mason-Dixon Line

NEGRO BANKS OF AMERICA ARE IN A HEALTHY CONDITION, it was revealed last week, with release of the eighth annual report by the U. S. Department of Commerce, under supervision of Emmer M. Lancaster, the Department's adviser on Negro Affairs.

The Lancaster report shows that Negroes reached a new high level last year of more than 35 million dollars. This represents a notable increase from 1940, when the 12 banks then in operation had assets of 7 and 1-2 million dollars.

Here are the 14 high-ranking Negro banks: Citizens Trust co., Atlanta; Citizens Savings Bank and Trust co., Nashville; Industrial Bank of Washington, D. C.; Danville Savings Bank and Trust co., Danville, Va.; Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.; Farmers State Bank, Boley, Okla.; Consolidated Bank and Trust co., Richmond, Va.; Crown Savings Bank, Newport News, Va.; Fraternal Bank and Trust co., Fort Worth, Texas; Victory Savings, Columbia, S. C.; Tri-State Bank, Memphis; Douglass State Bank, Kansas City, Kan., and Carver Savings Bank, Savannah, Ga.

A remarkable feature of the report shows that of the 14 Negro-owned banks, all, except one, are below the Mason-Dixon Line. The one exception is the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust co., of Philadelphia. And even that institution has Southern in its name.

It is estimated that if the rate of increase from 1940 to 1950 holds up for the period 1950 to 1960, total assets of our banks will plummet to 65 million dollars.

Loans and Discounts accounted for most of the increase since 1940 when the 12 banks reported about 3 million. Loans and Discounts for the 14 banks in 1951, exceeded 13 and 1-2 million dollars. The press release on the Lancaster report was sent out by William A. Occomy and stated significantly:

"It is an encouraging sign to note that loans and discounts have shown a steady increase. Loans represent the principal source of income for most banking institutions and this increase points toward the conclusion that a larger volume of capital is available for loans. Too, it indicates that there is greater activity in the banks, that capital is circulating at an accelerated velocity and that the number of transactions, more numerous.

"The unusual increase in deposits from 6 million to 32 million dollars is indicative that there is a rise in the confidence that persons have in colored banking institutions."

Hearing of the report on Negro banks, many Chicagoans noted with regret that the Windy City was not represented, for it was in Chicago that the FIRST NEGRO NATIONAL BANK was founded. It was the Douglass National Bank, headed by Anthony Overton and his chief aides: Arthur J. Wilson, Theodore Roane, Alderman Robert R. Jackson, State Rep. George Kersey, Dr. L. K. Williams, pastor of Olivet Baptist church and the then president of the National Baptist Convention, Inc., John W. Lusk and Atty. S. A. T. Watkins.

When the picture of Anthony Overton appeared on a Five-Dollar Bill, it marked the first time that a Negro face had been printed on U.S. currency and immediately the bills bacame collectors' tems. Business and professional men and women, waiters, porters and other workers as well as housewives turned in other currency for the Douglass National Bank bills and displayed them proudly to their families and friends. The bank deal was consummated when Overton and his staff deposited $220,000 with the Continental National Bank in Chicago at 208 South LaSalle st.

But Chicago's Douglass National 'folded' in 1931, amid tears and curses by the thousands of depositors, many of whom lost their life savings. It, too, was caught in the back-wash of the great stock market and financial crash

Earlier, in July, 1930, Chicago's first Negro State banking institution the Binga State Bank at 35th and State sts., — 'folded,' when State Auditor Oscar Nelson closed the doors for examination of the bank's books. Jesse Binga, real estate operator, was president. Carroll N. Langston was cashier and Inez Canty, auditor.

A decline in real estate values, couple with the general business depression that followed the stock market crash of 1929, was given as the cause of the Binga Bank failure.

In his last days, Jesse Binga, shunned, discredited and almost penniless, doubtless recalled the words of the great Dykes:

"It is our own past which has made us what we are. We are the children of our own deeds. Conduct has created character; acts have grown into habits; each year has pressed into us a deeper moral print; the lives we have led have left us such as we are today."

Albert
BARNETT

South Africa --- 'Home Of The Brave,' But Not The 'Home Of The Free'

The Global spotlight last week centered on Africa—on the Union of South Africa, on South West Africa and on the West Coast Republic of Liberia.

In Paris, at the United Nations meeting, a plea was made for universal human rights when a special UN committee condemned South Africa for discrimination against natives and persons of Indian origin.

By a vote of 42 to 2, the committee adopted a resolution calling for suspension of South Africa's group areas act which segregates the native peoples of South Africa.

The United States withheld endorsement of certain parts of the resolution, but voted for it as a whole, and thereby evoked criticism by some delegates who held that the U. S. violated the UN Charter by interfering with matters wholly under the domestic jurisdiction of a state.

The resolution refers to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN Assembly in 1948, and implies that South Africa's segregation legislation is invalid because it contravenes the human rights resolution.

Kolli S. Tamba of Liberia stated that Britain was morally obligated to defend the rights of Indians in South Africa, as the ancestors of Indian Nationals were persuaded by the British government of South Africa to go there and were promised 'treatment on terms of equality with other British subjects.' He said that millions of native Africans and 300,000 persons of Indian origin are victims of the segregation policy.

How bitter the feeling is against African natives was recently shown when the Union vented its wrath against a British missionary who made bold to champion the rights of several South West African tribes before the United Nations meeting in Paris.

The churchman, the Rev. Michael Scott, has been, since, 1946, the spokesman in the United Nations of the tribal chiefs who oppose annexation of South West Africa by the Union government.

By a recent ruling of the International Court of Justice, South West Africa still has international status as a former League of Nations mandate and cannot be legally absorbed by unilateral action.

In Pretoria, Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan, Jim Crow advocate and inveterate native-baiter, said that segregation of the tribes in reserves was vital to protect them 'against the United Nations.' He also described Rev. Scott as 'a well-known hostile and fanatical foreigner and agitator.'

What really got under the prime minister's skin was the invitation to attend the UN meetings, extended by the Trusteeship Committee to the tribal chiefs represented by Rev. Scott. And the blow-off came when the Paris UN Committee asked Pretoria 'to facilitate the chiefs' travel.'

In a rage, Race-baiter Malan ordered his delegation to walk out of the Committee and out of the United Nations plenary meetings. No visas were given the African chiefs so they had to stay home. But they were ably represented by the doughty Rev. Scott. So much so, that Rev. Scott soon received a letter from Pretoria in which the secretary of the interior of South Africa informed the missionary that in future he would be barred from that country.

With great pomp and ceremony, the festivities attended by diplomats of world repute, the Republic of Liberia last week installed William V. S. Tubman for his second term as the nation's president. Will[illegible] R. Tolbert Jr., also took [illegible] ice president. [illegible] been recorded [illegible] e 1816, when the [illegible] tion Society, by [illegible] authorized to send emancipated slaves to Liberia.

The first group of settlers landed in 1822, near Monrovia, the present capital, and until 1841, Liberia was ruled by white governors, appointed by the Society. Independence was proclaimed in 1847 and the first president was Joseph J. Roberts, Virginia octoroon, noted for his forceful leadership. Presidents serve for eight years.

Best known Liberian school is the Booker T. Washington Industrial and Agricultural Institute. Biggest enterprise is the million-acre rubber plantation, under grant to the Firestone company, which produces more than 25,000 tons of rubber annually. Liberia welcomes Negro settlers, but only those who will be an asset, not a liability to the growing country.

Albert
BARNETT

'History Of Mankind' Is Planned— Will It Tell The Full Story?

At long last, it appears that Negroes and the Darker Races will receive due and proper recognition in recorded history.

From Manhattan comes the welcome news that 1,000 scholars, each a specialist in his chosen field—will collaborate in writing a world history of peoples of all races, creeds and colors—the most important document of its kind ever undertaken.

Costing $600,000 and embracing at least six volumes, the huge project will be sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural organization. Tentatively entitled "A History of Mankind," it is scheduled for publication in 1957.

It may thus come about that the "white" histories of the past will have a sepia tinge and thereby give a true and faithful account of the contributions made by ALL peoples to human progress from pre-historic times to the present turbulent epoch in world history.

Present-day students of the high school and college level, are familiar with "white" historical facts, because histories of the past and present have been written by, of and for whites. They know about Garibaldi, Pilsudski, Lafayette, Kosciusko, the Plantagenets, Napoleon, the Vikings of Norway, Christopher Columbus, the Czars of Russia and scores of others of foreign birth. They also know the big names of U. S. history from the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers to the signing of the Declaration of Independence, to Washington and Valley Forge, down through the generations to present-day Korea and the congressional tax scandal investigations.

But, unfortunately, white students and even their elders, know very little of the contribution made by Negroes and others of the darker races to the progress of mankind. True, some few have "heard" of George Washington Carver, noted scientist and botanist who made more than 300 commercial products from the lowly peanut and Dr. Booker T. Washington, world-famous founder of Tuskegee Institute who pioneered in the industrial education of his people.

But, many whites, young and old, never heard of Dr. Carver until he refused an offer of $50,000 a year from Henry Ford, when the auto magnate wanted him to head his chemical research laboratory.

Booker T. Washington, of course, was given encouragment and financial aid by capitalists and philanthropists, both North and South, because the more Tuskegee expanded and prospered, the less the pressure on the "white" school system of the Dixiecrat South.

But how many whites, old or young, know that Ira Aldrich, great Shakespearean actor, was a Negro; and here are just a few more Negro Big Names in history: Benjamin Banneker, inventor of the first alarm clock; Alexander Pushkin, famous Russian poet; Henry Tanner, American artist, who painted the "Disciples at the Tomb," one of the great canvasses of all time; Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, first surgeon to sew up the human heart, and whose patient, after 50 years, is still living; Crispus Attucks, hero of Boston Commons, first American to shed his blood in the Revolutionary War; Matt Henson, who accompanied Admiral Peary to the North Pole, and who reached the Pole before Peary; Frederick Douglass, slave born, who became a noted abolitionist and one of the greatest orators of his time; Joe Davidson, who, with Cyrus Hall McCormick, invented the harvesting machine; "Car Wheel" Robinson, who invented the flanged car wheel, now in universal use, the interlocking switch and the overhead trolley; Col. Charles Young, U. S. Army who organized the Liberian armed forces and built roads in that country.

Several hundred names could be added to the above list and it still would not tell the full story of all-time Negro participation in world affairs. It may well be that the planned "History of Mankind," will fill in some of the absent names. It will certainly be awaited with interest.

Dr. Ralph E. Turner, professor of history at Yale university, has been chosen chairman of the editorial committee and a panel of 75 scholars will be known as corresponding members. Another group of 35 will serve as consultants. Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk university, is expected to be named a corresponding member. Plans for the big project will be laid at a meeting to be held Feb. 11-18, in Paris.

Albert
BARNETT

'White Supremacy' In South Africa Finds Itself At The Crossroads

"WHITE SUPREMACY" in South Africa is again being put to the test and its main sponsor, Premier Daniel F. Malan, last week warned Native leaders that they will be "dealt with" if they stage demonstrations against his color legislation.

Malan's warning was directed against the African National Congress whose membership comprises the main Bantu Tribes. Congress leaders, tired of being 'pushed around' by the Premier, notified him that mass demonstrations would be staged on April 6 unless by Feb. 29, the Government had repealed Jim Crow laws against Africans.

About two years ago Malan startled various nationality groups the world over, by his novel plan to 'solve the color question' in South Africa. He sought the sanction of Parliament to divide South Africa's population into three distinct groups: Black, or Native; Coloured, or Mulatto and White, or European.

He urged that Blacks, Mulattoes, and Whites, be separated, each from the other; that each have their own government and economy and that none of the groups be permitted to trespass upon the other.

As result of Malan's proposals, a 'group areas act' was approved to split towns into white and non-white zones. Trains were divided into 'black' and 'white' sections, and fortnight ago as Parliament opened, the government gave notice that 'separate parliamentory representation' would be given non-white voters.

Premier Malan has pressed his zoning and segregation policy despite the warning of some friendly whites that he was treading on dangerous ground and that reprisals might result. Malan's reply was that if there were any disturbances they would be quelled and those responsible would be 'adequately dealt with.'

Crux of the whole situation is that South Africa's non-whites, who number about 10 million, are sick and tired of being dominated by the whites, who number about two-and-a-half million. Of the 10 million non-whites, nearly eight million are Bantus, which makes them the most powerful group in the Union.

Indians, considered non-whites, are represented by the South African Indian Congress, which, through their president, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, is working jointly with the African National Congress for the mass defiance campaign against Malan and his policies of discrimination. Dr. Dadoo said the campaign would 'bring a new era in the struggle against racial segregation'.

As the Feb. 29 deadline approaches, unrest increases among the non-whites, with all segments of the population rallying to the common banner, raised against prejudice and discrimination in any form.

These various population groups were still further solidified when Premier Malan declared that under no circumstances would the Government permit Negroes to have executive or administrative powers over whites.

Spearheading the drive to have the 'white supremacy' issue thrashed out once and for all, was the Council of South African Churches which called for a national convention of all churches to discuss the Malan policy. The Council insisted that a frank discussion of the issues over the conference table was the only way to promote peace and harmony between the races.

With the exception of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Council represents all Protestant churches in South Africa. The Dutch churchmen are sympathetic to the Malan regime.

Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians have all condemned the government's Jim Crow policies at their various conventions and it was an Anglican minister, popular among the Bantus, the Rev. Michael Scott, who in Paris, about a month ago urged the United Nations to ask South Africa to be more tolerant with their non-whites.

The Union not only refused to change their Jim Crow system—strikingly comparable to the U. S. Dixiecrat South—but Malan ordered his representatives to walk out of the United Nations sessions in Paris. Which they promptly did, saying the U N. was meddling in South Africa's 'private affairs.' There the matter rests, but the issue remains unsettled. Maybe the Ides of March will tell a different tale.

Albert
BARNETT

What Chance Has A Negro To Get Treatment In A 'White' Hospital?

THE QUESTION has been often asked: "What chance has a Negro —man, woman or child — taken suddenly ill, to get treatment in a 'white' hospital.

The query, of course, applies only to Northern hospitals. Below the Mason-Dixon Line, everybody knows, the Negro wouldn't have a 'Chinaman's chance.'

The situation in two Northern cities — New York and Chicago— is both interesting and provocative and affords much food for thought. In Illinois, for instance, if a Negro is refused service in a hotel or restaurant, he can, under the Bill of Rights, sue for redress and win the case, with a court award of about $300 damages.

On the other hand, if he is refused admission to a 'white' hospital, there is absolutely nothing he can do about it. Reason for this is that a hospital is not essentially a public accommodation, therefore can 'select' its patients. While many hospitals will give first aid or emergency treatment to Negroes, the general rule is that they will soon be sent to either the County Hospital or to one of the institutions 'of their own race.'

'White' hospitals can do this because they are 'private institutions', and as such have ruled that patients can be admitted only by physicians who are members of the staff. And pressure is put on any member of the staff who seeks to admit more than an 'occasional' Negro patient. Here are some figures:

The total number of Negroes admitted to all Chicago hospitals — excepting Cook County — constitutes less than 1 per cent of their admissions.

It has been estimated that between 50,000 and 75,000 Chicago Negroes have prepaid hospital insurance, for which they pay the same rates as whites, yet, the great majority of admissions to County Hospital are still Negroes. Thousands each month turn over to the County their insurance or savings which should have entitled them to private care and choice of their own physician.

There is one 'white' physician in Chicago to every 484 people but the ratio of Negro physicians to the Negro population is 1 to 1,908—close to 2,000.

Much of the above data was contained in a recent release of the Committee to End Discrimination in Chicago Medical Institutions from its office at 2240 West Monroe st. The Committee is an affiliate of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination and has probably done more than any similar group to get competent Negro physicians and surgeons admitted to the staffs of 'white' hospitals.

It is plain, of course, that Negro patients will be admitted to 'white' hospitals in proportion to the number of Negro medics on the staff. As the matter stands at present however, Chicago's major Negro hospital — Provident— has a greater case-load than any other similar institution of its size. And, continues the Committee's report, "it is obvious that no group of physicians in the city carry as great a patient-load as those who practice mainly in the congested areas of the Southside."

New York has a more direct approach to the problem. The report of the Committee to End Discrimination, states it thus: "The New York County Medical Society (a branch of the American Medical Association), has a committee investigating discrimination in hospital staff appointments — as a first step toward eliminating it.

"The AMA consistently defends the 'free doctor-patient relationship' as one of the cornerstones of our system of medical practice. It means the freedom of a patient to choose his own doctor —of a physician to accept the patients he wishes, and treat them without interference, according to his best lights.

"These freedoms are clearly violated when patient or physician is excluded from a hospital by such un-medical considerations as race or religion—especially just at the point in their relationship when the patient becomes ill enough to require hospitalization.

"The New York County Medical Society's survey recognizes that the eradication of discrimination should be a major task for organized medicine in advancing the health of America."

MARY McLEOD Bethune MARY McLEOD Bethune

Words Of South African Racists Are Compared With Hitler's "Mein Kampf"

Ever since I heard the phrase 'unnecessary discrimination" used by a candidate for the presidency of the United States, some weeks ago, I have been wondering just what kind of discrimination "unnecessary discrimination" might possibly be. I had never before heard of such a distinction in the matter.

Discrimination, in race and in other matters, does vary, where it is permitted, in the extent to which it is recognized by law or by custom, and the extent to which it is effective in state or local or federally administered communities; and these are the areas to which the forces of democracy direct their attacks on segregation.

It seems evident that if the concept of discrimination is accepted, at all—as it is by those who uphold it—it must be regarded by them as "necessary." Therefore all discrimination, in whatever degree and at whatever point it appears, is what this candidate, now nominee, would evidently regard as "necessary discrimination." Or would he reserve to himself the right, in a democracy, of being judge and jury in drawing lines of distinction among the citizens of the democracy over which he seeks to preside?

It is a amazing what can happen to principle and logic under the pressure of squeezing one's convictions into the shape of political needs; and what strange bed-fellows can be tolerated to insure party victory. Clear thinking and clean-cut decisions are lost in the scuffle for position. So many values are compared that one wonders where the victory lies, and what substance it contains.

A veteran of World War II, a tank officer, told me quite recently, how bitterly he and his companions resented the recalling of a Negro commanding officer from his combat unit and the replacement of this officer by a white commanding officer of lesser qualifications.

That discriminatory action, was justified at the top echelon, by the expressed belief that it would be unwise to use Negro commissioned officers above a certain rank, in combat.

As our veteran told his story, I watched his face. His eyes were burning with indignation, his lips taut with anger, his fists clenched on my desk, as he recalled this great indignity to his American citizenship and to his race — an American soldier, fighting mad against discrimination—the greatest of democracy's enemies. His commander, now a nominee for the presidency of the United States regarded that discrimination as "necessary!"

Last week, in my birthday column, I expressed my satisfaction in the resistance of the colored peoples of the world to the pressures of racial discrimination, everywhere, but particularly as evidenced in this country and in South Africa.

Whether it takes the form of subtle distinctions insidiously woven into cleverly written laws, or unabashed insistence on segregation in the United States, or on apartheid, its South African counterpart, know that discrimination is always justified—always "necessary"—in the minds of its authors.

Who promises that there shall be no "unnecessary discrimination" promises nothing. He has left his hands free—and our hands empty.

Let us think, quietly. The voting is not far off.

Thousands Flock To Bethune-Volusia Beach; Answer To A 34-Year Dream

So serious are the problems that confront us daily, as Americans whose concerns have become increasingly international, that opportunities for real relaxation and enjoyment are very limited.

My birthday and the national birthday preceding it, which I spent at Bethune-Volusia Beach, brought to me one of these rare opportunities.

I love the beach in which I have been interested for a great many years, and I was delighted to be able to spend my seventy-sixth birthday there, surrounded by my son and grandson and great-grandchildren and many other relatives—a great family reunion, in which we were joined by my friends, Mrs. W. A. Scott and Miss Ruth Scott of Philadelphia, Dr. Hampton, Dr. Lourie and my true and tried friend, Mrs. Bertha Loving Mitchell of Daytona Beach, and by Miss Carroll Peterson of Daytona Beach, now an instructor in sociology at Fisk university.

All of us had a great realization of what could be done if we who seek the better things of life strive together long enough and trust God.

On the Fourth of July, we sat here in this beautiful beach motel, which we have called "Welricha," facing the waters of the great Atlantic Ocean, on the one side, and the north arm of the Indian River, on the other. The cooling breezes from the waters swept over us, and I longed for the opportunity for my readers and friends all over the country to share the experience.

The "Welricha," although not yet completed, was full to overflowing. The beach swarmed with automobiles of every make and description from every part of the country, from Texas to New York. They brought students and teachers, farmers and laborers, housewives and professional men and women.

There was a large representation from the 800 property owners of the beach. Salesmen and building contractors were there, taking in the vast possibilities before them, seeing the opportunity for Negroes to stand on their own feet, in control of a splendid recreational center, open to people of all races and creeds and colors on one of the great waterways of the world.

While we were seeing our beach, lovely as it is now, and with such a great future ahead, the stimulating news came to us that 4,000 acres of waterfront property had been given to the teachers of North Carolina, for recreation and health. The news made us very happy.

Here at Bethune Beach, we look forward to a great cultural center where great educational conventions can be held, where writers and artists can carry on their creative work, in an ideal environment, with as much privacy as they wish, and all modern conveniences at hand.

I have been dreaming this dream, now, for 34 years, and when I saw that crowd of 10,000 eager people, pouring onto Bethune Beach last month, I was certain that the 800 families now owning property on our beach would soon be joined by hundreds of others. There is still room for another nine hundred owners, many who acquire property are acquiring several units, to provide additional space.

I really believe that not only private owners, but business men and women would find here the material for sound investment combined with great service. There is opportunity here for developing belief in ourselves and in demonstrating our own capabilities.

It is time now for this dream to materialize, on the shores of the Atlantic — a lovely, cultural community, free from worries and tensions.

How we need it!

MARY McLEOD Bethune

The Women Of America Must Lead The March To The Polls

With whatever party they are registered, and regardless of their choice of candidates, the women of America must lead November's march to the polls!

America must stand on her own feet in the field of civil rights and economic security, no less than in matters of foreign policy. We women must reinforce our efforts to unite for peace and prosperity and brotherhood and freedom.

I want that great organization which we still know as the National Council of Negro Women (although it has never been exclusive as to race), to step to the forefront of this new campaign for political literacy and concerted action. I hope that it will be very active through its many "metropolitans" —its local groups —in helping to teach the techniques of the ballot and in helping to interpret men and women and the measures they advocate.

Women are people! Women are citizens! The days when they walked Indian file—literally into figuratively—behind whatever men might be around, husbands, fathers, brothers, employers . .—or preachers—are gone So there must be an end to Indian file thinking.

Women are at least as discerning as the opposite sex. They are at least as thorough. They are at least as objective. They are competing, in thought and action, as people; but as people who are women, there are specific areas of action which claim their particular interest, in addition to the overall problems of local and national communities.

I think that Edith Sampson has given to us a strong representation at the United Nations. I congratulate her on her reappointment.

Now, what she is doing at the United Nations we must do on our own nearthstones. We must key our minds to the problems of the day. We must analyze and select and discard—and act.

Effort? Of course, it takes effort! The pioneer women worked as hard as their men. They worked with men. We must do likewise. Often enough we will have to take the initiative in exploring problems, in suggesting action, in checking the records of candidates. Television is doing part of this job for us. Radio is doing part of it.

So what are the candidates saying and doing? **What have they done?** It is very easy to know what they are saying and not much more difficult to find out what they have—or have not—done.

Most "cause" organizations — those with special interests—keep track of the actions and attitudes of public servants, with reference to their own particular fields. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—our NAACP—keeps such records. The AF of L and the CIO (through CIO PAC, keep such records. And for the little man on the land—tenant, small owner or migratory worker—the National Farmers Union keeps such records.

The Women's Joint Congressional association keeps records. The League of Women Voters keeps records on a non-partisan basis. All of these organizations have ear-to-the-ground headquarters in Washington Ask your local branch of these groups for further information on local or national matters. That is their function.

And find out how to vote—and vote! That is your function as a citizen. If we are not too busy to live, then we cannot be "too busy" to understand and help to direct the manner of our living.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Jo Baker's Argentine Activities Not Helpful To Cause Of Good Will

It is greatly to be regretted by all who are interested in the cause of true equality for all men of goodwill, that Miss Josephine Baker, our former American compatriot, has seen fit to go into the dictatorship of Argentina and make statements for its state-muzzled press.

We who still value our American citizenship are fully aware of the faults in our democracy and of its failure of justice. This column has consistently pointed out these faults (and has not been muzzled for so doing) and has endeavored to help mould and mobilize and direct public opinion toward the eradication of the long train of evils that follow in the wake of segregation and discrimination all over the world — not just in this country.

But I devoutly hope that I have never, in my whole life, been guilty of wanton attack on my country. To my mind any unconstructive criticism is wanton — criticism that tears down, but offers no constructive ideas for correction — for building up.

Unfortunately, even the most unbridled and biased and exaggerated attack on any country or any cause, usually contains some elements of fact — enough to give it a semblance of truth. It takes only a modicum of fact to carry fancy a long way!

If Miss Baker has said the things attributed to her by the Argentine press, she must have been having delusions. I am familiar with all the hateful manifestations of race prejudice, but I have staved here and faced what there was to face, and worked at the problems created, and joined hands with my fellowmen of all colors and creeds and races, right here in America, to weed out the discrimination and terror, where it existed.

I was not aware that Miss Baker had been "terrorized" on her visit to her former home. I regret that more of us did not know about it, so that we could have taken action while she was here in the United States.

But while we are all felling very sorry indeed, for Miss Baker, now in the shelter of Argentina, which closed down its free press, and while she is unburdening her soul to its goose-stepping papers, we all need to remind ourselves of the wise observation of my friend, Pearl Buck.

Mrs. Buck told the young people of a graduating class, who looked to her for a revelation in democracy. that among all groups, and therefore, among them also, there would be found two kinds of people — those who pulled their share of the load toward progress, and those who would be content to ride on the backs of those who pulled.

She did not denounce those who rode on the results of others' efforts. She merely observed that there were such people in all communities, great and small, and that those of us who pulled, always had to pull that much harder to compensate for the riders.

We are sorry that Miss Baker is not here to help pull.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Revitalized Education Will Give Us Keys To Kingdom Of Better Living

BROWSING AMONG the volumes in my library, not long ago, I came across Archibald Cronin's "Keys to the Kingdom," the moving story of a Scottish priest's quest for the Kingdom of God, and the keys to it, forged of his sacrifice and toil and persecution in a remote Chinese village.

I thought about those keys and the thought brought to my mind other keys—keys to the kingdom of effective, satisfying living—forged first from the vision and sacrifice and singlemindedness of educators like Mark Hopkins, Booker Washington and Horace Mann, and thereafter from the devotion of their students and disciples in the endless crusade against ignorance in all its forms.

I wonder if we educators of today, who are the inheritors of educational philosophies projected by minds far in advance of their generation, are providing the young people of our own generations with keys to full and useful living. There are times when I doubt.

There are times when I fear that we are making marks and degrees the alpha and omega of educational pursuit, rather than proffering as motivation the love of learning for the power of reasoning it develops, for the beauties it unfolds, and for its service when intelligently used to meet the practical demands of these strenuous times.

Are our "good, gray professors," whatever their age, sex or academic qualifications, really encouraging resourcefulness, building habits of thoroughness—stimulating thought? Are they putting the emphasis where it belongs—on the solid, steady performance that produces men and women of real worth? That produces founders of orderly, cultured homes? Interested workers for the welfare of their communities? Able representatives of their communities in public office?

We speak very freely of sharing activity in world affairs. Quite properly we seek such sharing. But are our schools turning out young people familiar with the functioning of their own government at all levels of operation?

For years, we in the schools have worked at what we have called "life-related teaching," and some outstanding results have been achieved through it.

Under the guidance of educators like Helen Adele Whiting of Georgia, children of the backwoods have learned the relationship between book and tool and field, between blackboard and poster and home and church, between the well-being of the individual, and the well-being of the family and the Nation. City children from "the wrong side of the tracks" have learned these things.

I wonder, sometimes, what happens to these keys to effective living between those early days of personal guidance, and later days when objectives and values appear confused or non-existent; when information, rather than knowledge, seems scattered, superficial and unrelated to the basic facts of family and community life? When youth wants to "get somewhere"—anywhere, with no thought of "paying for the ride."

In the secondary and college levels, particularly, our education lacks vitality. It lacks urge and drive and carry-through. We must work to revitalize it. We must teach the youth who sit in our classrooms and around our hearthstones that the Keys to the Kingdom of Satisfactory Living cannot be picked up casually, along the way.

For each individual they must be forged from effort spent in selecting a worthy objective, and from the labor of mind and hand and spirit spent in reaching it.

The Liberian Inauguration Of President Tubman Was Thrilling

How I wished that hundreds of my reader-friends could have been with me in Africa, last month, to see President Tubman take his place for the second time, at the head of the Liberian people. It was thrilling!

There was so much to tell you that the DEFENDER kindly arranged space for the main part of the story, elsewhere in this issue. There you will find some of the highlights of the dramatic inauguration, of our meeting with the tribal chiefs, the work of the churches in religion and education, and the significance of the Point Four program, of which Mr. Eric Johnston has just become planning operations chairman.

You will want to know, also, about the work of the Liberian women, who are forging ahead and making use of every privilege of citizenship. Mrs. Antoinette Tubman, wife of the President, is very active in civic affairs; Mrs. Abrahnetta Simpson, wife of Vice-President Clarence L. Simpson, is Liberia's only woman lawyer and very active in church affairs; a woman educator, Mrs. Doris Henries and Mrs. Fatima Fahnbulleh, outstanding professors, have just prepared a reader based on Liberian experiences for the children in Liberian schools.

Two women hold posts in Liberia's "Little Cabinet" — Mrs. Ellen Scarborough, Assistant Secretary of Public Instruction, and Miss Etta Wright, Assistant Secretary of War. Mrs. Georgia Payne-Cooper is secretary of the Liberian Senate. Other women, Mrs. Mary Fisk, president of the YWCA and Sunday school superintendent, and Mrs. Victoria Grimes, are active in religious life. Mrs. Maud Morris and Mrs. May Wiles are in the front ranks of progressive teaching. I could fill my column just naming Liberian women who are helping their country to stride ahead.

It was my great privilege, while in Liberia, to organize the National Council of Women of Liberia as an affiliate of our own National Council of Negro Women—another link forged in the chain of strength of women united to advance the cause of understanding and practicing brotherhood, around the world!

I shall always be grateful for the personal hospitality of President and Mrs. Tubman, of Mrs. Simpson and her husband, the Vice-President, and of Assistant Attache John George, administrative officer at the American Embassy, and his charming wife, the former Ida Milton of Washington. And I am deeply and humbly grateful for the hospitality of the Liberian people, from whom I received the order of Commander of the Star of Africa, an exquisite decoration which I shall treasure always.

Then home again across the great Atlantic, where I was met with the sad news of the passing of my life-long friend, Mamie Anderson Pratt, of New York, with whom I had just visited on the eve of my departure for Liberia.

Back in Washington I made it my first duty to set down, for my readers, the impressions of my wonderful ten days in Liberia—the fulfillment of a lifetime wish. My only wish now is that I had another full lifetime in which to help that marvelous little republic fulfill its possibilities. But there will be others among you, younger than I, well-informed, well-prepared and just as enthusiastic to help carry on.

Before leaving for Liberia I had called a planning conference for a meeting of women of all races and all fields of endeavor, to be held in the spring, at Bethune-Cookman college. The idea, one in which I have long been interested, was to bring together a representative group of women to give force, cohesion and direction to leadership for the moral reawakening of our communities; to formulate such a program and study techniques for action, through panels, seminars and group roundtables. Due to my illness I was unable to attend the first planning meeting, which was held at the Council House in Washington on Jan. 19. Dr. Dorothy Boulding Ferebee, who succeeded me as president of our NCNW, presided with the presentation.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Job For 1952: Breaking Free From Old Errors That Block Way To Better Life

As we go into the New Year it will be necessary for us to rededicate ourselves to action for a free world through united service—to break free from old errors that block the path to more abundant life for all.

I think that all of us are passing through the labor pains that will bring forth the true spirit of brotherhood and fellowship and justice. It is so hard for some to give up the old traditions and alignments, but it seems to me that the harsh realities of the present are bringing us closer, daily, to the heart of the great problem of world restlessness.

I have been noting the changes occurring in varied fields of service—in religion, in education, in the day to day dealings of the business world. It seems to me that men and women are beginning to see their own weaknesses and to recognize wherein lies the strength to overcome them.

We have been passing through a tremendous siege, here in Florida—of injustice and lawlessness and brutality. Truly these are the times that try men's souls! But progress is coming out of trial. The consciences of larger areas of people are being aroused, for men are finally realizing that violence of this sort must go, if we are to establish a "cease fire" line on the Korean battlefront or anywhere in the thought or action of the world.

Men are realizing as well, what George F. Kennan, career diplomat and former director of the State Department's Planning Staff, has so discerningly set forth in his recently published "American Diplomacy, 1900-1950," namely, that we, today, cannot afford to further indulge in the luxury of mistakes in evaluating "issues and problems basic to the health of our American civilization." I would say basic to the health of all civilization.

Somehow we must reconcile that which is workable with that which is right and just, and the more accurately and fully all the elements of the problem facing us are understood, the greater the probability that they will be dealt with intelligently and adequately.

The roots of our problems—the problems of the world—reach down through the layers of political advantage and disadvantage, through national rivalries and religious antagonisms, to something as fundamental as bread, clothing, shelter and respect for the individual. And respect for the individual is probably the greatest of these factors which are fundamental to peace.

For there can be no brotherhood when men are forced to forego self-respect in order to get bread. And under such destruction of brotherhood there can be no peace on any front—military, economic, racial or religious. There can be only a continuation of restlessness and conflict.

This year we still have a choice between compounding our old errors or breaking free from them; of underestimating the minds and hearts of our fellowmen, of resenting and resisting changes that disturb old patterns, or of accepting the fact that readjustment and reconsideration are ever present needs; that "what was done yesterday must be done over again today, in a somewhat different way."

That is a big order. Effort must be unceasing, for every advance upsets some custom and interferes with some interest. We cannot always have things our way. But we can try to come, this year, nearer to God's way, remembering that love is higher than hate, and courage greater than fear or despair.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Washington Needs Crusaders, The Goal Is Civil Rights For All Men

MR. DONAHUE, the newly-appointed Commissioner of the District of Columbia, has just stated his position on its No. One Problem—segregation.

He says that he is not "for" segregation, but is not going to be a "crusader," which is to say that he is **not for** segregation, but will not work **against** it; that he **is for** democracy but will not work **for** it.

What kind of leadership is that? The kind that we can expect as long as Washington is saddled with officials without responsibility to the people.

In September, 1949, in this column, I protested the tabling of the Kefauver Home Rule Bill, and called for an end of the farce at Washington which denied democracy at its sources.

I pointed out that what happened in the capital of 150 millions of the most progressive people in the world concerned every one of us who deserved to be called American; that Washington, which had been disfranchised since before I was born, largely because of the bogey of "Negro domination," was still ridden with fear, **lest democracy should mean what it says—lest, under representative government, the people of the Federal City should achieve real democracy and tear down the contradiction of racism.**

Last month I spoke out again, in this column, on the shameful manner in which District Superintendent of Schools Corning had mishandled—and continues to mishandle—the matter of the appearance of Mrs. Pearl Buck at Cardozo High School. I want to congratulate the Cardozo High School educators, recently disciplined and threatened with dismissal, on their crusading spirit. We need more such among those who lead our youth. I want to congratulate Mrs. Velma Williams, the member of the Board of Education who protested Mr. Corning's disciplining as an attempt to curb freedom of speech.

I want to say to the new Commissioner, his fellow-Commissioners, to all District officials, and to the members of the House and Senate Committees on the District of Columbia, that until we Americans acquire the courage to crusade for the American principles we talk about, **we are going to be fighting wars and losing friends.**

I want to say to the new Commissioner and his fellow-officials, that down at Seventh and L—Streets, in Northwest Washington, only a few blocks north of the central library, **the Gem Theater** not only segregates Negro citizens in an area predominantly Negro, but separates them from white patrons, with a head-high, solid partition!

There are indications of substantiated labor and health conditions at this Negro-supported theater, whose management has told representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which I am a national vice-president, that it would close this theater rather than to remove the partition.

What is happening at this fifth-rate movie house in an area of underprivileged, uneconomic, unrepresented people is important because it is sign and symbol of the defiance and evasion of democracy through which the elected representatives of all the people of the United States pass daily, as they toil at "making democracy work."

In the midst of these evasions and defiances lives the President of the United States. In the midst of them, when I am in Washington, I, also, am obliged to live. As an American, I resent them deeply, and **I SHALL CRUSADE UNCEASINGLY** for Home Rule for our shackled capital, and for a Negro of real stature on the Board of District Commissioners, so long as this appointed body is continued.

The goal for the Capital of a Free America can be no less than Civil Rights for All Men!

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Mrs. Bethune Recalls The Good Works Of The Late Mamie Anderson Pratt

I could scarcely find words to express my sense of loss, when I returned from Iiberia to find that Mamie Anderson Pratt, my friend of the years, had passed on during the few days of my absence from the country.

She meant so much to me, personally. Her home in New York was my home. She stood by me when I needed support, and helped me to find friends for my school, in Florida, where at one time she made her home.

With her husband, Lorton L. Pratt, she operated, for a number of years, an outstanding funeral business at Jacksonville. She was one of the first members of the National Council of Negro Women — one of its planners, one of its warmest supporters.

Back in New York, to which she returned from Florida, she started where she had left off, and made her way back to the front ranks. She was one of the most thorough-going business women I ever knew.

But Mamie Pratt was more than that. She was a great humanitarian, with a keen interest in young people. She loved the people around her and was always finding ways of helping them to find security and get ahead.

She organized the Florida Club in New York, to provide mutual care for its membership and give aid to needy schools. The children in her block adored her, and watched for her face at her windows.

Four or five rooms in her home were set aside for the use of girls who wanted to be really fine women. She helped to open the doors for hundreds of young people.

Part of her thought for others moved her to purchase a beautiful site in the Berkshires, nine miles from Hyde Park, and build there a lovely retreat for rest and relaxation.

Part of the acreage she offered to the National Nurses Association, with the hope that a rest place for nurses might be built on it. This project never materialized, however, and all the acreage is now part of her estate.

Mamie Pratt was a woman of great stature, clean-cut and upright. There was no dissimulation about her. She was what she was. Her only child, Annabelle Anderson King, was the center of her affections.

After this talented young woman graduated from Fisk University she became a marvelous dressmaker and interior decorator, showing much of her mother's constructive energy. We should all throw our love around this daughter, that she may carry on, with increasing success, the work she has so well begun.

Her mother's life is worthy of our emulation. "I will build my house by the side of the road, and be a friend to man." Mamie Pratt lived that simple philosophy. She was progressive, modern as tomorrow and tolerant of others views, but blended modern trends and techniques with the fundamentals of clean, gracious living.

She was forthright, unpretentious and completely without envy. Those who were fortunate enough to know her admired her creative and administrative abilities, loved her for her constant thought of others, looked up to her for her integrity.

Mamie Anderson Pratt will be remembered down the years with loving respect. In her passing I know that I have lost a long-standing, loyal friend.

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MARY McLEOD Bethune

Defender P. 10 Chicago, Ill. Oct 3-1-52

Harvard University Is Meeting The Challenges Of Our Times

Under the progressive leadership of President James B. Conant, the oldest institution of learning in the United States, Harvard University, is meeting the challenge of our times, with the vigor of open, exploring minds and the experience of its 316 years.

Twice during the past month, Harvard has come forward with important contributions to education for effective living in this day and generation.

The recent announcement of plans to change the old Harvard Divinity School into a school of religious learning drawing together students from all types of religious backgrounds, is down-to-earth action toward a living brotherhood among men.

It will involve, of course, the adjustment of curricula to meet revised objectives. For the Divinity School, this is met in John Lord O'Brian's 1947 report, now accepted by Harvard, which proposes that "neither any modern nor ancient presupposition of faith, which imparts meaning to life, should remain unexamined."

All forms of faith, modern and historic. are to be opened for criticism and reexamination in order to detect and challenge "superficial answers to profound questions."

Harvard's step has been hailed as one which will give "a new dimension to religious teaching, and will make religion more truly the guide and inspiration of modern conduct."

Modern Americans cannot understand their world "unless they understand more fully the faiths of the great religions which move so many hundreds of millions in Asia, today," one observer commented, and cannot understand and apply Christianity by studying limited to one sect or creed.

Broadened religious studies should give coming leaders deeper insight into the spiritual needs of our age and the ways by which they can be met.

The Eight-Year Plan

Again, President Conant's plea for large numbers of local, two-year colleges, throughout the country, to meet the needs of increasing numbers of high school graduates, not all of whom will fit into the traditional four-year pattern, was an advanced step, frankly aimed at shifting the educational pattern of the United States within the next eight years.

Harvard's president believes that two-year colleges would meet the needs of most high school graduates, and relieve the pressure on the four-year colleges, giving these opportunity to improve their curricula and pay greater attention to preparing students for professional life.

Stimulation and expansion of the two-year "community college" idea should be most welcome at this time. Forward-looking educators have been urging it for a number of years, and several states have been increasing their support to tuition-fee colleges of this type.

Negro students, pushing forward the hard way, from greatly disadvantaged educational situations, would be particularly benefited by access to more such schools, which would serve to round out the preparation of many not interested in the professions, and give added impetus to those who are.

Meeting the challenge of the times is not easy for educational institutions, which are guided by donors and alumni and trustees, as well as by presidents. Harvard's mentors deserve the highest praise, that they have brought their thinking together, behind President Conant, on two programs of such great importance to our times.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Marian Anderson's Second Singing At Lincoln Memorial Brings Back Memories

On Easter Sunday, 1939, Marian Anderson sang from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. It was a song of faith and protest — faith in her country, and protest in the misrepresentation accorded to it by limited minds. That song was heard around the world. Last Sunday, when she sang there again, her voice invoked a host of memories.

There was a thankful memory of Harold Ickes, that grand warrior who knew his own mind and listened to his own conscience. For it was Harold Ickes, then Secretary of the Interior, and Oscar Chapman, then his Assistant Secretary, who determined that America—not just Marian Anderson and not just Negroes — but that America should not be shamed before the world, because of the bigoted action made possible on two occasions by the muddled management of voteless Washington.

Thousands of Americans pass, each working day, the Marian Anderson mural that extends from floor to ceiling of the wall at the south entrance to the Interior Department cafeteria. Oscar Chapman raised the funds for that mural of the great artist singing from the steps of the memorial that belongs to all the citizens of America — even to the members of the DAR!

Mr. Chapman is a son of the South — proud of being "from Virginia" and from his adopted state of Colorado, but proud, first of all, of being an American. More and more, both "the South" from which he came, and "the North" from which Mr. Ickes came, are becoming geographical divisions concerned more with climate and transportation than with ideological separation.

"The secretary granted the use of the grounds on the request of Howard university and interested citizens of Washington," said a bulletin from the Department of the Interior, before the concert. Then, with his usual understatement, "This seems to me to be a good use of the public facilities, and the request was granted."

The Daughters of the American Revolution had refused the use of Constitution Hall which they controlled, unaware, probably, that more than five thousand free black patriots fought in the Revolutionary War, in the uniform of George Washington's Continental Army. Their descendants, quite numerous, I understand, are probably eligible for DAR membership, today.

The Board of Education of the District of Columbia asked for the use of a "white" school auditorium, did NOT make any stipulation that "no Negroes be allowed in the audience," as incorrectly stated in a story widely circulated in a leading weekly magazine. The Board stipulated, quote "that positive and definite assurance and agreement will be given that the concession will not be taken as a precedent and that the Board of Education will not, in the future, again be asked to depart from the principles of a dual system of schools and schools facilities." To which Col. West A. Hamilton, a staunch Republican member of the Board, who carried the load of that fight, for the use of all school facilities by all citizens, immediately replied. "It is impossible to mortgage the future!"

There was no "loud screaming" done anywhere, although members of the Board were roundly condemned for their action in a dignified statement, copies of which were sent to the press and to the justices of the United States Court for the District of Columbia, which appoints the members of the Board of Education. Miss Anderson's manager suggested the possibility of using Potomac Park, just opposite from Constitution Hall which had been refused. The Citizens Committee composed of 56 organizations with members of many racial origins, religious faiths and both major political parties, decided that this action on the part of the Board of Education was an insult to the entire community and to America and must be rejected. Mrs. Roosevelt, invited in by a friend who did not share her political views, voiced her disapproval. Senator Taft, speaking shortly after the concert at Howard university's Charter Day dinner, said, that colored people would always have to fight against certain narrow prejudices "such as that which seems to have excluded Marian Anderson from a proper auditorium of the City of Washington."

Marian Anderson's concert, last week, brought back to me these memories of her first concert in Potomac Park — a concert which in motivation and inspiration rose far above partisan politics and achieved a result that was all American!

MARY McLEOD Bethune

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Competence And Initiative Basic To Sound Employment

Employment is always a matter of concern, regardless of the state of the Nation, but this concern becomes more acute to groups and individuals in times of national crisis such as this, when defense needs must be met.

It would seem to many of us that intelligent self-interest alone, would put us on our toes, ready to take full advantage of every opportunity to improve our status in the national labor force, if for no other reason than to maintain satisfactory living standards.

By labor force I mean every possible kind of employment from coal-mining to medicine; from typing to banking; from teaching to trucking. It is all labor.

How well are we prepared to move ahead in this force as individuals; to contribute adequately as a group, to national employment needs; to build training opportunities as a ladder to reach new job opportunities?

It is easy to quote figures—to see that three Negro Americans, but only two white Americans out of every hundred, are out of work. It is less easy to say why, because, as we know, there is no single reason. Many factors enter into racial disparities in employment.

At one time or another most of us have had to do battle with racial bias, in our attempts to make the best living possible. What I want to point out is HOW we should do battle. I think that I can answer that.

1. Seek and create opportunities
2. Prepare ourselves for them
3. Take full advantage of them when they come

Much rests with our community leaders, if we are to make any appreciable progress, and there should be constant recruiting of fresh energy and vision to leadership groups. Theirs is the task of finding out with what kinds of work the people of their areas are occupied, and to what extent Negroes are integrated in the general occupational pattern.

Unless a community is very unusual, race differentials will quite likely be found in both types and amount of employment. That is the first step. Finding what lies behind the differentials is the next. It may be social resistance, so-called, economic competition resistance, or it may prove to be lack of preparation due to one or both of these factors.

In these days nearly every community has within it some forwardlooking group of citizens representing the community as a whole, accustomed to dealing with community problems such as those of job exclusion from businesses and industries, due to racial bias. But I think that there is much less alertness with reference to what I call shop-democracy—to willingness to hire Negroes as other workers are hired, namely, at any job for which they are qualified by skill and to permit them to acquire increased skill by observation and apprenticeship. Unions, of course, must bear their share of responsibility in this matter.

Where other types of training are established—whether in connection with defense or non-defense work—community leadership needs to make sure that such facilities are available to all citizens.

Returning, for a moment, to shop-democracy, I recall with sadness the story of the great Eastern philanthropist, the founder of a great, progressive movement, who offered a highly-trained Negro applicant for an available position, a job as porter, but refused to consider him for the skilled job. I recall a fine business in downtown Washington that showered generosities on its Negro messengers—fine uniforms, turkey at Christmas, bonuses — but refused to allow them to watch skilled bench operations because they would not hire Negro technicians. We must work to remove such barriers to full employment, and I am confident that we can.

Then comes the really big job—to see that once training facilities are made available, those who can profit by them make full use of them.

Often I am proud of initiative shown on the job. But often too, I am discouraged by the "getting by"—the bare skimming of the basic requirements instead of reaching up for a high, degree of competency and achievement. Community leadership must knock loud and long to open the doors of employment to all. But it has the still tougher job of stimulating and alerting workers to take the initiative themselves, increasing their competence and demonstrating their capacity for advancement in every field.

Trip To Africa Stirs Memory Of The Founding Of Liberia In 1822

I am giving this message to my readers just before leaving this country for Africa, where I shall attend the second inaugural of President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia, as one of four representatives of our United States Government.

United States Ambassador Edward Dudley heads our delegation, whose other members are Dr. Robert Hutchins of the Ford Foundation and Mr. Carl Murphy, president and publisher of the Afro-American newspapers.

Although I have long cherished the wish to tread the soil of Africa—it was my goal in my Moody Bible School days—I hesitated before yielding to President Truman's request that I go, realizing the problems that face us at home. and the limitations of action that necessarily come with the years.

Then I thought back to the origins of Liberia, and to the increasing significance of her position in world affairs, and I knew that I must make this trip. I thought back to courage and faith of the first settlers who made the long, tedious trip in 1822, and established the settlement at Monrovia.

I thought of the great Baptist churchman, Lott Cary, who sailed to join the settlement as a missionary, at its beginning, and remained to become vice-agent of the colony.

I thought of the theologian, Harrison Ellis, bought by the Presbyterians, with his family, for 25 hundred dollars. that he might work as a missionary in Liberia.

I thought of the hopes and sacrifices of all those Americans of African descent who had returned to build a new freedom in the land of their black forebears. How they had had to struggle to maintain life in a land and climate strange to people American in all but the privileges of citizens. How they had to struggle through generations to maintain some semblance of sovereignty in the midst of pressures from powerful nations competing for strategic advantage on the soil of the Great Continent.

I remembered how in the first, tragic world war, little Liberia declared war on powerful Germany, and how Monrovia, her capital, was bombarded from the sea.

Liberia has walked hand in hand with the best of American foreign policy—the best world policy—holding up her head, cooperating with progressive programs, paying her way.

I had to come to pay tribute to President Tubman, and, through him, to the distinguished leaders of Liberia who have preceded him, and to say "thank you" to Liberia. I had to come to get the feel of the Great Continent from whence my forebears were drafted to help build the economic and cultural structure of the New World.

On my return to the States I shall have much to tell you about my visit with the people of Liberia and their leaders, about the American economic missions at work there, and about the pattern of culture. as I see it, in our sister republic.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

In South Carolina, South Africa Or Southeast Asia Prejudice Blocks Peace

"Down through the years the mighty ships of state
Have all been broken on the rocks of hate!"
Leslie Pinkney Hill

What a price the world is paying for its prejudices! What a spectacle to see the governor of a great state like South Carolina standing ready to destroy its educational system in order to perpetuate the separation of the minds of its youth!

What a spectacle to see the Union of South Africa intensify the late Premier Jan Smuts' denials of human dignity to its great non-white majority through the even more vicious restrictions of his successor, Premier Daniel Malan.

And as we fight for a free press, how discouraging to see the unthinking attacks directed against India's Prime Minister Nehru by segments of the American press, for his reported resistance "to approve investment of private foreign capital in his country"—the foreign capital that to apprehensive peoples all over the world has traditionally carried with it the divisive and humiliating patterns of a minority disposed to arrogance.

Fortunately for my thinking, I have known, all my life, people of the American Southland, black and white, with great depth of perception and with vision that foresaw the need for the unity of all its people. I have hoped that in his heart, Governor Byrnes, who once sat on the Supreme Court of the land, and once directed its affairs of state, was such a Southerner. I shall pray that the blindness of prejudice and separatism may yet be removed, that he may help the world to realize peace and brotherhood among men.

I shall pray that King George of England, symbol of British unity, may refrain from giving needless affront to the millions of dark peoples who still live under the British flag, by becoming the official guest of the South African prime minister whose notorious race oppression is a matter of present world concern.

American editors who profess indignation with Mr. Nehru's hesitancy in welcoming private foreign capital to India need to read the Rowan-Vachon illustrated report, "How Far from Slavery?" in the January 15 issue of Look Magazine. They need to know that the daughter of an illustrious American Nobel Peace Prize winner, married to a citizen of India, remains an exile from her native land rather than subject her dark-skinned children to its race bias.

Critical writers should remind themselves that South Africa heaped racial discriminations on the cultured Mahatma Ghandi; that only recently his son has begun challenging those same discriminations.

Private Foreign Capital at what price? Certainly other countries, "including our own" have been developed by such investments. And granted decent mutual respect, so simple in its concept, so rare in application; granted honest and just business methods, private foreign capital would be welcomed, today, without question, in many areas where, instead, it is viewed with justifiable apprehension.

But prejudice is blocking more than investments abroad. Prejudice is blocking peace. It is creating bitterness and dissension at home. It is the material of conflict and despair. We can overcome it when we face it — when we replace it with the practice of brotherhood.

"Respect begets respect, suspicion begets suspicion, hate begets hate....'The only way to have a friend is to be one.'" These are the words of my friend, Senator Herbert Lehman. They are simple enough for a child to understand, and important enough for the heads of great financial enterprises and the heads of nations to understand.

Dollars do not always impress either nations or individuals. Some if the choice must be made, will choose respect. Liberia is a case in point. I think that the great countries of the world have much to learn in international relations from the little African republic from which I have just returned.

In my column, next week, I shall tell you about this rich experience to which I had looked forward for so long.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Negroes Are Carrying American 'Know How' To Brothers Of All Races Around The World

As I leave for Liberia I am reminded of the increased flow of American "know-how" that is being carried to our brothers and sisters of all races, in the far parts of the world, by Negroes of America.

Dr. Merz Tate, professor of history at Howard university, returns from a years lecture tour which took her among the peoples of India and Pakistan, has recently returned to her classes in Washington. Now we find our Dr. Ulysses Grant Dailey, of Chicago, on a four months' tour in Pakistan, lecturing to medical students and conducting clinics, in Karachi, Lahore and Dacca.

The highly favorable comments from Pakistani papers already reflect the importance which America's friends across the seas attach to the presence of American Negroes, men and women, who are carrying their skills into the less-advantaged countries of the world.

Edith Sampson, Ralph Bunche, Channing Tobias, Giles Hubert, consul of Bombay, Dr. Hildrus Poindexter, Dr. Dailey, Dr. Tate, Frank Pinder, and many others like them—some reaching out as teachers and technicians working under private auspices with Government approval, others as American officials and officers of the United Nations—all helping to promote understanding as concrete examples of American opportunity, in action.

And as the numbers of these ideological missionaries multiply; as the fields of opportunity and activity which they represent increase in variety, it will become more and more apparent, abroad, that highly qualified American Negroes are not exceptions to the rule, reserved for propaganda exhibits, but are representative of American opportunity and initiative as any other citizens of this country.

Dr. Dailey, now working on the cultural exchange program, is a splendid example of such superior preparation. A specialist in surgery, bone and pathlogy, he has done advanced research in surgery at Vienna and Paris, is a Fellow of the International College of Surgeons, and a recipient of the National Medical Association's Distinguished Service Award.

People like Dr. Dailey in Pakistan and Dr. Poindexter in Liberia will bring more goodwill to America than hundreds of broadcasts, valuable as these presentations can be, and often are. Their presence says "These people are among us. They are highly competent; they are the product of American opportunity for all—the evidence of America's will to share with others."

Dr. Poindexter, an authority on tropical diseases, with master's and doctor's degrees in bacteriology and public health, and years of experience in Latin America and the Caribbean to his credit is medical director of the U. S. Public Health Service unit in Liberia, and is on President Tubman's staff as Chief of Liberia's Public Health Service.

In Liberia, where I shall be as you read this, Dr. Poindexter has been working with the people, combatting such deadly diseases as malaria, sleeping sickness, yellow fever and elephantiasis, and training the people of the country to handle the work of their own laboratories and clinics.

While technicians from industry are busy developing more spindles for the cotton looms of Pakistan's home industries — encouraging greater use of home-produced textiles; while agricultural specialists are improving Liberian standards and increasing Liberian exports, Americans in the field of medicine are rapidly helping to build a sound health economy in underdeveloped areas, as a foundation for better living.

Americans of Negro descent are well in the forefront of these Good Neighbor activities, carrying help to their neighbors and building goodwill credit for their country.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

The Womanhood Of The World Thought Together In Florida

For three days — April 4, 5 and 6 —one hundred and thirty women from the four corners of the world gathered together at our Bethune-Cookman college, to think out loud on the problems of our day, to find a common meaning in the experiences of individuals. It was such a gathering as I had dreamed of for years, and successful beyond my fondest expectations.

Imagine, my readers, what it meant to have this leadership from all over this country — from Chicago and Texas; from the Atlantic Coast, and the Mid-West; Turkish women, German women, and women from the Caribbean — women of all races and all creeds and faiths, gathered here only a stone's throw from scenes of sorrow and violence, to rededicate themselves to the service of humanity! I have never been so moved!

This was the meeting for which I was working so hard when I was taken ill. But the committees carried on in marvelous fashion while I was regaining my strength. I shall never be able to thank them enough. We called our conference to "Strengthen the Forces of Freedom" — that was our theme. Every woman there seemed to have gained new strength and vision from this pooling of experience and spiritual strength and techniques. to cope, in widely separated areas, with the mounting problems and tensions of these times.

There were panels on employment and education; on government and religious life, and on community organization. YWCA women of both races from all parts of Florida participated. The first woman member of the Turkish Legislature participated. The young woman from Germany was a labor leader.

We talked about politics, too, and how our women, trained, competent and with high moral standards, could improve the quality of government by engaging in political life. Miss Bertha Adkins, who heads the Women's Division of the Republican National Committee, was with us, and Mrs. India Edwards, who heads the Women's division of the Democratic National Committee. Representatives of the National Council of Jewish Women and of the National Council of Catholic Women were there. So was Miss Anna Lord Strauss of the League of Women Voters, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta church leader, Mrs. Edith Sampson and Miss Dorothy Fosdick — Mrs. Sampson attended as president of Town Hall World Tour—and Helen Gahagan Douglas.

The past president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. J. Blair Buck, was with us, and Mrs. Christine Ray Davis, from Capitol Hill's House Expenditures Committee. We had Mrs. Beulah Whitby from the Mayor's Interracial Council of Detroit, Mrs. Alice Stewart from the National Association of Colored Women, Mrs. Mary Evans from the National Council of Women of the United States, Miss Frieda Miller, our Women's Bureau chief, Mrs. Arthur Forrest Anderson, president of the National Board of the YWCA, Miss Dorothy Height of the YWCA and many, many other women of great power and influence. My co-chairman was Mrs. Samuel McCrea Cavert, an outstanding leader in women's organizations in this country.

We were all there trying to see how we could combine our organizational effort and direct it toward common goals. I am sure that we gained much in our search for unity, for women who had been attending organization meetings all their lives said that they had never been so helped, practically and spiritually. They said that they were exalted! I know that I was.

The task now is to carry to scores of communities spread across the face of the globe, the findings and the spirit of that marvelous meeting. The task is to do the spade work that will make it possible for the seeds of brotherhood and understanding and practical cooperation to strike root and flourish.

In a later column I shall tell you more about the wonderful women who met in Florida, and about the program and the findings.

Such a gathering! And in Florida! Great good has come out of Nazareth!

MARY McLEOD Bethune

'Citizenship Is Being Something Bigger Than You Are All By Yourself Alone,' says Child

Some months ago, the citizenship committee of the National Education Association assembled information on the citizenship efforts of its advisory committee, from members in all parts of the country. The interesting statement that heads this column, this week, was made by a little ten-year-old girl who was asked for her ideas about citizenship.

In her childish phrases she expressed other thoughts that showed how thoroughly she comprehended the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

"Citizenship is being something bigger than you are by yourself alone," said the child. Another NEA report revealed that at Carlsbad, New Mexico, other young people, a little older, had learned how to put citizenship thoughts into citizenship action.

Carlsbad had separate schools, which held the races apart at that point. But it also had joint student councils in the junior and senior high schools, which met together across race lines.

These high school councils surveyed the schools which they represented and found that the Carver high school "for Negroes" compared unfavorably with other Carlsbad schools at the same level, with respect to equipment, facilities and instruction.

The pupils represented by the councils voted to accept the findings of the survey, which recommended that students from the disadvantaged Carver high school be admitted to the other schools.

What a wonderful experience in justice and brotherhood for those children who worked out this solution for themselves, without fear or favor. And what a wonderfully rewarding experience when Carlsbad's Board of Education, after considering their report with great care, opened Carlsbad high school to Negro students.

"Something bigger" had happened to all the people of Carlsbad. They had discovered citizenship—they had gone into action, together. They had discovered democracy—they had accepted opinion freely reached through democratic procedures.

The young people learned that they must observe closely and with open minds — to discover real facts. They learned to examine all that they saw, not just those things which pleased them. They learned that in a democracy people do not fear differences in backgrounds and views and values. They grow by studying these things.

Carlsbad's adults are to be congratulated that they were ready to accept the straightforward, candid conclusions that came from the minds of their children. It was the best kind of education for responsible living.

We need the inspiration of the little girl — and the inspiration of Carlsbad, in a world where the prime minister of a great country holds his office, in these troublous times, by putting his foot on the neck of a majority, helpless beneath the lash of suppressions unheard of in America's deepest South.

It is unlikely that Prime Minister Daniel Malan ever had the privilege, as a child, of exploring a social problem with an open mind. The windows of his spirit must have been closed, very early, against the light of understanding.

He must not know that he has denied the free growth inherent in citizenship, to himself and to all the people of his land, white and black, because of his failure to see that there cannot be citizenship for any, without "equal justice under the law," for all.

The children understood what has passed by the closed mind of South Africa's prime minister. 'And a little child shall lead hem!"

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Jacksonville Bombing Fails To Halt March To Polls Or Brotherhood

May was a great month! Here at Bethune-Cookman college seventy-seven young people were graduated. They have gone forth to join that growing band of workers who recognize the problems of their day and are prepared to meet them.

We have many students from Jacksonville, where one of the most controversial problems of our times was underscored by the bomb dropped on a voting place to frighten Negroes away from the polls—just as our schools were turning out more eager youth, ready to enter into full citizenship.

But the bomb did not slow up the voting. Young and old turned out in larger numbers than ever before, for they knew that their right to vote had been challenged, and the challenge must be met.

All during the month I was speaking to large gatherings of Florida citizens of all races and creeds—at West Palm Beach, I addressed twelve hundred of the finest people of the Palm Beaches, Negro and white alike, moving ahead together. in my state, where Harry Moore and his wife were assassinated only a few months ago. I gave a down-to-earth talk about equal opportunities for all men; about the breaking of the barriers of prejudice and the opening of new trails to the actual working of democracy.

At Fort Lauderdale, Fla., I spoke to another mixed group. I felt the meeting of the minds of these people. They seemed so eager to hear and discuss and do something toward this great objective of brotherhood in America and the world.

My meeting in Richmond, Va., under the auspices of the Church of God in Christ, was thrilling. I stood before twenty-five hundred souls, who had come from all over Richmond and surrounding areas, to find inspiration, encouragement and hope. Mrs. Arenia Mallory of the Saints Industrial School at Lexington, Ky., was there with her wonderful trained groups of fine students from the Mississippi Delta. They gave a performance that will live long in the hearts of those who heard them.

In Spartanburg, S. C., I spoke to fifteen hundred people in a magnificent community program. In Augusta, Ga., I spoke at the Springfield Baptist church for the Woman's Day program. It was heart-warming to render this service to the womanhood of that section. The student body marched with pride and gratitude to lay a wreath on Lucy Laney's grave, in the name of the women she inspired and served for so long.

I was one of those women. My first work was with Lucy Laney in Augusta—and not in faraway Africa, where I so wanted to go. Lucy Laney helped me to see that the need for Christ was as great in America as in Africa. And it was through my work with Lucy Laney that I earned the first money to buy my parents a comfortable cottage in which to spend their declining years. There was a leader unafraid and with her feet on the ground! At the school she built they revere the memory of her invincible stand for Christian education and democracy.

And as I retrace many of the steps of earlier years—in South Carolina and in Georgia—I realized that the strong roots of progress and brotherhood had reached far down into the soil of our democracy—too far to be killed by smears or bombings. The past few weeks have given me new zeal, new courage and greater faith as I have once more watched the great spectacle of Americans marching forward together.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Raps Backsliding Members Of GOP And Democratic Parties

Four more months and the convention will be over and the delegates back home. The standard-bearers of the two major parties will have argued their cases before the electorate. Another American will have become "Mr. President."

Then what happens to the platforms? What happens to the campaign promises made to the people? Of what value are the party pledges?

As this is written, the air is thick with promises to support or to oppose policies of vital concern to many people. Promises will soon be fashioned into planks and nailed to the platforms of the conventions. After the conventions what of the platforms?

I pick up a paper and find that a distinguished Democrat has chastised his party for "running out on its principles—" by passing an unworthy immigration law over the President's veto; weakening control bills and undercutting American farm labor by legalizing the use of "wetbacks"—farm labor smuggled across the Rio Grande River, from Mexico.

I pick up an "open" letter—now two years old—and read the words of a distinguished Republican, lashing out at less-distinguished Republicans for running out on their platforms and attempting to hide behind a strategy of blaming the party in power for "not doing what we could have done, but did not do. It admits ut sin by ...using our opponents of doing likewise."

This letter I find so interesting that I am going to quote from it a bit:

"In the Eighteenth Congress, when we had control of the Senate and the House, anti-discrimination in employment legislation did not even get a hearing in the House. If there was any important human rights legislation enacted in the Eightieth Congress, it certainly escaped my notice.

"Our Party Platforms in 1940, 1944 and 1948 carried planks favoring human rights legislation. You and every one of the forty-two Republican Senators now in the Senate ran on that platform. Not one of you, not one, repudiated that platform or indicated that you were against that plank endorsing human rights.

"Under these circumstances, for six Republicans to vote against cloture, not even alowing the bill to be brought up for debate, does not impress me as anything we should be proud of. You may be proud of this record but I am not. — the inescapable fact is that coltura, not even allowing the bill by the Wherry Amendment. I believed then and now believe that this Wherry Amendment has nailed the Senate's feet to the floor.

"You say you do not know about any alliance with our Party and the Dixiecrats. If you do not know about this unholy alliance I'll bet you are the only member of the Senate who doesn't.

"I am unalterably opposed to this insidious combination of members of my Party with the Dixiecrats. It means no good for the colored electorate. You know this as well as I do.

"I have requested over and over again, to the Senate leadership of my own Party, for around the clock sessions against the filibuster — in view of these facts I feel it my duty to warn my Party of the dangers ahead." That was the Republican

The Democrat told his backsliding colleagues that they "would have a lot of explaining to do to the people." He told them, moreover, that "A party like that can't win and shouldn't win."

The flouting of principle, the "anything to win" strategy that repeats itself one campaign year after the other, would be very discouraging were it not for men of both parties — like Hubert Humphries of Minnesota, and the late Bob Church of Tennessee, both of whom I have quoted here, who will rise to the full stature of American leadership and drive the money-changers from the temple.

After the conventions, after the elections, watch the platforms.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Segregated Schools Will Live Or Die After Supreme Court Ruling

Today, we of the Negro minority in the United States, and our friends, are engaged in an all-out battle for admission to all tax-supported educational institutions, on the same terms required of all other applicants—no more and no less. We are determined to have an answer, at last, to the question of whether any separation arbitrarily maintained, can afford equality of opportunity.

I know that it cannot—that there is no such thing as "separate but equal." All other educators know the same. They know that the questioning mind—youth or adult—fenced in with racial "thou shalt nots" cannot develop freely or normally. This is what we are saying to all America through the five cases now being argued by NAACP lawyers, before the Supreme Court of the United States.

It is highly significant that all of these cases are addressed to the situation in the elementary and secondary schools.

As I mentioned in discussing Dr. Robert Hutchins' Congressional testimony on behalf of the foundations, in conjunction with the release of the "6-R" pamphlet by the U. S. Office of Education—this time we are cutting straight through our educational race relations problem—recognizing the long-disputed fact that freedom of association is basic to democracy and basic to equality of opportunity.

Of the five cases now being argued, one is, to me, of prime importance—that of the public schools of the District of Columbia. It is true that fewer children are directly involved in the outcome of that case. More children are awaiting the outcome of the Kansas, Virginia, South Carolina and Delaware cases.

But the District of Columbia is federal territory, under federal jurisdiction. If segregation cannot be ended in a federal area, under the laws and Constitution of this democracy, of what value can any holding of our high court be anywhere else in these United States?

Attorney General McGranery has sensed this, I think, in his brief, filed last week with the Supreme Court, asking that body to forbid segregation in public schools anywhere in the nation. But, in that brief, the Attorney General also pointed out that the problem of racial discrimination was especially acute in the Capital at Washington.

Mr. McGranery reminded again that President Truman has stated that the District of Columbia should be a true symbol of American freedom and democracy, for our own people and the people of the world.

And the words of the great man, General Eisenhower, who will take the helm of the Ship of State next month, are still fresh in our ears—those words said that "every vestige" of segregation in the District of Columbia must go!

I do not believe that the President-elect was thinking of next year or the year after. I believe that he knows that the time is now that what happens in the Capital of the United States, now, this year, is bound to have great influence in the thinking and action at the United Nations, as well as throughout the length and breadth of America.

Let us pray for a wise, courageous and unequivocal opinion from the Justices of our High Court.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Mrs. Bethune Tells Why She's Behind Demo Ticket Of Stevenson And Sparkman

The citizens of Florida, like those all over the South and throughout the nation, have a crucial decision to make on election day in November. Many of my friends have asked for my opinion of the two Presidential candidates. When they asked, my mind could not help but revert back to the 1930s when President Roosevelt called me to Washington to help in the National Youth Administration.

I can recall the hundreds of thousands of Negro and white youth—frustrated, depressed and shaken loose from their economic and social moorings by economic depression and disaster. I can recall how the various programs of the NYA served to get many of them back on the track and lift their hopes again for the future. This was but one part of what came to be known as the "New Deal," a program which served to lift the horizons for Negroes and whites all over the Southland, as well as in the rest of the country.

When they have asked me about candidates, I have naturally thought of Harry Truman and how he has placed the prestige of the Presidency of the United States openly and vigorously behind equal and constitutional rights for all citizens without regard to their race. I think of the ringing U. S. Supreme Court decisions and the President's exposition of the role of race in international affairs. His "Fair Deal" program has served to keep open the door of real hope to all the little people.

Now that the beloved Franklin Roosevelt is gone and Harry Truman is not a candidate, which road do we take?

I have been watching and listening carefully to the candidates to see where we might safely rest our future and that of our children. I have had hopes that the nomination of General Eisenhower heralded a new Republican Party worthy to invite Negroes back to the house of Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. But in this I have suffered a sharp disappointment. The General has compromised on basic issues, indulged in purely political maneuvers, played with out-and-out reactionaries and seemed, like many other politicians, willing to do almost anything to win.

On the other hand, I have watched and listened to Governor Stevenson. He has kept his promise to "talk sense to the American people." He has presented the issues in a statesmanlike, honest, courageous and intelligent manner. His views embrace the best of Thomas Jefferson, Grover Cleveland, Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. He has shown keen recognition of the role of race in world affairs.

We heard Governor Stevenson talk civil rights at Richmond in the heart of the Confederacy and at the same time reveal a deep sensitivity to the complex issues involved, showing an understanding of the South—its history and its traditions—and the high hopes of both whites and Negroes alike.

The General, however, unlike his predecessor in the Union Army, retreated at Richmond; he didn't even mention the subject of civil rights. Instead, he refuses to recognize that the federal government is the responsible force for the protection and enforcement of rights guaranteed in the federal Constitution to all people, white and black, alike.

I have decided, therefore, to march behind Adlai Stevenson and John Sparkman as I did behind Franklin Roosevelt and Jack Garner, and Harry Truman and Alben Barkley.

We know and do not fear John Sparkman. His heart is sound and his sympathies deep. I have seen him fight his way up from a sharecropper's oblivion to candidacy for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. He has shown concern for and supported the economic advances of the poor people in the South and in the North as well—black and white alike. He knows they will rise together or stick in the mud together.

I happen to know that years ago, when he was president of the Chamber of Commerce in his home town of Huntsville, Ala., it was his influence that brought the first Negro into the Chamber of Commerce in that Alabama town. I know too, that when Tuskegee Institute faced financial difficulty and feared, at that time, to go to the State Legislature for funds because of the fear of interference with their curriculum, it was John Sparkman and Lister Hill who helped to see to it that Tuskegee got its appropriations without strings.

So I know John Sparkman as I know Hugo Black and as I know Lyndon Johnson of Texas, young Russell Long of Louisiana and Estes Kefauver of Tennessee. I have seen his new, younger and progressive leadership shaking off the shackles of tradition to build a new South. They and their kind have helped me build my school and my life. I know and trust them. I, therefore, ask you to march with me behind **Adlai Stevenson and John Sparkman** on election day.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Race Is Democracy's Acid Test— In Africa Southeast Asia, America

It must have come as a shock to many an American to read in a weekly syndicated magazine, the statement of Capain Mitsuo Fuchido, former Japanese air ace, that when he led the attack against Pearl Harbor, he was filled with a hate which he had been harboring for sixteen years — a hate based on American racial discrimination.

The Japanese airman, now training in this country for work as a Christian missionary, recalls how, when he sailed into San Francisco harbor on a training cruise, in 1925, as a midshipman in the Imperial Japanese Navy, the officers and crew of the three cruisers from the Land of the Rising Sun, were lectured on our Oriental Exclusion Act.

It was explained to the members of the cruise that under the provisions of this act, no Japanese could become a United States citizen.

"That is when I began to hate the United States," said the airman.

His heart and the hearts of hundreds of thousands of his countrymen were filled with hate. The bombs fell on our ships. Call it infamy. Call it what we will. The fact remains that for decades, our own acts had been breeding the hatreds which make war possible, and the fanaticism on which it feeds.

Across the world, in South Africa, the pent-up hatreds and desperation bred by oppression are boiling over. They can no longer be contained in the bodies and souls of those who have been deprived for generations, of the right of self-direction in their own land.

That thought was in the mind of a recent visitor from Southeast Asia who came to this country to observe the working of democracy, and had a most unhappy if enlightening experience in our National Capital.

The eager interest of this visitor soon turned to disillusionment and chagrin. "I was told," she said, 'that I should not live in a 'Negro neighborhood,' because Negroes were responsible for most of the rape; that they were dangerous, dirty and criminal, and should be avoided.

"Then, I, myself, was rejected at several stopping places where I was recommended for housing while in Washington. Someone advised me that if I took off my sari (she wore native dress) I might have less trouble being accepted by white Americans. 'What then,' I asked. Without my sari I would doubtless be taken for an American Negro and excluded altogether!

"You, in the United States, I think, don't intend democracy for anyone but white people, do you?"

What a terrible thing to happen — not just to the young woman from Southeast Asia, but to the people of America, who cannot seem to understand why the darker peoples of the world, and the poorer peoples of the world, do not give us their unqualified friendship in return for our dollars.

Yet we continue to play with fire with out immigration laws. We continue to "talk democracy" glibly, and to delude ourselves that the South African of color — or even the Afrikanders — accept our democracy at our own evaluation; that the visitors whom we receive and "shelter" from the more rugged manifestations of America's struggle toward full democracy are "taken in" by our precautions!

How much better if we were honest with ourselves and with our visitors, recognizing and gladly pointing out (what the visitor discovered on her own initiative), that, given opportunity, Americans of all origins respond in much the same way, achieving in proportion to opportunity and individual ability, in education, culture and economic stature, and are equally representative of a functioning democracy.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Farmers Union Victory Shows High Price For Smearing Discourages Wide Practice

The Great Campaign of 1952 is over, and Dwight D. Eisenhower is now President-Designate of the United States.

All through the campaign, the airways and the press have been filled with recriminations and accusations. The Great Smear has left its ugly print across the face of America. One wonders if it takes all this to elect a President.

I do not believe that it does. When the air is filled with cries, one cannot think. "The black magic of nomenclature" distorts the scene before one's eyes.

But in the heat of a campaign, fighting back is not only a rough-and tumble affair, but usually a hit-or-miss battle in which blows fall wide of their mark. In other, more delicerate action, one can choose the battleground, marshal one's forces and carry the fight to the enemy according to plan.

I think that this is the technique which we must develop more and more, both as individuals and as organizations. I think that the weight of repeated, well-planned, honestly-documented attack will eventually silence much of the loose talk, the defamation and character assassination that has descended like a plague upon our free land.

In many instances it has been proved that racial prejudices tend to disappear when the price of supporting them comes too high, as in the price of segregated education. And I firmly believe that smears will disappear from the propaganda market when the price tag on them scares away the "trade."

The National Farmers Union—our solid, liberal, small-farmer educational organization—recently collected damages of $27,800 from the Farm Bureau of Utah, for circulating charges that the Farmers Union is "communist-dominated."

Two years ago, the Farmers Union took its case to the United States District Court in Salt Lake City, where it was awarded $25,000 for an election statement published by the Farm Bureau, which charged that one candidate favored the "communist-dominated Farmers Union."

The decision was appealed to the Appeallate Court at Denver where it was unanimously upheld. The Farm Bureau decided not to fight the case further. Costs of litigation plus judgment brought the check made payable to the Farmers Union, last month, to the sizeable sum of $27,800—a price high enough to give pause to even chronic name-callers.

I rejoice, greatly, for I have also been subjected to "the Great Smear." The case of the Farmers Union, (which is a "union" only in the sense of unity inherent in any organization), is particularly significant because it disclosed that a writer, later hired by the Farm Bureau, had gone to Washington and written a speech for delivery on the Senate floor, under the protection of Congressional immunity. The Farm Bureau later quoted from the speech, hoping to share the immunity attached to it. The Appellate Court at Denver refused this immunity, saying:

"It would be unfair to allow the appellants to avail themselves of a publication which their agent had prepared and submitted for delivery on the Senate floor."

James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, said of this attempt to hide libel under Congressional privilege:

"It backfired. The District Court and the Court of Appeals held that a harmful utterance must be proven true, otherwise it is libelous regardless where it is published outside the 'immunized' Congress.

"We are happy to have some small part in reducing the area of privileges" of the smearing of ordinary citizens, from the supposed safety of the floors of Congress, which has been carried to such extremes during the past few years, by witch hunters and political phonies.

We are happy, too, Mr. Patton. We thank you for raising the price of "the Great Smear," so that fewer organizations or individuals will be tempted or willing to buy.

If more of us adopt your technique, we shall not only increase the measure of our self protection —we Americans may yet be able to elect a President without first dragging our candidates through the mire of libel and calumny.

VOTE POWER

Colored Voters Can Be Determining Factor in Presidential Campaign

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

IF ELIGIBLE, colored American citizens will register and vote with wisdom in the coming Presidential election they may well determine who will be the forthcoming resident of the White House. They can swing terrific power in the selection of the next Congress and many Governors of the separate states.

Mr. Bibb

During the last ten years colored citizens have massed and congregated in staggering numbers in several large cities of the North. The electoral votes from New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, California and Missouri will just about settle the Presidential dispute. In those states and in a few others, the colored Americans have entrenched and concentrated political power.

THE FIGURES of the Census Department, while fairly accurate, do not include the constant flood of dark minorities streaming into the compact industrial areas since the census was taken.

Many smart observers believe that there are more than a million colored people in New York and at least 750,000 in Chicago. There are far more colored people in Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Cincinnati and St. Louis than the census records. A goodly number of these people, some new arrivals, have never taken the time to register and vote from their new environs. But if spirited appeals and determined drives are made, they will swarm to the polls next November.

Indications pointing from the New Hampshire primaries, where President Truman and Senator Taft were swept asunder, lead to the conclusion that whoever is elected will have to sing a new song and stage another sort of dance.

does not run, colored voters should not expect to be served with fancy promises about civil rights. General Eisenhower and Senator Kefauver will surely present different appeals. Already Taft and Eisenhower, as well as Kefauver, are squarely on record as opposing many of the civil rights planks. Only ex-Governor Stassen has been unevasive and unequivocal. It adds up to a terrific struggle, no holds barred and with less soothing syrup and claptrap for colored voters.

Nonetheless, colored American citizens will be deeply concerned and strongly motivated by their fervent desires for "First Class Citizenship." There is equal determination emanating from the South and from some strong-minded Northerners, both Republicans and Northern Democrats, who are grimly in opposition.

THIS WAS made manifest when the bills designed to confer statehood on Alaska and Hawaii were defeated a few days ago in the Senate. Twenty-five Democrats and twenty Republicans defeated the bills. Senator Taft voted against, so did Senators Bricker, Capehart, Ferguson and other stalwart GOP leaders. The South, solidly opposed the admissions. Some of its spokesmen said that it would be dangerous to admit Alaska and Hawaii because the two Senators allocated might support civil rights legislation.

Senator Russell of Georgia has announced his candidacy for the Presidency. He is an avowed opponent of "First Class Citizenship" for colored Americans. All of these procedures indicate that the political fights now brewing will be bitter. It is also made perfectly plain that colored people will be called upon to muster their strength and resources.

It is evident, judging from the trends, that the power of the colored electorate is being underestimated and in some instances discounted. Likewise the intelligence and the integrity of this minority group seems to be appraised lightly. These attitudes present a challenge to the more than 15 million citizens. It should galvanize them into action and electrify them into the determination to lift their status.

* * *

APPEALS TO emotions have little value. Oratorical outbursts will not sustain them. Neither will moaning, groaning and lamenting. It behooves colored Americans to organize their tremendous voting potentials. The first thing for them to do is to register and qualify themselves to vote.

Unless the shift in population and the newly concentrated strength in strategic cities and controversial states is capitalized upon the inherent power will be dissipated.

Democrats, Republicans, Progressives, Publishers, Pulpiteers and colored Americans of all shades and religions should use their influence and prestige in bringing about heavy registrations. After that, the candidates can be appraised and the crusade for respectable status in America can be directed with purpose and intensity. Colored Americans have tremendous voting potentials. Nineteen-fifty-two is the year for them to make the most of them.

RUSSELL OF GEORGIA

Says He Opposes Civil Rights and Endorses Racial Segregation

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

SENATOR Richard B. Russell of Georgia, candidate for the Presidency of the United States of America, tells the world of his policies and premises on domestic and foreign affairs. The junior Senator from the red hills of Georgia expressed himself during a recent televised presentation styled, "Meet the Press."

Mr. Bibb

The Georgia solon proved himself to be an able and competent person. This former Governor has a comprehensive understanding of the economics and politics of America. He is an extremely well-informed citizen who has an intelligent grasp and understanding of both foreign and domestic affairs.

He answered all questions fired at him by a battery of newsmen with logic and diplomacy except those relative to civil rights. There Senator Russell fumbled and squirmed. He fidgeted nervously as he sought to parry and by-pass his questioners.

WHEN FINALLY pinned down he reverted to type. Instead of the brilliant parliamentarian, the dignified law-maker and the shining exponent of the democratic principle, he adopted the roles of Vardaman, Heflin, Bilbo, Hoke Smith, Tom Watson and the Talmadges.

Dropping the attributes of the statesman, Senator Russell started babbling about the "unparalleled progress of our 'Negras'." He gurgled, almost incoherently, about the "misunderstanding of the South's racial problem." Of course, he denied that he favored sectionalism, but in the same breath exalted the sanctity of state's rights.

Russell told about the progress made by the Southern colored farmers under the Senate's Agriculture Appropriations Committee, of which he is chairman. He stoutly declared if he were elected President the colored citizens had nothing to fear from him.

* * *

THEN RUSSELL skinned his teeth and bared his fangs. He said that he was violently opposed to the abolition of segregation. He, mopping his brow, almost shouted that FEPC would surely lead to socialism and "centralized government." He went so far as to defend the jim-crow systems of the District of Columbia and denied that he was familiar with the laws therein.

When asked if he had considered how the Communists were making devastating propaganda out of the doctrines of segregation and second-class citizenship for darker minorities, he sought clumsily to evade the queries. It was a shameful and sorry spectacle.

It is difficult to contemplate how so capable and intelligent a character as Mr. Russell would have to play such a part and enact such a scene before the eyes and ears of America's millions. Senator Russell appears to be a person of sound convictions and strong character on most public questions. His flip-flops and gymnastics on civil rights are almost incomprehensible. But there is more than appears on the surface.

RUSSELL, WITH his keen brain and political astuteness is fully aware that big business opposes civil rights. He is cognizant of the attitudes of the textile industries, the banking oligarchies, the power trusts, the oil combines and the utility magnates, who are accused of backing Governor Herman Talmadge.

He is fully aware of the firm intentions of the "economic royalists" to keep wages down and preserve the Southern status of cheap labor. He is fully acquainted with the slick political subterfuges used to inflame the ignorant, white Southerners and keep them from becoming class conscious. Russell is master in dealing with both the little and the big people of his state.

Perhaps no state in the union produces more delicious peaches, more delightful watermelons or bigger fools than Georgia. That is why Talmadge is Governor today. That is why the county bloc system virtually disfranchises the dumb voters — colored and white.

* * *

MAYBE THAT is why Dick Russell feels that it is necessary to come out with the old gag about the "progress of 'cullud' folks," the dangers of FEPC and the necessity for Southern segregation. Maybe that is why he seems willing to prostitute his splendid talents and ignore the opposition of all the darker folks on earth.

Senator Russell, obviously a very fine and scholarly gentleman, surely cannot believe the tommyrot he regurgitated before the unseen audience of the air. If he is so indoctrinated and infiltrated with racial hatred and color prejudice then he is plainly unfit to be President.

Big business will not forever fool the little people of Georgia and cannot forever make men like Senator Russell their tools of infamy.

FEPC FIZZLES

Colored Workers Denied Jobs by Private Business, Holders of U. S. Contracts

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

REPORTS upon the desk of this scribe show that the President's recent Fair Employment Practices Order is being boldly disregarded. Colored workers, according to informers, whose reliability and credibility have been tested, relate that bias and job discrimination have actually increased since Mr. Truman issued the order.

Mr. Bibb

State Employment Agencies declare that "non-whites" are being bluntly turned down, when they apply for advertised jobs. Employment managers are making no bones of their policies. They are firm and adamant, although they are willing to freely discuss the issues.

THEY MAINTAIN that they resent the attempt of President Truman to ram FEPC theories down their throats. They intimate that they consider such measures as pure political clap-trap. Some maintain that the President waited until the eve of the Presidential political campaign — more than three years—and that he is not now serious about fair employment. They scoff that the measure lacks means and methods of enforcement.

In Illinois, where Director of Labor Frank Annunzio recently established rules in the Illinois employment methods, whereby business institutions that discriminate against minorities would be denied help from his office, the reaction to FEPC is revealing.

* * *

THE BUSINESS people scoff at the director's policies and are rudely inclined to discontinue the use of the state offices in securing workers.

Many of the employers who discriminate in Illinois point out that manufacturers holding contracts with the U. S. Government refuse to hire non-whites, notwithstanding the fact that the contracts specifically provide against such discrimination.

The Government can immediately cancel and forfeit these contracts and turn them over to other companies who are willing to follow the spirit and the letter of the Government's instructions. But as yet there is no record for Mr. Truman's administration cancelling a single contract. Not one. But instead, an impotent, harmless, toothless device, styled a "Fair Employment Practices Law" is invoked.

* * *

JUST RECENTLY six volunteers offered to serve on the FEPC Committee and put a semblance of vitality and reality into the President's order. The members of the FEPC Committee will serve as "persuaders seeking means and ways to prevent discrimination in employment on Government defense orders." The only power beyond persuasion possessed by the committee is that of recalling the orders from biased, prejudiced employers.

Manifestly, this FEPC is an abject failure. It is not respected. It seems to stem more from a desire to win the votes of the colored Americans than to gain jobs for them. Coming at such a time, when the nation is short of airplanes, tractors, submarines, guns and tanks, it appears that the whole

CICERO'S CLIMAX

Wrongdoers Escape Jail Sentences as Illinois Riot Cases Come to Close

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THOSE who failed to protect colored Americans in Cicero last July have been found guilty, but not one has been sentenced to jail. Judge Walter J. LaBuy levied fines against Cicero's Police Chief and two policemen from the Chicago suburb, but none was placed in durance vile.

Mr. Bibb

Thus, the infamous affair that threw pandemonium into the little town adjoining Chicago reaches a climax. A jury found the Police Chief and some of his fellow-officers guilty. Judge LaBuy had the power to inflict jail sentences but he did no such thing. There are those who feel that the Cicero affair winds up in an appalling and challenging fashion.

DURING THE middle of last July mobs raised hell in Cicero for two days. A colored veteran, Harvey Clark Jr., and his family were manhandled when they sought to move into an apartment in the almost all-Polish town. Police authorities utterly failed to protect him and seemingly were powerless to check the resulting violences.

Governor Adlai Stevenson felt impelled to call out the State Militia to restore law and order after the reign of terror. The jury in the Federal Court found Erwin Konovsky, Police Chief, and Patrolmen Roland Brani and Frank A. Lange guilty of failure to perform their duties. Manifestly, the rulings of Judge LaBuy do not constitute a whitewash, formed as the Cicero mobsters and many of the town officials, it is hard to conceive how the culprits could have gotten off with fines alone. Colored lawbreakers now are doing long but they amount to little more than "taps on the wrists."

Judge LaBuy, in his statement in open court, said that underlying the riots was a sinister plot to have the people of Cicero pay exorbitant prices for the property where the Clarks planned to live. He felt that such a scheme did much to infuriate the people of the Slavic-American town.

* * *

SUCH REASONING is unconvincing. No provocation justifies law-abiding citizens in rioting and in destroying property. There is no justification for the abuses and manhandlings of the Clarks and the destruction of their property. There are no laws prohibiting colored Americans from living in Cicero.

The technique of threatening so-called "restricted residential areas" with "undesirables," such as colored people and Jews, has long been used to inflate property values and the payment of high premiums to owners, who seem inclined to sell to despised minorities.

The tricks allegedly used in Cicero should not serve to condone the riots, the vandalism and the brutalities of last July. The practices of inflating realty values by threats of calculated "invasions" are nothing new. Nor is the system of puffing the prices of real estate to colored people. If those who are charged with these "sharp practices and hard bargains" were all rounded up, it would be difficult to find jails to hold them.

* * *

THE REAL issues in the Cicero disgraces were the apathy of the Cicero police, the viciousness of the mobs and the psychology of those who took part in the mass disorders.

If colored people had perstretches in prison for lesser offenses. The climax of Cicero leaves a bad taste in the mouth. It seems to be a hollow mockery of justice and adds to the mounting hatreds for white Americans.

This reporter has pointed out repeatedly that the Cicero travesties have aroused the indignation and animosity of darker people all over civilization. The Kremlin has used it as a propaganda theme. The people of China are informed by Pieping's radio as Moscow makes use of such affairs to intensify resentments against the United States. The climax of the Cicero cases will have far-reaching repercussions.

* * *

THE NATIONAL Association for the Advancement of Colored People, now engaged in "Operation Civil Rights," will find much to consider here in what is generally held to be a flagrant and notorious miscarriage of justice.

Somebody should be sent to jail because of the riots in Cicero. Eye-witnesses told the Federal jury hearing the cases some harrowing tales. Friends and sympathizers of those found guilty can easily underwrite the fines and hail the convicted defendants. Law and order do not seem to have prevailed. The wrong-doers may well laugh up their sleeves and set about to repeat their atrocities at later dates.

WHO'S INFERIOR?

Darker Folk Everywhere Are Now Challenging the Doctrine of Inferiority

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

COLORED people all over creation are now standing with white folks without salaaming and kowtowing. The doctrine of the inferiority of darker people is being rapidly blasted and exploded. For a long time arrogant whites sought to keep members of the darker races "in their places." They used the mailed fist to impress their supercilious notions.

Mr. Bibb

Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, the Dutch and the United States were arch propagators of the idea of the inferiority of colored races.

The idea is now being challenged in Korea, in Indo-China, in Tunisia, in South Africa, in India, the West Indies, South America, and the United States. The magic that made chattel slaves of some, peons of many and sharecroppers of others is furiously losing its charm. The bubble of racial inferiority is bursting. No longer is the theory of the white man's superiority accepted.

* * *

HERE IN the United States a terrific struggle is being staged within the confines of colored society. There are many who still stand in awe of whites. There are some who tremble and quake with fear.

The handicaps of slavery, the existence of mass and organized ignorance and the relentless and unceasing tactics of the whites operate to keep large numbers of colored Americans actually believing that "the sun rises and sets in the white man."

But, slowly and surely, it is seeping into their minds that whites are not endowed with special talents and that they have unattainable claims for superiority.

Perhaps one of the most significant strides in social evolution has been the gradual mental emancipation of the colored races.

* * *

GANDHI, RECOGNIZED by many people as the greatest man of the twentieth century, with dignity, understanding and conviction, proved that swaggering and strutting Britons had no divine heritage of supremacy.

The Japanese insurgents, with their proposals for an "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," shook the foundations of the Orient. Nehru, following in the footsteps of Gandhi, continues on devastating and destroying the myths of white supremacy.

The awakening of China with its teeming millions has doomed the haughty pretenses of the white imperialists, while Russia spreads its insidious propaganda into the remote regions on earth, decrying and denouncing the exponents of racial supremacy and white imperialism.

Over here in America sober thinkers advocate "tolerance and liberality." But the concept of one man being "tolerant" with another seems to pre-suppose some sort of superiority. If analyzed, it will be discovered that the supposition is based on the color of the skin. Fortunately, enlightened and intelligent colored Americans reject the background underlying the theory of "racial tolerance."

* * *

AN EX-PAWNBROKER was recently castigated and reviled because he proudly proclaimed, "My son is a liberal and is tolerant with colored people."

He was promptly charged with bigotry and failure to appreciate that he was a member of a persecuted minority and had no basis for feeling that he had to be tolerant with men of color. The fallacy in his reasoning was that he placed a false premium upon the color of his skin.

When American whites tell their colored friends that they favor equality, but cannot "bend over too far backward, because, after all, they are white people," contempt generally follows. No longer is the whiteness of an individual's skin a stamp of superiority. It follows that pigmentation is not a stigma nor a stain of inferiority. * * *

UNCIVILIZED PEOPLE did not consider themselves inferior until they were shackled and fettered with slavery and colonization. The master-race notion followed in the wake of economic exploitation. Such is now being checked in Asia, Africa, and in some parts of the United States.

But there are many forms of the dread inferiority complex still pestering colored people. Frustrations, planned insults, studied systems of discrimination and enforced poverty operate to confuse the masses of colored Americans. Indeed, there are still evidences of hero-worship, class autocracy, and social arrogance among them.

However, the general notion of inferiority is disappearing. It will continue to do so as further onslaughts continue against the confraternity of whites, typified by the Malans, the Churchills, the Byrneses, the Talmadges, and the die-hard journalists who dwell in the spent glories of yesterday.

There are so inately inferior people. There is but one aristocracy on earth, and that is the aristocracy of the mind. The white man has no monopoly on that, as is being demonstrated.

GAPS IN GOP

Deaths of Bob Church, Finley Wilson Leave Gaps in GOP Ranks

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THERE are yawning gaps in the tattered ranks of colored Republicans. The recent deaths of Robert R. Church and Finley Wilson tend to further deplete the stalwart supporters of the Grand Old Party.

Since the last Presidential election, such famed standard bearers of Republican colors as Roscoe Simmons, Oscar DePriest, Finley Wilson and Bob Church have fallen in the fight. Of the once gallant and famed "Old Guard" Republicans, only Perry W. Howard, Emmett Scott and William C. Hueston remain. The others have crossed the Great Divide. It remains for others to replace them. Their passing leaves a direful need for vigorous, two-fisted, red-blooded replacements.

Mr. Bibb

Slowly, but surely, death, the Democratic party, defeats and disappointments have sapped the vitality of the once formidable colored Republican valiants. Only a few of the colorful and convincing characters, who swore by the "party of Lincoln," are now in the ranks. The luster and brilliance of other days has faded away. When Robert Church died, the glaring weakness in the ranks of the GOP became more painfully apparent.

* * *

MANY ADHERENTS of color still hang on, but there is a pathetic need of new blood and new inspiration. Manifestly, the Republicans cannot thrive forever on the grandeur of Lincoln nor upon the glories of by-gone days.

There was a time when almost all of the affluent and important members of the darker minority were died-in-the-wool Republicans. One of their most colorful spokesmen from the South spiritedly yelled from a platform in Chicago during the early Twenties: "There ain't no other party for the cullud folks to belong to no-now." All that is now changed. The Democrats have cut devastating swaths in the former solid ranks.

THE DECLINE started in 1912 when President William Howard Taft declared, "I will appoint no Negroes to office in the South that will offend the Southerners." President Woodrow Wilson, who succeeded him, drew stiffer color lines. After President Hoover, the depression and the coming of F.D.R., the colored Republicans began to drift away.

But they clung on in great numbers until the fateful year of 1936, when Roosevelt swamped Landon and almost spread-eagled the entire country. Then there were wholesale defections and departures.

There are no longer any dynamic individuals like Henry Lincoln Johnson, eloquent lawyer, leader of Georgians, known politically as the "Georgia Peach." Ben Davis, shrewd and canny successor to Johnson, has departed, too. So has the bewitching and magnetic Roscoe Simmons. The fiery and fearless DePriest, the Bostonian diplomat, and former Harvard athlete Clarence Matthews have also gone.

So has the famed scribe from Kentucky, Phil Brown. How he functioned at the conventions of yore! Finley Wilson, the little giant of the Elks; Louis B. Anderson, crafty Chicago alderman; Dr. Crossland of Missouri, Walter Cohen of Louisiana, what men! And now the influential, skillful and faithful Bob Church. They are gone, and with them the titles and ranks of another age.

* * *

NO LONGER are there any Collectors of Internal Revenue in Dixie like Henry A. Rucker of Atlanta, Ga.; no Collectors of Port like Walter Cohen of New Orleans. There are no Registers of the Treasury like Judson Lyons, J. C. Napier and W. T. Vernon. Such honors belonged to another age. They passed on with the invincible "Old Guard."

From that group remains the wily and irrepressible Perry W. Howard. He, alone, retains the arts and skill of illustrious colored Republicans of another day.

The death and departure of Church, Wilson, et al, accentuates the imperative need of new blood in the Republican party. There was never a more crucial and critical time. Indications during recent elections point to a slow but determined switch of colored votes to the GOP.

In many of the large cities and powerful industrial areas, the returns reveal a ten per cent gain for the GOP. It could be much more during times of corruption, inflation, taxes and fuzzy domestic and foreign policies.

* * *

THERE ARE positive indications that the FEPC flops and and unfulfilled promises of the Truman Administration have shaken the faith of many colored voters. There are positive evidences of rising dissatisfaction.

DIXIE STARTLED

Southerners at Chicago Confab Dumbfounded at Treatment of Negroes

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

"WAAL I'll be durned," said a confused Dixiecrat visitor when he attended the recent Chicago convention. "By gum, I see 'Nigras' going 'round jest like white folks," he continued. "I never did expect to see the day when 'Nigras' would be allowed to stop in these fine hotels, eat at the best restaurants and sit wherever they wanted to on street cars, buses and in theatres.

Mr. Bibb

"Fust thing you know they will think they are as good as white folks," he added.

A lady from the South in answer to him said, "You got to take into consideration that these 'Nigras' can vote at the convention and their votes counts. Things are changing," she reminded him.

SUCH CONVERSATIONS were heard in the hotel lobbies of Chicago's downtown district, at the convention hall, and in truth wherever the Dixie folks gathered. They were amazed to observe colored Americans in evidence everywhere. They were confounded and bewildered, and in some cases, so were some of the colored delegates and visitors hailing from the South.

Southern colored people delighted and reveled with the cordial reception accorded them at noted Chicago hotels. Some were astounded as they were politely served in the famed restaurants of the Windy City. Many confided to their friends that they were beginning to feel free for the first time in their entire lives.

Colored conventioneers, we are pleased to note, looked the part and acted the part of first-class citizens. They were neatly and quietly attired. They spoke in subdued and controlled voices. They went about their business and pleasure just as if "they were to the manor born."

FOR PURPOSES of keeping the record straight, it should be well understood that Chicago, normally, is no Elysian haven. The doctrine of civil rights has not been received here cheerfully. There is no regular welcome doormat for colored citizens at Chicago's Loop hotels and swank restaurants. During the conventions staged by the Republicans and Democrats, the colored guests were merely "tenants on sufferance."

Hotel managers and proprietors had been fully instructed by the political powers of both parties to accord every courtesy to the colored contingents. That was an order. It came from America's most influential people. Because of such rigid and exacting demands and instructions colored guests were received and treated with the kind of respect and consideration due all decent people.

Not many years ago the colored conventioneers were housed out in segregated confines. They were allocated to separate "headquarters." They were patronized by the bosses of their respective parties but few doubted that they were for all beneficial purposes nothing but the "fifth wheel." They were tolerated as loyal, but humble servants.

* * *

ALL THAT is changed. Colored Americans, particularly during election times, are recognized by astute and adroit politicians as being definite and distinctive powers. Clearly, herein is a positive demonstration of the deference paid to power. It should be a revealing lesson to all minority and underprivileged people. The dominant forces are compelled to make concessions to power, strength and intelligence.

Colored Americans are beginning to understand the potentials they have slowly developed. Because of such potentials discrimination, segregation and isolation pale and fade away. Herein is a revealing exhibition of the burning need for political strength. It discloses that America's wealth, influence and even its bigots fully realize and comprehend that colored Americans cannot be longer regarded as inconsequential.

Southerners were brought face to face with the grim realities. And there was naught they could do but accept the realities of the times. There is much that the colored citizens, themselves, can do, however.

* * *

THEY CAN probe into causes and reasons for the breakdown of old traditions, and for the new-found recognition. It should be plain to them that they are still hated and reviled and held in contempt, but they hold the magic possession of voting strength. By virtue of their suffrage the destinies of the world's most powerful nation may be charted.

White people made these concessions to the colored minority at Chicago because they are interested in electing the next President of the U.S.A. The Dixie folks, even in their consternation, are aware of that fact. Are the colored Americans, also, fully cognizant of the causes and reasons for their welcome reception?

"I am convinced myself that there is no more evil thing in this present world than race prejudice. None at all. I write deliberately. It is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other sort of error in the world."—H. G. WELLS.

SERVICE REFUSED

Color Lines Drawn On Vacationers of The Darker Minority

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

IT HAS not been all sunshine and flowers for colored travelers and vacationists during the summer months. Many have been jim crowed, segregated, insulted and rebuffed as they sojourned across the fair land of this country.

Not many of those who were denied food and lodging are willing to relate the embarrassments and hardships that they were compelled to suffer. But there are some who indignantly report their harrowing experiences.

Mr. Bibb

This scribe is informed of two shocking cases in Michigan. A soldier who volunteered to serve his country, was refused food with his parents in the great State of Michigan. They were curtly told by an impudent waitress, "We do not serve colored people here and there will be no need for you to insist."

THESE EDUCATED, refined and cultured people swallowed their pride and retired, burning and seething with resentment and indignation.

A family of wealthy, colored citizens met the same treatment way up in the resort region of the same state. They were told by the proprietor, himself, "We have never served colored people because our white patrons would object." This statement was firmly challenged by the determined head of the family.

He politely stated: "I don't believe that your customers would object to the presence of refined, orderly colored people and I will be willing to abide by the decision of those eating here now."

* * *

THE DEFY was accepted and every guest in the restaurant was questioned. Much to the surprise of the proprietor, none objected. Hasty apologies followed as the family was then courteously seated and graciously served.

Motels in Colorado insolently raised the ban on travelers of color. No subterfuges were adopted. The refusals were curt and sharp. Suits have been filed and courageous citizens of Colorado declare they are determined to break up the insidious system.

A distinguished lawyer relates that his reservations in an Arizona hotel were dishonored and he was told in a threatening voice to get out of the lobby. He further tells how he was compelled to pay exorbitant rates for the privilege of lodging with a colored family.

* * *

TALES ARE TOLD about discriminatory treatment at Minnesota resorts. A group of professional men who motored across the overland route, avow they will never attempt the trip by automobile again. Tired, nervous people seeking rest and relaxation do not always find themselves in fighting moods.

On the other hand, there are those who become so incensed and inflamed that they are ready and willing to test the civil rights laws of the states where such atrocities are practiced.

In Nevada no pretenses are made of treating colored Americans with civility. Shocking stories are told about treatment received in such places as Las Vegas, Elko and Reno. There the police aid and abet the mean and abusive operators of restaurants and motels.

* * *

TALES ARE persistently floating out of Mexico describing discrimination against colored Americans. Two physicians narrate with passion how they were denied food and lodging in three of the most popular hotels in Monterey.

31a 1952 Joseph D. Bibb

DISLIKES TERM 'NEGRO'

Columnist Bibb Joins Ardent Protestor That 'Term' Is Derogatory

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

JAMES E. MATHEWS of Sharon, Pa., writes me expressing his disdain for the term "Negro." He says that colored leaders could discontinue its use and publicly declare it obsolete.

Many other colored Americans, and some whites, have informed me that the term "Negro" is unscientific, derogatory, not descriptive and altogether degrading in its import and upshot. There is full accord in this corner. For a number of years I have avoided use of the opprobious expression except upon rare and compelling circumstances.

Mr. Bibb

On previous occasions the etymology of the word has been traced in this column. It has been pointed out time after time that the term "Negro" is not definitive nor descriptive of the darker minority of the nation. This minority is of varied hues and shades ranging from alabaster to ebony. It is composed of different racial strains and holds very little in common with types viciously delineated by biased whites as "Negroes."

I HAVE contended that the darker American minority should be affiliated with the rising colored peoples of the world. Few, if any, pure Afric-blooded Americans are to be seen or found within our Columbian confines. What are styled as American "Negroes" are really colored Americans and should be so described.

The classification of the darker American as a "Negro" is arbitrary, unscientific and unsupported by historical findings. Whether Mr. Mathews is correct in assuming that colored leaders could "outlaw" the term by merely declaring it obsolete is doubtful. But expressed disapproval would tend to discourage its use.

There was a time when Southern whites—perhaps with a keen sense of the fitness of things—addressed and referred to this minority as colored, when they wanted to carry a point or make an impression. They even addressed some of the letters sent with the term "colored" affixed. Never, however, was a letter directed to "Sambo Jones, Negro." The Southern whites with canny insight knew that the term "Negro" would not sit well.

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AT OTHER times this column has contained a challenge to those who supported the use of the term "Negro," to explain why they objected to colored women being styled "Negresses," while condoning the term "Negro." No takers.

Wisecrackers and wordsmiths have flippantly defended the word "Negro" by inquiring, "What's in a name?" While no comment was made from this outpost some of these same phrase-makers condemned the UN soldiers for dubbing the North Koreans "gooks." The Koreans resented the term bitterly and the military officials ordered the practice discontinued. The same supporters of the term "Negro" will fight if styled "n——" by a white person. Now we inquire, "What's in a name?"

Communists and their sympathizers over here won no followers by labeling colored Americans "The Negro People." It was a sly and artful trick to promote disintegration and smash interracial solidarity. None of the Reds, the fellow-travelers nor the parlor pinks ever designated the fifteen million underprivileged members of the darker minority as colored Americans.

* * *

OBVIOUSLY THAT would unify them with other Americans. Such nomenclature would operate as a cohesive, binding influence. That is exactly what the Reds did not want. They wanted social separation. That is why they came up with the term "Negro People." Happily it is being cast into discard.

Mr. Mathews relates that a German scientist, Blumenbach, noted in 1790, when there was a tendency to discontinue styling the freedmen as colored Americans but as "Negroes," that they were in no position to resent it. They are in a position to resent it now. They should resent it as the colored peoples of the earth are commanding and receiving greater respect.

Mathews is right in contending that the darker minority is now in a position to protest and reject such fictitious designation as "Negro," and it should be done.

* * *

THOSE WHO are interested in learning the true meaning of the term "Negro" and the derivation have but to consult the Oxford dictionaries. They might well read a few tracts and treatises on anthropology and discover how the term "Negro" is a subtle and wicked designation.

It will be impossible to conclude accurately that the darker people here are Negroes. They are colored Americans.

It will be well to note, also, that the East Indian people are held to be Caucasians and that the Abyssinians, the Ethiopians, the Berbers, are not considered "Negroes." But none can deny that they are colored, as are the Chinese, the Japanese, the Burmese, the Moroccans, and, not lastly, the darker citizens of America.

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FEPC FIZZLES

Colored Workers Denied Jobs by Private Business, Holders of U. S. Contracts

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

REPORTS upon the desk of this scribe show that the President's recent Fair Employment Practices Order is being boldly disregarded. Colored workers, according to informers, whose reliability and credibility have been tested, relate that bias and job discrimination have actually increased since Mr. Truman issued the order.

Mr. Bibb

State Employment Agencies declare that "non-whites" are being bluntly turned down, when they apply for advertised jobs. Employment managers are making no bones of their policies. They are firm and adamant, although they are willing to freely discuss the issues.

* * *

THEY MAINTAIN that they resent the attempt of President Truman to ram FEPC theories down their throats. They intimate that they consider such measures as pure political clap-trap. Some maintain that the President waited until the eve of the Presidential political campaign — more than three years—and that he is not now serious about fair employment. They scoff that the measure lacks means and methods of enforcement.

In Illinois, where Director of Labor Frank Annunzio recently established rules in the Illinois employment methods, whereby business institutions that discriminate against minorities would be denied help from his office, the reaction to FEPC is revealing.

* * *

THE BUSINESS people scoff at the director's policies and are rudely inclined to discontinue the use of the state offices in securing workers.

Many of the employers who discriminate in Illinois point out that manufacturers holding contracts with the U. S. Government refuse to hire non-whites, notwithstanding the fact that the contracts specifically provide against such discrimination.

The Government can immediately cancel and forfeit these contracts and turn them over to other companies who are willing to follow the spirit and the letter of the Government's instructions. But as yet there is no record for Mr. Truman's administration cancelling a single contract. Not one. But instead, an impotent, harmless, toothless device, styled a "Fair Employment Practices Law" is invoked.

JUST RECENTLY six volunteers offered to serve on the FEPC Committee and put a semblance of vitality and reality into the President's order. The members of the FEPC Committee will serve as "persuaders seeking means and ways to prevent discrimination in employment on Government defense orders." The only power beyond persuasion possessed by the committee is that of recalling the orders from biased, prejudiced employers.

Manifestly, this FEPC is an abject failure. It is not respected. It seems to stem more from a desire to win the votes of the colored Americans than to gain jobs for them. Coming at such a time, when the nation is short of airplanes, tractors, submarines, guns and tanks, it appears that the whole business is a hollow mockery. It is a snide trick that would infuriate citizens equipped with valiant courageous leaders.

* * *

BUT COLORED American Democrats have sought to capitalize on the spineless, deceitful measure. They have again attempted to glorify Truman and hail him as the great "Champion of Civil Rights."

In the face of this farce and fiasco, hard-headed business people—indoctrinated with racial hatreds — are scoffing, spoofing and ignoring the subject of fair employment for "Negroes, Jews, Mexicans and foreign-born."

A good indication of how opponents of job equality feel about this latest FEPC order can be easily gathered from the reaction of Dixiecrats, the State's Righters, and the White Supremacists. They have been unperturbed. The most blatant critics of job equality and the loudest proclaimers of white supremacy have not fired many shots at Truman's petty trickery. To them this FEPC order is not considered a threat to their theories. They regarded it as a political milksop.

* * *

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S FEPC Committee did stage meetings and institute inquiries. A few of its members, chiefly colored, probed skillfully into job bias and discrimination. Some good was accomplished. But this Missouri device, redolent of Pendergast wiles, will accomplish nothing. It never was intended to do much.

It will surely follow, however, that Vishinsky and his crew of deadly propagandists will further reveal the existence of exploitation, discrimination and job bias—even in the Federal Government — to the billion members of the colored races, who are now wavering between the tenets of democracy and the ethics of communism. It will be most difficult for the colored purveyors of propaganda extolling the treatment of minorities in the USA to explain this tawdry business.

NEGRO PRESS CREED

The Negro press believes that America can best lead the world away from racial and national antagonisms when it accords to every man, regardless of race, color or creed, his human and equal rights. Hating no man, fearing no man, the Negro press strives to help every man in the firm belief that all are hurt so long as anyone is held back.

SEES NEW FIELD

Wall Street Journal Finds Business Opportunities Among Colored Americans

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this

baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other sort of error in the world."—H. G. WELLS.

WALL STREET, fabulous main artery of American big business, is taking notice of the buying power, the earning potentials and the amazing strides made by the colored Americans during the last decade. On Feb. 23, the Wall Street Journal, often referred to as the "Bible of Big Business," devoted a considerable amount of important space to the values and possibilities of the rising and expanding "Negro Market."

Mr. Bibb

Felicia Anthenelli, who authored the story for the Wall Street Journal, notes that the colored population in the United States now soars beyond the fifteen million mark, and that the aggregate income of colored Americans tops the annual figure of $15 billion. Such statistical information implies that colored Americans are engaged in constant and tremendous spending and buying. Thus Wall Street correctly and aptly recognizes a fertile field for business.

* * *

THE BUYING power of colored Americans cannot be ignored. Big business is slowly but surely opening its eyes to the fertility and the value of this vast and virtually unexplored market.

The Wall Street Journal's article expresses the conclusion that American business will show increased interest in getting more colored customers. Producers, manufacturers, jobbers and dealers are manifesting continually increased interest in the ripe and abundant fields of this almost untapped and unexplored area.

Advertisers are giving intensive study to this neglected market. Advertising agencies, publishers' representatives, magazines and newspapers are rapidly turning out brochures, circulation break-downs, hitherto obscure facts and statistics on the colored markets, and are laying them down before the space buyers.

AMONG THE mass of information — some of which the Wall Street Journal now possesses—are pertinent proofs of shifts in colored population to big cities. Thus concentrated markets are presented. Chicago during the last ten years shows an astounding leap in colored population, having increased more than 80 per cent. Likewise startling gains in population are revealed in Los Angeles, Detroit, Cleveland and New York. The shifts in colored population have resulted in new social, economic and political conditions.

Now there are more than five million registered voters in the Republic. Likewise, 1,250,000 colored Americans are members of powerful unions. That means steady, substantial payroll checks. And sound buying potentials.

Education is on the march as attested by the 128,000 colored students now enrolled in colleges and universities. These are irrefutable facts for American businesses to mull over. That is why Wall Street, conservative and concerned chiefly with hard, cold facts, has seen fit to consider the advantages and possibilities of this undeveloped market.

* * *

AMPLE EVIDENCE has also been presented to prove the "pulling power" of periodicals published by and primarily for colored Americans. Many fallacies, tending to prove that colored publications dovetailed and overlapped the functions of white periodicals, have been blasted.

Concerns and institutions, and they are numerous and rising, that have made use of the advertising columns of colored publications, testify that their adventures in advertising in these publications have proved profitable.

When Wall Street takes notice and opens its eyes, it means that sales resistance is breaking down. Already various trade publications have featured the advantages of this, practically a new media. The reports given, almost in unison, are entirely favorable.

* * *

FOR A LONG time, advertising in colored media was frowned upon by substantial business institutions. Even after the presentation of facts and figures, for some strange reason thumbs were turned down. Advertising appropriations were issued through other channels. Discouraged salesmen stated that they ran up against stone walls of opposition. They concluded that back of the curt denials and refusals that there was raw, rank prejudice.

Such is rapidly crumbling away. Wall Street's revealing and informative article is prophetic of new attitudes. Big business will not overlook these superlative fields of progress. The colored market is inviting.

"I am convinced myself that there is no more evil thing in this present world than race prejudice. None at all. I write deliberately. It is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more

'OVERRATED'

NAACP Forges Ahead Through Efforts of Others as Walter Continues His Petty Politics

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

WALTER WHITE, glamour boy executive secretary of the NAACP, as a race leader, as an organizer, as a writer and as the "big shot" of the advancement group, is much overrated. However, as an adroit, cunning politician, he ranks high.

Mr. Bibb

A peep at the remarkable record of the NAACP will show that White has not been prolific in organizing branches. It will not show that he has been a magnet of attraction for colored Americans.

But in dealing with political groups—particularly those affiliated with the Roosevelt-Truman-Stevenson axis—he has been superlative. For years the NAACP focused its fight against lynching. But no anti-lynching laws have been passed by the Federal Government.

For years Mr. White went over the country dramatizing the horrible lynch-execution of Mary Turner. The affair was his theme and principal thesis but nothing tangible resulted.

* * *

A FEW years later he lined up with A. Philip Randolph, when that prominent, crusading, labor leader threatened to "March on Washington," However, it was Randolph, who caused President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802, which resulted in the late, lamented FEPC.

For awhile it appeared that White was the tail wagging Randolph's organization. But by no stretch of the imagination can he be credited with Roosevelt's toothless directive. White, as is his wont, covertly sought to share the limelight with the "March on Washington" group.

The greatest accomplishments of the advancement association have been made in the courts and White is not a lawyer. A battery of brilliant legal talent led by Thurgood Marshall made history before the Highest Tribunal. The cause of minorities was thereby lifted.

The NAACP underwrote most of the expenses but White did not raise the funds. It was raised by the branches and the heavy contributors, many of whom were staunch and devout Republicans.

MRS. DAISY LAMPKIN, Arthur B. Spingarn, William Pickens, Father Bagnall, James Weldon Johnson, Mary White Ovington, Moorfield Storey and Dr. DuBois were the potent factors in organizing and developing the NAACP. Not White. Roy Williams and his workers now do the association's heavy work.

Walter White, meanwhile, plays partisan politics boldly and brazenly. The NAACP gives him the "buildup." He loves the limelight. He secures the sanction of the board of directors in making himself the front man. It seems that he has put rings through the noses of the directors, many of whom are admittedly rabid and enthusiastic Democrats.

As a novelist, authoring such books as "Fire in the Flint," "Flight" and other claptrap, White won no laurels. Such critics as Henry Mencken would surely put White's writings in the category of fifth-rate hack. Most of his literary work has been slapstick, piffle and tripe. He does not rank with DuBois or Johnson as a man of letters. But he has been sharp and smooth enough to "shine with reflected glory."

White has strayed far afield from the accepted scope of the NAACP. He has developed into a political huckster. He has indirectly placed this non-partisan, uplift, non-denominational, non-sectarian institution into petty politics.

IN HIS so-called autobiography entitled "A Man Called White," the artful, little secretary inadvertently showed his hand. Those who read the self-serving recital will clearly note that White ignored Governor Dewey and the gallant Republicans of New York, who established civil rights in the nation's greatest state, while acclaiming New Dealers he knew so well that he called them by their first names.

The influence of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People should not be destroyed. This splendid institution has served both as a sword and as a shield for underprivileged people. It is a great medium of propaganda. But it must work through the people and in cooperation with the press.

Its influence is definitely lessened by indulging in partisan politics. And that is exactly what Walter White, its executive secretary, has done. Such procedures are resented among people who contemplate more effective service from the association.

White is both overrated and inflated. His activities should be curbed as his scope of influence has already been crippled. The NAACP suffers with such glamour political boys in executive capacity.

THE NEGRO PRESS

Complacency of Race Editors Disturbing; Poses Real Threat To Future Security of Press

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

MORE than a hundred and twenty-five years ago the first newspaper published by colored Americans made its appearance in New York City. Its editor, John B. Russwurm, was a two-fisted crusader for freedom and liberty. Since that time hundreds of journals have entered the field.

Mr. Bibb

It is generally conceded that the colored press has rendered invaluable service in the cause for which Russwurm and his contemporaries labored so earnestly. But the colored press has not reached the heights of influence so necessary for the advancement and uplift of the suppressed and submerged minority.

Many of the foremost publications are beginning to show tendencies of smugness and complacency. Others seem devoid of strong editorial policy and sorely lacking in conviction. It appears that commercialism is rapidly becoming a ruling passion—as in the case of some other highly dignified professions.

* * *

THIS SCRIBE, who has been engaged in newspaper work for the last thirty years, has witnessed nothing to suggest a change from the original concept of Russwurm. The formula for publishers remains the same. The formula for colored editors, by reason of circumstances and conditions, should be "Campaign, Crusade and Expose."

This by no means excludes the primary function of gathering and presenting news with accuracy and objectivity. But as long as colored Americans are subjected to second-class citizenship, then just so long should writers, editors and publishers dedicate themselves to the cause of uplift.

Fifteen years ago the owner of one of America's largest advertisement agencies told this scribe that within ten years most of the vitality would be sapped from the colored press because it would have neither "cause nor purpose."

He meant that white publications would so cover the field of news and activities of American people that colored newspapers would lose almost all reader-interest.

* * *

HIS CONCLUSION was in error. It will be a long time before the colored American will be so integrated into the life of this nation that he will not have need for his own journals of opinion.

Another well-known Caucasian critic flayed the colored press vehemently because he charged it with "race angling" the news. Racism is a fact that cannot be discounted. In many instances, facts must be dramatically presented in the interest of the persecuted and oppressed. Deliberate twisting, however, should never be indulged in.

Without the press, the darker minority would be in a sorry plight. It would have no substantial nor capable means of exposing hypocrisy, campaigning for liberty or crusading for inherent and constitutional rights. Russwurm recognized this condition 125 years ago.

The press is a sword and a shield for colored Americans. It moulds and formulates opinion. It defends against calumny. It exposes duplicity and exalts the good and righteous. There is no single economic, political or social factor more valuable than the press when it has a clear concept of its duties and destinies.

* * *

THIS SCRIBE favors the use of claw and fang in contending for justice. The history of advancement and progress, records little gained for minorities by bowing and scraping.

One of the glaring weaknesses in the colored press is the existence of too much intimacy and cronyism with editors, columnists and reporters with the general public. The press is a thing separate and apart from its public. It is not like a corporation, a thing without a soul, but an institution engaged in the exacting task of presenting news, revealing infamy, extolling virtue and supplying readers with information sometimes equivalent to liberal education.

In the light of world affairs, the colored press is confronted with a stupendous task. The cause of colored people the world over is conspicuous. Never before has there been so much agitation for colonial freedom and liberation of the teaming masses of non-whites.

Editors with "panty waist" notions, who are fearful of stepping on the toes of their oppressors, are not prepared to direct and chart the course of powerful journals.

* * *

THERE ARE certain issues that should be beyond the pale of compromise. There are many principles that cannot be bartered away on the auction blocks of fickle popularity.

Colored newspapers face a new world. The old era has ended. An epoch lies ahead that may lead on to victory. But the press must rise to the occasion. To relax, to pose, to pussy-foot or sell out would be tragic. The eyes of the world are fixed and focused on the printed words in the colored press.

TAYLOR'S SPEECH

Savings and Loan Official Cites Economic Progress Of Race Before Convention

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

"QUALIFIED colored Americans honor their obligations and maintain their property at an amazingly high degree of fidelity," declared Robert R. Taylor, a few days ago at the Statler Hotel in New York, when 2,700 delegates from various Savings and Loan Associations attended the sixtieth annual convention of the United States savings and loan association.

Mr. Bibb

Mr. Taylor is executive secretary of the Illinois Federal Loan and Savings Association of Chicago. He, the only colored speaker, stressed the need for more enlightened lending policies for qualified applicants of the colored race.

Because of the redistribution of the darker minority, which constituted one of the greatest migrations in history, Taylor pointed out that the colored American can no longer be thought of in stereotyped terms. "He is rapidly becoming an integral part of American culture."

The meteoric rise in the status of colored people was a high point in Taylor's address. The median income has increased more than 146 per cent. The total per capita income of colored Americans is larger than the total per capita income of all Canada.

• • •

AS THE colored citizens have shifted from rural areas to cities—a shift of almost 50 per cent — home ownership has leaped in seven league boots. Home ownership has increased 129 per cent since 1940. Because of these specific trends it is apparent, as Mr. Taylor claimed before the savings and loan bankers, that more liberal financing policies must be adopted.

Savings and loan associations now control deposits of more than 20 billion dollars, a staggering sum. Home seekers apply to them for loans and mortgages. Colored people have met stern opposition when they made applications. But according to Taylor they have proved exceedingly good risks with his company, which is manned and controlled by colored people.

Twenty-two building and loan associations are operated by colored people in this country. They are located in New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, Norfolk, Atlanta, Detroit, Los Angeles and San Francisco. These companies have made consistent progress.

The Illinois Federal, alone, has deposits of more than 15 million dollars and has not missed paying dividends in fifteen years. Other companies have proved their stability equally well.

• • •

MANY WHITE companies are now gradually letting down the bars and accepting colored clients. Morton Bodfish, chairman of the board of First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago, is quoted by Taylor as having said, "Negro home owners have made as good a record with us as any other home buyers. We do not regard Negro loan applicants as different from any other customers. This policy has proven highly successful."

Mr. Taylor informs this reporter that delegates to the convention from the South were extremely cordial and expressed complete accord with his plea for consideration for minority home buyers.

Federal savings and loan associations are endorsed by the Federal Government, while individual deposits up to $10,000 are insured. It is an established fact that these concerns are sound and solid. Most of them pay splendid dividends to their depositors. At the same time they are performing services for people who seek to buy homes.

Those with keen visions and sound judgment may well consider these glorious opportunities for profitable saving and home developments.

• • •

COLORED CITIZENS may solidify their economic and social gains by dealing with these institutions. The experience of such pioneers as Robert Taylor and other trail-blazers proves that there are new horizons above us and bright vistas straight ahead.

The migration of colored people from the farms to the cities and their employment in the steel mills, packing industries, auto production, shipyards, railroads, construction and recently in machinery and electronic plants marks new adventures in living.

Savings and loan associations are rapidly filling the peculiar needs arising out of these marked changes. Among colored people, savings and loan business is a lusty infant, but it can develop into colossal proportions as envisioned by the Chicago pioneer, Robert R. Taylor.

MORE ABOUT WALTER

NAACP Secretary Cripples Influence of Association With Politics; Should Quit

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer.)

DEMOCRATS serving on the board of directors of the NAACP may strive to whitewash Walter White, the organization's executive secretary, but their efforts will be futile. The record is unequivocal and flagrant. He is patently guilty of playing petty, partisan politics.

Mr. Bibb

Federal Judge J. Waties Waring, stalwart champion of minority rights, declined to speak at last summer's NAACP annual convention because of partisan politics within the association.

White virtually runs the NAACP show. Some of his most apologetic critics declare that his activities even within confines of the "adult society," have been dictatorial and tyrannical.

DR. WILLIAM E. Burghardt DuBois, founder, and Dean William Pickens, former field secretary, who were removed from official capacity, perhaps, can attest to White's methods of operation.

Because he indulged in partisan politics during the last two elections and during the interim, White has definitely crippled the influence of the Advancement Society and alienated many friends, supporters and contributors. Judge Waring, Governor Dewey and President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower certainly have good cause for affront. They are very influential people.

On July 23, the Rev. Dr. L. K. Jackson, pastor of the St. Paul Baptist Church, of Gary, Ind., wrote an "Open Letter to Walter White." He said in his communication, "I have heard criticisms all over America concerning you and your political association. I have been advised that the CIO, under the leadership of Philip Murray, is the right arm of the Democratic party and the NAACP, under the leadership of you, Walter White, is the left arm.

"I am informed that under your leadership and that of the CIO, the Negroes in Harlem voted four to one against Governor Dewey, who is a splendid Republican, who actually instituted more civil rights for colored people than Truman and the entire Democratic party."

THE REV. MR. Jackson is sustained in his views by uncounted thousands, who threaten to take their support away from the NAACP, because of the obvious partisanship of White and the labor groups aligned with the Democratic party and the NAACP.

According to Walter White himself, he appeared before the Platform Committee of the Democratic party at Chicago on July 17. He said he spoke in behalf of fifty-four churches, labor, civic and professional organizations. He urged the Democrats to adopt a liberal civil rights program. The "Civil Rights Committee" was composed of Senator Sparkman and other kindred spirits.

But White did not appear before the Platform Committee of the Republican party either for the NAACP or in behalf of the "fifty-four" other groups. Great liberals like Governor Dewey, Senator Ives, Senator Lodge and Governor Driscoll are members of the GOP, but that did not register with White.

Elmer W. Henderson, director of The American Council on Human Rights, however, did appear and was received by the Republican Platform Committee with deference and courtesy. He reported that neither White, the "54" groups nor the CIO or any of the affiliates showed up.

WHITE TOOK time out to praise the Democratic Platform and flay the Republican resolutions. Not even the GOP's pledge to eliminate segregation in the Federal Government in Washington, which Truman failed to do, elicited any favorable comment from the wily Walter.

The Norfolk Journal-Guide healthy contributions to the in a recent editorial flayed and cause of minorities.
scored White and the NAACP E. Washington Rhodes, edi-
for its open and notorious tor of the Philadelphia Trib-
alignment with the labor or- une, writes, "If it were not
ganizations. The editorial point- for the NAACP, Walter White's
ed out that both management opinions would not be sought."
and labor should be encouraged He added, "The record shows
to support the Advancement that White not only follows la-
group. White's hookup with la- bor bosses, but is violently par-
bor groups definitely alienates tisan in his opinions.
many wealthy industrialists, THE CHICAGO Defender
who for years have made featured a special release sent

in by White in its Nov. 1 issue, ord as avowing, "I always have
on the eve of election. He and always will oppose civil
charged General Eisenhower rights."
with lying in a New York
speech as to his views on in-
tegration. White took no last
minute fling at Sparkman.
According to the Defender,
White said that Sparkman was
"too vague" on civil rights. The
record shows nothing vague
about the Sparkman views.
The Alabama Senator is on rec-

CAYTON

Puerto Rican Newcomers To New York Are Suffering Untold Hardships and Get Much Blame for Crime Wave

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

NEW YORK is experiencing the hysteria of another crime wave. Statistics have been brought out to show that crime is on the increase in the big city. For the past year at least, there has been continual agitation about the use of dope by adolescents. All of this is good city reform, but it has a tremendously dangerous aspect. This arises out of the fact that much of the crime and almost all of the criticism is directed toward Harlem.

Mr. Cayton

It is not just the Negro that is being criticized. In fact the main object of attack is the Puerto Ricans.

The Puerto Ricans are the newest arrivals in the big city. Immigrants to our country traditionally inherit the worst houses, the poorest jobs, the most inadequate public facilities. Toward them, too, is directed the frustrated hate which seems to need a human target in our culture.

* * *

THIS CERTAINLY holds true for the Puerto Ricans. Where a few years ago the Negro was always and exclusively blamed and a crime wave was settled by a few raids in Harlem, today, there is almost universal criticism of Puerto Ricans.

Puerto Ricans are in a peculiar and difficult position. As a group, they are poor beyond belief. The death rate is staggering. As for housing, they are forced to take the left-over houses from Negroes. Anyone who knows how bad Negro housing is and was, will have some idea of under what conditions these people live.

As for work, the Puerto Ricans find poorer jobs than any group. They are usually in the service industry, the garment industry or doing the most menial and disagreeable work.

* * *

AS COMPARED with the Southern Negro coming to the city, they are woefully ill-prepared to compete. In addition to the handicap of color, there is the handicap of language. Added to this, is the fact that most of the Puerto Ricans who come here, are from the lowest income group of the islands. Few are educated and they have developed no leadership.

From the first, the Puerto Ricans' experience in the United States has been such as to incur and provoke prejudice. For years they were courted politically by Marcantonio and thereby associated, indirectly, at least, with the Communist party.

As the stream of migration from the island continued, New York began to feel the pinch of its failure to expand public services which had been curtailed by a corrupt and inefficient city administration. Schools, hospitals, parks and public services were needed for the entire city, but there was deep resentment about furnishing them for the newly arrived islanders.

* * *

EACH NEW school for Spanish Harlem (not that there were any) was looked upon as a steal from the other parts of the city. People in the wealthier parts of the city resented paying their ever-mounting taxes because they felt they would go to supporting the immigrants on Home Relief—the belief was common that 98 per cent were on Home Relief and put there by the Communists.

All of these things and many more created a feeling of antagonism and prejudice against the Puerto Ricans so deep and livid that many people forgot their feelings toward Negroes and Jews.

This is the back drop against which this present crime wave must be interpreted. There is no doubt that there is a disproportionate amount of crime and social disorganization in Spanish Harlem. There always is among people who are poor, isolated, uneducated and do not understand the ways of a new country.

* * *

BUT IT should be known that the city first brought over these people, exploited them economically, isolated them socially and failed to provide for their social, educational and health needs.

Certainly, laws should be enforced, but artificial crime waves, police brutality and social hate will solve nothing. Only with the feeling that they belong and with real opportunities which are due all Americans, will the Puerto Ricans make the adjustment so many migrants to our shore have made.

CAYTON

Newspapers Ignoring Real Reasons Behind The Mau Mau Uprisings In East African Kenya

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

BLOODY riots have broken out in Kenya, an East African territory held by the United Kingdom.

The secret Mau Mau Society has struck out against the white settlers themselves. At this writing at least forty-three persons have been killed and number of buildings, including Nyeri Polo Club, where Queen Elizabeth II watched the Duke of Edinburgh play earlier this year, have been burned to the ground.

Mr. Cayton

Martial law has been declared, British troops have been flown in from the Middle East and a cruiser has been dispatched to put down the movement which is supposed to include 200,000 members of the Kikuyu tribe.

NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS have failed to state the reason for the uprising, although some papers have advanced a number of speculations. In the first place it is agreed that it is not a Communist movement. This is something, as too often the colonial countries have called any sort of dissatisfaction on the part of native peoples as being Communist inspired.

Among the reasons given in the newspapers are the following: "They (the disorders) stem from the frustrations of a savage people neither mentally nor economically able to adjust itself to the swift pace of civilization. Men whose sole aim in life was to be warriors, going on forays into other tribal territories, or defending their own against attacks from their neighbors, feel cheated of their normal role in tribal life."

There may be something to the argument that the African population of Kenya has had a hard time adjusting to some aspects of European life. Certainly, a people with totally different ways of life would find some difficulty in conforming to an absolutely different culture.

* * *

HOWEVER, THIS newspaper account, and all others that I have seen, ignores one important phase of the question. What they have ignored is the fact that there has been no real effort on the part of the British settlers to include the Africans into the fabric of the new culture which has been brought into the area.

Let us look for a moment on the economic structure of the territory. An examination of reports on Kenya show evidence of the frightful advantage which is being taken of the African population.

The wages of African males on monthly contract, for example, show that nearly 75 per cent of those gainfully employed except in agriculture, earned less than thirty-six pounds per annum. The Europeans, on the other hand, showed a totally different picture. About 33 per cent earned £600 or under, and 50 per cent earned between £600 and £1,200 per year.

* * *

THEN TAKE the matter of the distribution of the territory's income. The Africans constituted 97.1 per cent of the total population. They, however, received only 44.2 per cent of the total income. The non-Africans, on the other hand, constituted 2.9 per cent of the population and got 45.8 per cent of the total income.

When you compare the incomes of the average African and the average non-African, the results are just as distressing. In 1949, the average African got £6 to the non-African's £210.

This is the economic picture. If one compares the allocation of money for education, public service and health, the same discriminatory policy is obvious. In other words, the Africans of Kenya find that the English settlers have taken over their country, relegated them to the bottom of the social, economic and political heap, have isolated them from the main stream of the life of the area, dominated them politically and have made no real effort to introduce them into Western European life.

* * *

APPARENTLY, NOW the Kenyans, in desperation, are striking out blindly against their oppressors. Whether the Mau Mau Society and its program of terror is a good or a bad political weapon remains to be seen. But any time that people are hopelessly oppressed and find no other means of expressing their dissatisfaction, they will resort to violence. This is a political truth which the British should by now, know full well.

African Issue Raised

AAA Bloc Rocks UN

By HORACE CAYTON
(Courier UN Correspondent)

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.—Described as the "Achilles heel of the free world," African issues were pressed upon the United Nations General Assembly for discussion by the AAA bloc of colored peoples at the world organization convened here last week.

The welter of items around the problem of colonialism assumed an importance to the body that bid to vault them above the Korean question with regards to their importance.

* * *

THREE OF THE items placed on General Assembly Committee agendas by the Arab-Asian-African bloc were: the Tunisia and Moroccan question (the Political Committee); the question of racial friction in South Africa (the Ad Hoc Committee), and the question of the permission for members of African groups to appear before the Trusteeship Committee.

In each instance a definite victory was won for the African cause.

The most explosive question, and one on which there is at present no indication of the American position, is that of race conflict in South Africa, resulting from apartheid policies of the South African Government.

It was expected that Madame Pandit would lead the fight of the Arab-Asian-African bloc on this question. In an interview, she stated, "India will oppose any compromise on principle. On principle, it is impossible to compromise."

* * *

PRIME MINISTER Malan has accused India of endangering the United Nations by interfering in the domestic affairs of South Africa. Dr. Malan also took exception to India's attempt, in alliance with the Arab-African states, to have the United Nations debate French policy in French North Africa.

"If," stated Dr. Malan, "the subjects proposed by India for discussion are allowed to appear on the agenda, the charter may as well be torn up."

"Any action by a member Government constituting a threat to the peace should be given urgent consideration, Mme. Pandit maintained. She found that the two items dealing with racial discrimination in South Africa came into this category and, as such, should be given priority in the committee.

* * *

MME. PANDIT was supported by Prof. Ahmed S. Bokhari of Pakistan, who stated that there could be no more humanitarian question than these two items. The same views were expressed by Dr. Mohamed Fadil Al-Jamali of Iraq.

When put to a vote, thirty favored, twelve were against, and fourteen abstained on the question of putting the Indian and South African question third and fourth on the agenda. This was regarded as a clear-cut victory for the Arab-Asian-African bloc.

The Indian delegate was followed on the floor by Dr. Al-Jamali. "Race and color bars," he said, "were inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the charter. They were not local matters, but international ones, affecting everyone everywhere.

"Learn or perish, in this atom age the ideas of One World and the equality of man, irrespective of race, color, creed or geographical position are most basic for our survival and common action.

"If the nineteenth century idea of colonialism superiority of the white man, and the white man's burden are not finally abandoned by the colonial powers, there is no hope for attaining peace, harmony and cooperation in the modern world and the seeds of war and unrest will germinate among nations."

* * *

ALTHOUGH THE diplomats of the Western European powers had been expecting resistance on the part of the Arab-Asian-African bloc, most seemed stunned by the fury of the attack.

The belief is widespread that on this issue, the issue of colonialism, the fate of the United Nations hangs in the balance.

In his opening address, retiring President of the Assembly, Ambassador Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico, keynoted the colonial theme.

CAYTON

If Father Divine Really Does Some Things He Might Help the NAACP

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

I FOR one have always taken Father Divine more seriously than have some of my more intellectual friends. It is not that I agree with him, more likely than not I would disagree with much that he said if I could understand it. Due to a quaint journalistic style (I should say now that my only acquaintance with Father is through his paper The New Day) it is difficult for me to get through to him.

Mr. Cayton

When I do, I often find a gem of thought that might set me up for a week or two. That is what happened to me recently and I hasten to report it to you.

There is a young lady at the United Nations who saves various releases, news items and the like which she feels might interest me. Among the lot was the July 5 issue of The New Day. The headline which caught my eye (it was impossible that it would do otherwise as it covered the entire front page of the paper), stated: ULTIMATUM ON SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION by Father Divine.

THAT, I SAID to myself, is the way to go about it. Father Divine, after all, is God, so why shouldn't God just abolish discrimination. It would beat this gradualism there is so much talk about at the moment. It might even be more effective than the NAACP. At that moment I was thoroughly in sympathy, in accord and in touch with the Father. I pressed on.

On page three of The New Day was the ultimatum itself. The core of the statement (which was three paragraphs long) was as follows: "Every act or system or custom of man, group or organization that will try to deprive any citizen of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and free access to the pursuit of happiness and the reality of it, because of so-called race, creed, color or previous condition of servitude, they will bring destruction upon themselves as depicted in the following letters as reprints from years past." I hurried on to the letters.

The first was addressed to Dr. Edward Warner, then president of the International Civil Airlines Organization. Father Divine pointed out to Dr. Warner in the second paragraph of a rather lengthy letter that there recently had been a plane crash in which forty-two persons had been killed and that this tragedy had been followed the next day by another accident in which fifty-three people had been killed.

* * *

COMMENTING UPON the fact that "apparently . . . they cannot find the cause for these crashes in the field of science," Father was quick with an explanation. "It is a definite fact that your concern, of which you are in control, is motivated by prejudice, division and strife. That, as I have long since declared, will cause the airplanes not to stay in the air."

There is just one point that disturbs me. It is all right to have dance halls burn up or Southern hotels catch on fire, if it is to punish the wicked. But when it comes to airplane wrecks I am just a bit uneasy. Perhaps it boils down to self-preservation and could be reduced to a question:

Just what provisions are being made for, if not the righteous at least, the not-so-wicked.

On occasion I take a plane ride myself and would certainly hate to be punished for the misdeeds of an airline executive.

CAYTON

Arab-Asian-African Bloc, 700,000,000 Strong, for The First Time Unites to Pressure South Africa

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

LAST week an event of such importance happened that I doubt that many people realized its significance. The Arab-Asian-African bloc of the United Nations voted to support the passive resistance movement of South Africa.

What this means in manpower alone is staggering. There are at least 700 million people in this bloc. For the first time in history 700 million people have allied themselves with the millions in Africa to fight racial segregation.

Mr. Cayton

Here are the countries that have voted to air the South African mess before the General Assembly of the United Nations: Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Yeman, Iraq, India, Pakistan, Burma, Iran, Ethiopia, Liberia, Philippines, Afghanistan and Indonesia.

THIS IS NOT the first time that this group of nations has gotten together. In Paris last year they began to organize around the Morrocan issue. France has cruelly oppressed Morocco. When the question of this oppression was brought before the General Assembly, or rather when attempts were made to bring the question before the assembly, France threatened to walk out.

The Arab-Asian-African bloc failed to force the issue, but it did realize its own strength.

Later the question of Tunisia was brought before the Security Council. That country, located in the northern part of Africa, is likewise dominated and exploited by France. When it attempted to bring its difficulties before the United Nations it was blocked by France, England and the United States.

THEN AGAIN the Arab-Asian-African bloc got under movement. Again they failed, but again they realized their strength and organized for future action.

In their present move there is no doubt that to an extent they are motivated by the fact that the Apartheid (apartness—or plain segregation) movement is directed not only toward Negroes, but includes Indians. An attempt was made to bring this matter before the General Assembly, but it failed to get enough votes.

Now with the current unrest in Africa and with the pressure of the Asian-Arab-African bloc, there is no doubt that it will have to come before the United Nations when it meets in New York in October. The 700 million Arab-Asians-Africans, plus the millions of Negroes in Africa and America cannot be denied.

* * *

WE HAVE been accustomed to thinking only of the East and the West; of the democracies and Russia, of capitalism and communism. But there is a third world force evolving. Before our very eyes is coming into being a color bloc. We have said it before, only half believing it, but the evidence is here. The brown, black and yellow peoples of the world are beginning to organize into one unit.

But to return to the South African scene. What is happening in South Africa is important beyond words. If it is successful, it will mean that the black people of a country by the sheer weight of numbers have been able to break through racial barriers. Even if unsuccessful, it will have established a pattern which will be tried time and again in other parts of the world.

The English, the French and the Belgians know this and fear it. It could just as well be tried out in the Congo, in the Cameroons, in Togoland or Tanganyika. Not even the atom bomb could break such a movement.

AS IMPORTANT as are the numbers of people involved, two-thirds of the world's population are non-white, is the moral issue involved. In the memorandum sent to Secretary General Trygve Lie the Arab-Asian-African group stated:

"The race conflict in the Union of South Africa resulting from the policies of Apartheid of the Union Government is creating a dangerous and explosive situation, which constitutes both a threat of international peace and a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedom which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations."

This is what fourteen nations representing over 700 million people are saying. Their voices cannot and will not be denied.

CAYTON

The Guy Standing At a Greenwich Village Bar Sang A Scottish Tune

By HORACE CAYTON

I THINK Ralph Bunche is a great guy. I have known him for some time, in Seattle and California.

I never knew he would be great, but has engendered greatness. I've seen him at the United Nations. I admire him tremendously. And yet, when he talked to General Eisenhower during the General's recent visit to the United Nations Headquarters he said, "I am only a body."

Mr. Cayton

I think I know what Ralph meant. I think he meant that he was just a simple human being that shouldn't be shoved around and I think Ralph was greater than Eisenhower. These are my deliberate thoughts.

Ralph carried the ball after Abraham Feller, the Chief United Nations Counsel, jumped from the window of his apartment house recently. Nobody else spoke publicly for the United Nations at that time.

AT A MEETING of high UN officials, it was decided that only one man, Ralph Bunche, could speak for the United Nations in this time of dire stress.

A Negro, and an American Negro at that, spoke for the world. Do you realize what this means to you as Asians, Africans, Arabs, or whatever you may be?

I repeat, Bunche said to Eisenhower, "I am only a body." We are all only bodies.

I was drinking at a bar in the Village in New York City when a guy said and he was singing a Scottish song which I think went like this:

"If a body meet a body
Coming through the rye
If a body need a body
Need a body cry."

I feel like this about the human race.

CAYTON

Malan Preparing to Move 250,000 Native South Africans and Solve (?) His Racial Problem

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

PRIME Minister Daniel F. Malan has a plan to move 250,000 Negroes from the city of Johannesburg. When this is done, the plan is now before the State Commission now sitting in Johannesburg, the Negro housing problem will be solved, according to Malan's Government, for the next one thousand years. Just remember that figure: one thousand years.

Mr. Cayton

One-half of the Negro population of the city of Johannesburg is involved in this move. The Government has announced that the area set aside for Negroes under the separation of the races program (apartheid) will accommodate one million Negroes. The remaining 250,000 will apparently be moved at a later date.

It is hard to imagine just what this drastic and vicious program means in terms of human lives. Just imagine the Negro population of Harlem, or Chicago or St. Louis being picked up bodily and set on a reservation outside of the city. People who owned homes would have to sell them. People with businesses would have to give them up. It is as inhuman as the manner in which Hitler treated the Jews, but we will get to that later.

THAT IS not all. Malan is just as viciously against the Indians and against the colored or mixed bloods. They, too, are to be moved and are to form a buffer between the whites, who will occupy the center of the city, and the large Negro population.

Of the Johannesburg population of 912,000 over 500,000 are Negroes. These two groups, East Indians and mixed bloods, too, will suffer the same sort of inconvenience, injustice and discrimination. They, too, own homes, have businesses, and they, too, will have to travel several miles to get to the central portion of the city.

The reasons for this move have been stated time and again. Malan and his Government feel that they cannot live in any close contact with Negroes, East Indians or mixed blood people. But the direct result will not only be racial separation, but will allow a more severe type of control over all of these groups.

* * *

ANY NEGRO East Indian or mixed blood in the central part of the city can be asked for his pass. If he has no pass, then he can be arrested. It is as if all Negroes in New York were forced to live in New Jersey. Then the police could ask any colored person he saw on the streets of New York for a pass; if he had none, then he would go to jail.

But it has also a further and obvious disadvantage. Under this system it would be practically impossible for any of these three groups to have businesses or compete for desirable jobs. The distance they would have to travel would put such a burden on them that competition would be impossible.

* * *

BUT THESE two disadvantages are just minor to what is involved. What is involved is the fact that a great modern state has gone back to the principle of segregation and the denial of the idea of democracy.

The entire question will undoubtedly be brought up and aired before the United Nations in the next few months. This was ensured when fourteen Arab-Asian-African nations petitioned the General Assembly to hear the question.

Further, with the passive resistance movement in full swing and the jails of South Africa filled with Negroes and others who have refused to obey the segregation laws, world opinion will force the General Assembly to take cognizance of an issue which is endangering world peace.

* * *

BUT LET us get back to the figure of a thousand years. You have heard once before that the actions of a power-mad man would solve a social and political problem for a thousand years. That was when Hitler stated that once he had conquered Europe, it would solve the European question for a thousand years.

Now Mr. Malon uses the same figure and states that the action of his country and his Government will solve the race issue in South Africa for the same length of time.

I am slow to throw the word Fascist around, but he sounds like just that to me.

CAYTON

Newspapers Ignoring Real Reasons Behind The Mau Mau Uprisings In East African Kenya

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

BLOODY riots have broken out in Kenya, an East African territory held by the United Kingdom.

The secret Mau Mau Society has struck out against the white settlers themselves. At this writing at least forty-three persons have been killed and number of buildings, including Nyeri Polo Club, where Queen Elizabeth II watched the Duke of Edinburgh play earlier this year, have been burned to the ground.

Mr. Cayton

Martial law has been declared, British troops have been flown in from the Middle East and a cruiser has been dispatched to put down the movement which is supposed to include 200,000 members of the Kikuyu tribe.

NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS have failed to state the reason for the uprising, although some papers have advanced a number of speculations. In the first place it is agreed that it is not a Communist movement. This is something, as too often the colonial countries have called any sort of dissatisfaction on the part of native peoples as being Communist inspired.

Among the reasons given in the newspapers are the following: "They (the disorders) stem from the frustrations of a savage people neither mentally nor economically able to adjust itself to the swift pace of civilization. Men whose sole aim in life was to be warriors, going on forays into other tribal territories, or defending their own against attacks from their neighbors, feel cheated of their normal role in tribal life."

There may be something to the argument that the African population of Kenya has had a hard time adjusting to some aspects of European life. Certainly, a people with totally different ways of life would find some difficulty in conforming to an absolutely different culture.

HOWEVER, THIS newspaper account, and all others that I have seen, ignores one important phase of the question. What they have ignored is the fact that there has been no real effort on the part of the British settlers to include the Africans into the fabric of the new culture which has been brought into the area.

Let us look for a moment on the economic structure of the territory. An examination of reports on Kenya show evidence of the frightful advantage which is being taken of the African population.

The wages of African males on monthly contract, for example, show that nearly 75 per cent of those gainfully employed except in agriculture, earned less than thirty-six pounds per annum. The Europeans, on the other hand, showed a totally different picture. About 33 per cent earned £600 or under, and 50 per cent earned between £600 and £1,200 per year.

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THEN TAKE the matter of the distribution of the territory's income. The Africans constituted 97.1 per cent of the total population. They, however, received only 44.2 per cent of the total income. The non-Africans, on the other hand, constituted 2.9 per cent of the population and got 45.8 per cent of the total income.

When you compare the incomes of the average African and the average non-African, the results are just as distressing. In 1949, the average African got £6 to the non-African's £210.

This is the economic picture. If one compares the allocation of money for education, public service and health, the same discriminatory policy is obvious. In other words, the Africans of Kenya find that the English settlers have taken over their country, relegated them to the bottom of the social, economic and political heap, have isolated them from the main stream of the life of the area, dominated them politically and have made no real effort to introduce them into Western European life.

* * *

APPARENTLY, NOW the Kenyans, in desperation, are striking out blindly against their oppressors. Whether the Mau Mau Society and its program of terror is a good or a bad political weapon remains to be seen. But any time that people are hopelessly oppressed and find no other means of expressing their dissatisfaction, they will resort to violence. This is a political truth which the British should, by now, know full well.

CAYTON

UN Facts Reveal Big Nations Still Exploit Natives In Colonial Holdings

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THE life blood of colonism is money. All of the imperialist countries can talk at length about their concern for the welfare of the natives, their sacred trust to less developed people or their obligation to educate backward races but when you analize their deep concern you will see that at bottom the motivating factor is the opportunity to exploit their colonial population.

Mr. Cayton

Here are a few facts and figures from a report prepared for the United Nations. There is material in this report on Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Kenya.

First take the matter of the total and per capita incomes of the Africans and non-Africans. In Northern Rhodesia Africans constituted 98.6 per cent of the population but received 40.2 per cent of the national income. The non-African population, on the other hand, constituted 1.5 per cent of the population and received 33.3 per cent of the national income. Let's all get together and have a good cry because London had a tough Christmas.

* * *

MOVING ON to Southern Rhodesia we find that the Africans in the population were 95.0 per cent of the total. They, however, received only 30.7 per cent of the national income. The non-Africans, 5.0 per cent of the population, got 57.9 per cent of the total income. It will be a cold day in January when Southern Rhodesia allows self-government to the native population, human nature being what it is.

In Kenya the same pattern exists. The Africans, 97.1 per cent of the population, receive 44.2 per cent of the income. Non-Africans, 2.9 per cent of the population, get 45.8 per cent of the income. You can begin to see from these figures what holds the British Empire together.

When you break these figures down the picture becomes even more distressing. For example, in Northern Rhodesia it is evident that not only do the Africans receive a pittibly small per cent of the total national income, but 70 per cent of what they do receive is the estimated value of the products they grow for themselves. In other words the Africans receive 3,000,000 pounds of the national income from wages and salaries and 5,000,000 from their own subsistance farms. Apparently it is a situation where wages are so low that the native population must farm in addition to what other work they may do.

IF YOU can bear with some more figures I can give you comparisons on the incomes of the average African and non-African person. Even including the estimated value of his farm or garden products the African in Southern Rhodesia received approximately 9 pounds for the year while the average non-African received a little over 300 pounds. In Northern Rhodesia in 1946 the African level was five pounds to the non-African's 290 pounds. In Kenya, this is for 1949, the African got 6 pounds to the non-African's 210.

* * *

BEAR WITH me just one paragraph more while I show you some figures on comparative salaries. In Northern Rhodesia in 1946 the average wage for Africans in agriculture was 11 pounds to 400 for non-Africans, in mining 46 pounds to 920 pounds, in manufacturing 211 pounds to 740. For all industries combined, the average earning for non-African employes in Northern Rhodesia of 670 pounds was nearly thirty times the African figure. In Southern Rhodesia the non-African average earnings of 530 pounds was twenty-four times the African average.

Perhaps this is not fair but one can't be completely objective after reading this report. In any case I just want to quote from a release I just received from the British Information Services.

"Task force of scientists to battle blindness. . . . A small village in the Gold Coast, Africa, where 20 per cent of the men are totally blind and 80 per cent of the population have diseased eyes . . . Throughout British dependencies today, plans are being pressed forward.

CAYTON

Negro Press Is Most Powerful Weapon of a Suppressed Minority Because It's Truthful

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THE NEGRO PRESS has had a lot of criticism in the past.

This was especially true during the war when many white Americans thought that the papers should go easy as the information they printed about segregation, discrimination and the abuse of Negro servicemen might hurt the war effort. One hears the same argument today. Now it is suggested that the Negro Press should pull its punches because the Russians might make capital of it.

Mr. Cayton

It was, then, with much interest that I began to attend the meetings of the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information at the United Nations.

There are two main questions before the Sub-Commission this session: The drafting of an international code of ethics for journalists and the formulation of suggestions concerning the future work of the United Nations in the field of freedom of Information. Both of these questions are of extreme importance to the Negro Press.

Further, these questions are of importance to Africans who are for the most part trying to build up strong news services and newspapers. At the present many Africans look for protections and for the presentation of their problems to the American Negro Press.

THE POSITION of the United States is that it will be impossible to draw up any international code that will be workable. If the code is too specific, they reason, many countries will not sign it. If it is too general it will be meaningless. In Montivideo during May, 1950 the United States abstained from voting on a draft code submitted by three of the committee of experts.

It is the belief of some of the correspondents that at the present session that the United States will again abstain unless they find something objectional which they feel they will have to oppose.

But to get back to the question of the Code of Ethics for journalists and the Negro Press I would like to make one point. Karim Azkoul, an expert from Lebanon, concluded his discussion of a code of ethics for journalists by outlining the obligations of a journalist. First, there was the obligation to tell the truth. Second, newsmen should refrain from doing anything which might harm "the human ideal" —although never at the expense of truth. The third obligation was for a newsman to be a "missionary" for this "human ideal," but this was a matter for the individual newsman to decide and should not be written into the code. Further, he emphasized again, the code should specify that a journalist should be responsible only to his conscience and his colleagues, but in no way to the government.

I have no way of knowing now whether or not these points will be included in the code. As a matter of fact the majority of the experts felt that the code could be best delt with by a world conference of newsmen. If this should come about certainly the Negro Press should be represented. But to get back to the suggestions of Mr. Azkoul.

* * *

CERTAINLY, the Negro Press should be complimented for printing the truth about the treatment of Negroes and Negro soldiers during the war. Complimented because this news was printed when the pressure of government and of many of the friends of the Negro were against it.

Complimented because many of the large, powerful and influential papers—papers that print "the whole truth and nothing but the truth" and papers that print "all of the news that is fit to print"—failed to cover what was happening to a tenth of its citizens because it might give aid and comfort to the enemy.

Negro newsmen have not painted things which might harm the "human ideal' 'if the human ideal is the brotherhood of man, the enhancement of human dignity and the creating of a free society.

Not only have they not been derelict in this respect, but they have actually contributed to these ideals by bringing to the attention of the world the fact that they are not being lived up to.

THE NEGRO newsman has, as was indicated by Mr. Azkoul that he should, been a missionary for human ideals. They have done this, but have "been responsible only to their consciences and colleagues, but in no way to governments."

CAYTON

A Movement and a Man Frighten South Africa And Spell Her D-o-o-m As a Lily-White Nation

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THE UNION of South Africa is frightened. She is frightened for two very good reasons. Both spell her inevitable doom as a lily-white country in Africa. One of these threats to the Malan Government is a movement, the other a man.

This is the movement. On March 7 Manilal Gandhi, 58-year-old son of Mohandas K. Gandhi, began a twenty-one-day fast in protest against South Africa's race segregation laws. This was to prepare him for the part he would take in a nation-wide protest demonstration planned by the African National Congress.

Mr. Cayton

The Congress had planned its campaign to start April 6, when government-sponsored celebrations will begin to mark the 300th anniversary of the arrival of South Africa's first white settlers under the Dutchman Jan van Riebeck.

* * *

IN JOINING with the African National Congress Mr. Gandhi is allying himself with the majority of the people of the country. Last December, the Congress adopted the tactics of non-cooperation in protest against racial discrimination. This means that the leadership and prestige of Mr. Gandhi (he is considered to be a statesman-martyr) will be behind the native movement. One

should bear in mind that Mohandas Gandhi, his father, began his movement of passive resistance in South Africa before going to India.

The tactics of non-cooperation have never been tried successfully by native Africans on any large scale. But it did work wonders in India. In a country such as South Africa, where a handful of whites control millions of Negroes and are dependant upon them, it is possible that it might meet with equal success. That is the movement that has frightened the South African political leaders.

* * *

THIS IS the plight of this desperate and unhappy country.

From within she is threatened by a possible non-cooperation movement which might at any time get beyond control. Certainly the English found it difficult to control in India. From the outside she is threatened, or feels herself threatened, by the coming-of-age of the Gold Coast, soon to be followed by Nigeria.

The isolation of South Africa becomes more and more complete. In Paris before the General Assembly of the United Nations she was condemned for her attempt to take over the territory of Southwest Africa. World public opinion is already against her and she would have no opportunity to regain her lost prestige if she began to slaughter thousands of Africans and Indians who do not believe in white supremacy in a country located in a black continent.

There will be bitter fighting and much bloodshed before the final chapter in the history of South Africa is written. But, if we can judge the future by the past, racism in the modern world cannot win out. It cannot win against the united movement of the people or against the inevitable aspirations of all Africa.

CAYTON

Weak-Kneed U. S. Policy Towards S. Africa, Shames, Hurts Canada Lee

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

I HAD NOT seen Canada Lee for at least five years when I chanced to meet him walking down the hall in the United Nations Building in New York. I had read reviews of his latest film, "Cry the Beloved Country," in the press. I had followed the filming of the picture in the papers and knew of the difficulties he had encountered in getting into South Africa, which does not welcome American Negro visitors. I also knew of the indignation which Canada had felt toward the treatment of the Africans in that country. But this was the first time that I had had the occasion to talk to him.

Mr. Cayton

"Cayton," he started as soon as we were seated at my desk, "I would rather be the poorest sharecropper in Mississippi than a rich man in South Africa, that is if I were black."

I had known Canada as a fighter for Negro rights. I knew that he, as a man, and as an artist, had dedicated his life to a fight against injustice and against racial discrimination. Before when I had spoken to Lee his expressions of indignation about injustice usually referred to Mississippi or Alabama or Florida. In those days that was sufficient. But now my actor friend had a global approach to the racial problem.

"But," I inquired, "how can anything be worse than Mississippi where a black man's life is constantly endangered if he should do something not prescribed by the racial code?"

* * *

"LET ME give you a few examples," Canada continued. "In South Africa you have to carry a series of from seventeen to twenty passes. If a Negro is found without one of these passes he can be arrested and put in jail. There are absolutely no laws to protect the natives.

"Further," the actor stated, "after you go to jail the following morning you are rented out to a Boor farmer. These farmers use a shambok, what we would call a bull whip, to get work out of you."

"You read in the Negro press about the injustices which are done to Negroes in the United States. I've been through our South and know what they are like, but they don't compare with what is happening in South Africa. Take for example the action of the police. The police in the South of the United States are bad and even in such cities as Chicago and New York they sometimes act almost in a criminal manner where a Negro is concerned.

But the vicious things that happen in South Africa are beyond our understanding. There they cut a Negro's ears off, they even castrate them, for things we would consider minor offenses.

* * *

I HAD heard many of these stories before. I had even read some of the things which Canada was telling me in interviews he had given the press since his return to this country. But in his deep eloquent voice, seated in the headquarters building of the UN, the words took on an additional meaning. What this man had seen had shocked him, angered him, beyond anything in his experience.

"Is there any hope for the black people of South Africa?" I asked him.

"Sure, there is hope," he answered. "Wonderful things are beginning to happen. There are three large groups, the Africans, the mixed bloods, and the Indians. At last they are getting together. The native congress, the colored congress, and the Indian congress are starting a program based on the proposition that none can succeed without the other.

"For the first time in the history of South Africa these three groups are beginning to work together. For the first time in my life I heard an Indian, from India, call himself a black man. April 6, when these three groups demonstrate against the racial laws of the Milan government, will be a great day for South Africa."

* * *

"I bet you were glad to come back," I said.

"Yes, I was. But one thing made me sad. Just before I sailed I read that the United States had abstained from voting to condemn South Africa at the General Assembly of the UN in Paris. After seeing what I had seen, after experiencing what I had experienced, that my country would refuse to take a stand against brutal injustice stunned me. I felt not so much angry, but hurt, ashamed and betraved."

CAYTON

Nkrumah Is Emerging As a World Statesman Supported by England Who Sees the 'Light'

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

A 42-YEAR-OLD African is emerging as a new world statesman. His name is Dr. Kwama Nkrumah. His country is the Gold Coast of Africa.

A little over a year ago Nkrumah was in a British prison charged with being an enemy of his state. Today the same man is being supported by the English as the leader of not only his people but the potential leader of the entire West Coast of Africa.

Mr. Cayton

Last month Dr. Nkrumah was elected by the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast to the position of Prime Minister of the country. Voting by secret ballot, the Assembly decided in favor of his appointment by forty-five votes to thirty-one with eight abstentions. This was the first time that an English African territory had at its head a native African. His election was one more step toward the granting of political independence and dominion status within the Commonwealth, to the Gold Coast.

IF YOU fear, like some, that Dr. Nkrumah is just a figurehead, just a British puppet, read a recent statement of his before the Legislative Assembly.

In speaking of the British ex-Ministers, he said, "I am glad to report that never has there been any suggestions of the use of reserved powers or even of the veto. Any talk of African Ministers dictated to by ex-officio Ministers and Civil Servants is an illusion which must be dispelled.

"The great majority of expatriates (Europeans) in the civil service have adjusted themselves well to the new constitution and many are working hard and loyally for the good of the country, in support of the policies of our Government . . . If we do not have all the time an efficient civil service carrying out the policies of the Government in the interests of the masses of the people, all our best endeavors for our country will be slowed down . . ."

However, the Prime Minister made it clear that he was in fact, as well as in name, the head of his Government.

"There are critics who say that the post of Prime Minister . . . is not a real Prime Minister but a shadow. Nevertheless, these critics are voicing alarm at the speed with which we are advancing towards full self-government . . . The creation of the office of Prime Minister is a step which will lead naturally to full dominion status," he asserted.

* * *

AS IMPORTANT as is the position of Prime Minister of an African state, Dr. Nkrumah's influence and power extend beyond the boundaries of the Gold Coast. More and more he is beginning to speak for all of the West Coast African territories and to an extent to speak for the entire black (African) population.

One reason for this is the fact that England has seen the light and, in self-interest, is beginning to see just how she can grant more political freedom to most of her African territory and still keep them within the Commonwealth. England knows that she cannot hold all of her African territories indefinitely.

She also knows that without close economic and political relations with these territories she cannot hope to continue to exist as a world power. The only possible solution, then, is to gradually grant these territories self-government and eventually dominion status.

Although most English statesmen realize the necessity of such a program, it should not be thought that it will be achieved smoothly and rapidly. There are many in England who would hold on to the colonies just as long as possible even though they believed that eventually they should be given self-government.

In the final analysis, self-government will be given to those territories who have an organized and articulate demand for freedom. This is what the Gold Coast had and that is why its leader, Dr. Nkrumah, was released from a British prison to head its Government.

* * *

THE IMPORTANCE of the position which Dr. Nkrumah holds has already been made known to world politicians.

In the most recent controversy with South Africa over the territory of Southwest Africa the voice of rising African nationalism was expressed by Dr. Nkrumah.

CAYTON

Newest 'Hit' Author, Ralph Ellison, Gives Literary World New Form, Writing Style

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

WRITING to a writer is a serious business. It's so desperately serious because a writer invests so much of his life on the slender chance of reward. Last week I met Ralph Ellison, whose book, "Invisible Man," is enjoying a critical success. Sometime soon I am going to write a review on this book, but this piece is a tribute to the man, Ellison, and his wife, Fanny. Ralph and Fanny invested six years in the writing of this book: six years when Ralph went to work every day to mold his turbulent emotions into a literary form.

Mr. Cayton

I tried when I saw him, to find out how he and Fanny felt when they waited for the reviews. After they had both invested so much — laid six years of their lives on the line —I wondered how they could have endured the anxiety of waiting for the judgment of the critics. Neither could tell me.

* * *

"INVISIBLE MAN" is a remarkable book. Ellison has broken with all the forms other writers have used to describe the Negro problem. As Chester Himes, the novelist, stated, Ellison has turned out the first allegorical Negro novel. But it is more than that. The "invisible man" to Ellison happens to be a Negro.

There are other invisible men, however, the small people of the world who are trampled on. Ellison used the Negro because he is one and he knows Negro life, but he is really writing about man's fate. In doing this he has given the Negro a greater humanity.

Ellison had a difficult task. He came after Richard Wright and Chester Himes. Wright, a genius, with gifts that have seldom been equaled, developed the unforgettable character of the brutalized Negro. It was hard, tough, but beautiful writing. Himes, writing out of a cold fury, lashed out at a world that had denied him his manhood.

The question that was in my mind, and I imagine in many others, when I opened "Invisible Man" was what could Ellison say and how could he say it that would not be repeating Wright or Himes?

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IT'S DIFFICULT to actually describe the form Ellison employs. I hesitate to use the word surrealistic as that has too much of an arty flavor. The book does, however, have the dream-like, night-marrish quality of Kafka or Dostoyersky. These men have influenced him as have Wright and Himes, but what has emerged is a new writer with a new form.

I asked him just as I left how it felt to be a success. His reply was the reply of an artist. "I don't know that I am a success. Some people have said some nice things about the book, but that is overdone. Now I am struggling for a new form to tell my story."

CAYTON

For World Leadership Today, the West Needs The Men, Foresight and Democratic Visionaries

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

"I AM going to talk to you today in terms of revolution."

That is the way that Dr. Isador Lubin, United States Representative in the United Nations Economic and Social Council began his address before the National Conference of Social Work in Chicago a few weeks ago.

Mr. Cayton

Of course Dr. Lubin hastened to add that he was not talking about a Communist revolution. His speech dealt with the revolutionary changes taking place in the under-developed areas of the world which, he said, "are of as great importance—and perhaps even more continuing importance—than the conflict now raging between the Soviet Union and the free world."

I am glad that Doctor Lubin realizes this. Many Americans, some in the State Department itself, do not.

PEOPLE EVERYWHERE, and especially in the underdeveloped countries, no longer accept hunger, disease and misery with fatalism and despair," Doctor Lubin said. He is right there. Bert Williams used to say, "I'm with you there."

The good doctor has a point. It is too bad that he and the United States had not thought about it before. It is too bad that the United States abstained from voting to hear the Tunisian question in the Security Council when they knew that their abstention would help England and France keep control of that African territory. But "better late than never" as the saying goes.

* * *

THE PERIL, he informs us, consists of the attempt of the Soviet Union to persuade the peoples, ignorant of the slavery and restricted life in Communist countries, that communism offers the best hope for achieving their goals of human betterment.

Doctor Lubin's speech is a little original however. It has been pointed out time and again that the spread of communism in Africa is a danger. Seldom have diplomats spoken, that is aloud, about the peril of African and Middle East nationsm. Doctor Lubin's second peril is that "dangerous totalitarian ideologies" of their own may spring from the misery of Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.

This point may be true, but if we are to influence peoples we first have to win their confidence. Our batting average on that score is not very high at the moment. There are a lot of reasons why it is not. Certainly African and Middle Eastern countries can see that when the chips are down we vote for the imperialist nations, i.e. on the larger and more fundamental issues.

* * *

ANOTHER REASON why we do not inspire the confidence of the non-white world is, perhaps, because the people in our State Department are not completely free of the arrogance of both Western European culture and color consciousness. No matter how hard one tries to hide it, arrogant people make little slips which the super sensitive deprived peoples are quick to grasp.

For the First Time Since Civil War, the Negro Is at the Core of Political Thinking

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

AN OLD professor of mine once said, "The Negro can stand anything but to be ignored." One thing certain he was not ignored at either the Republican or the Democratic conventions. I can remember some years ago when my father and his friends would anxiously wait to see if the Negro would be mentioned by either of the parties in their platforms. My father and his friends would be delighted if either party would drop some innocuous sentence such as, "We must continue to see that the lot of our Negro citizens is improved." Now we have witnessed both political parties being split, or almost split, on the Negro question. For the first time since the Civil War the Negro is at the core of political thinking.

Mr. Cayton

Of course, when you talk about the Negro question you are really talking about the South. For the most part the idea of civil rights has been accepted in the North. There are some who would oppose it but certainly there is not the determined effort to defeat civil rights which one finds in the South. The question then is how the major parties will meet this problem of granting civil rights to Negroes and at the same time not lose too many Southern votes.

LET ME give you a little background on the activities of the South which, as you may guess, based solely on the Negro question. In the 1948 convention some Southern delegations angered by the civil rights platform walked out of the meeting in Philadelphia and formed a new party—the Dixiecrats. They were able to poll thirty-nine electoral votes from five Southern states. Perhaps they thought Mr. Truman was going to lose and that they could work out some sort of deal with the Republicans. But Mr. Truman won.

Mr. Truman knew that if he had run again he would not have this backlog of 128 electoral votes from the solid South. He then had his choice of playing for these votes plus possibly eighteen more from Oklahoma and Kentucky and taking a gamble on the Negro, and perhaps the labor vote of the North. It was a big gamble to take for the President knew that in seventeen key states the Negro, if he voted in a block, held the balance of power.

* * *

AS CONVENTION time came near it became obvious that the issue on which the decision had to be made would be that of civil rights. A lesser issue, but one on which there was even more talk, was that of party loyalty.

Here is what is thought to be Mr. Truman's formula and undoubtedly the one which will guide the Democratic nominee. To push the civil rights issue and depend upon the Negro labor vote in Northern states to pick up approximately 199 of the 266 electoral votes needed for nomination. This would leave only sixty-seven more votes needed. These it was felt could be secured from the traditionally Democratic Southern states.

Perhaps the President based his calculations on the fact that only once since the Civil War, and in spite of the civil rights issue in 1948, has the South given less than sixty-seven electoral votes to the Democratic party. The one exception was in 1928 when the South was in turmoil over Al Smith on religious grounds.

CAYTON

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CAYTON

Dr. Tobias' Cleveland Speech Marks Him as a Real Leader; His Role Is a Difficult One

By HORACE CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THE TASK of the leader is not easy, but I believe that Channing Tobias is one who has been able to fulfill that role with credit. The leader must follow his conscience, in spite of praise or blame from either side. It is a thankless task, for the most part, and only the most dedicated person can accomplish it without compromise or without becoming cynical and bitter. Again I must say that Mr. Tobias has, in my opinion, stood the test.

Mr. Cayton

The thing that brought this to my attention was the statement which Mr. Tobias made at the annual conference of the National Urban League. In speaking before the convention he found fault with the civil rights plank of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

Both, he stated, treated the civil rights question as a domestic issue; something that was peculiarly American and that we could settle any time that we got ready; something that was of no concern to the rest of the world.

* * *

THE FAILURE of both parties to see the world-wide significance of the problem of the American Negro—how it is our most vulnerable spot for Russian propaganda, how it has caused the non-white people of the world to doubt us, and how it makes a mockery of our attempts to champion democracy—was the thing that irritated Mr. Tobias.

Perhaps few Americans realize how important some almost immediate solution to the problem of the American Negro is to this country. As Mr. Tobias pointed out in his talk, it was brought up again and again before the civilized world at the last meeting of the United Nations in Paris, where he was an American delegate.

As a United States delegate he opposed Foreign Minister of Russia, Andrei Y. Vishinsky, in a discussion of the Oatis case, the case of an American reporter, who had been jailed in Czechoslovakia. In this exchange, Mr. Tobias stated his position, both as an American and as an American Negro.

HE GRANTED that the United States had bad laws and further that they violate some of their good laws. "But," he said, "here is what I conceive to be the difference between the situation in Czecholovakia . . . and the United States of America. The difference is that we have the freedom to fight inequities—freedom to correct injustices."

In the United States there were a few who criticized him for making this statement. They did not realize, I imagine, that as a delegate representing his country, it was his duty and responsibility to protect it. Further, they did not realize that what he had said summarized not only Mr. Tobias' feeling, but that of many, most, people in America.

But if Mr. Tobias had only acted in that capacity, I would not feel that he was a great leader. It was his responsibility, once relieved of the restriction imposed by official duty, to continue to speak against all forms of segregation or prejudice. This, he certainly did when he pointed out the duplicity in the platforms of both parties.

* * *

WHEN MR. TOBIAS was in Paris representing his country, his strong, vigorous statements were hailed by our diplomats, our State Department and our great metropolitan papers. This is heady wine; it often intoxicates our leaders. There is always the temptation to go easy in the hope that another appointment would be given if one is known as a safe person.

It would have been very easy for Mr. Tobias to have let things go without the danger of possibly offending both parties. This he did not care to do. This behavior should, it would seem, quiet many of his critics.

But let's take the wear and tear on the man himself. It is hard to represent one's country when it is criticized for the very thing which has made him suffer. But one can do it in the line of duty. But then how hard to come back and find that this problem, the one that is receiving world attention, is dealt with only as a domestic issue which will, it is hoped, gradually find a solution.

* * *

THE MAN that can play this difficult role is a leader.

We might not be ready, but with men like Tobias, we are getting ready mighty fast.

ON THE Spot

by Arnold de Mille

NEW YORK — The town was really upset last week over the untimely death of William H. (Bill) Dean, one of the country's most outstanding economists, chief of the African Unit of the Economic and Stabilization Division of the UN, and son-in-law of Dr. Channing H. Tobias, UN alternate delegate to the UN, now in session in Paris.

His death struck hard because few people knew Dean was back from Somaliland where he headed a six-man UN technical mission to find ways and means of making that country economically self-supporting and eventually independent.

Mr. de Mille

Fact is, few of his associates at UN headquarters knew he was back. Those who did happen to see him hardly recognized him at first. He had lost 16 pounds the three months he was in Africa and said he was just like skin and bones.

Dr. Bunche, chief of the Trusteeship Division under which Somaliland comes, urged Bill to take a few weeks vacation before trying to complete his report. But Dean has always been a person who had to get things done immediately and perfect to the letter. He didn't know how to set things aside for tomorrow, nor how to relax until it was completed.

Dr. Tobias, who was expected to make the trip from Paris for the funeral, said in his wire to Mrs. Dean, Dr. T.'s daughter, that "Bill was a victim of his own conscientiousness. He died in the battle for a free Africa. I salute him. The Christian faith will sustain you and the children."

Dean's associates at the UN feel that he was discouraged over his findings in Somaliland and over the attitude of the Italian administrating authority in preparing the country for independence within ten years. It is felt that Bill wanted to find a way the country could become economically self-supporting within a couple of years. Having failed to do so, he felt he had failed in his mission, despite being praised for the work he did during the three months.

Funeral services were held Thursday at St. Mark's church on Edgecombe Ave. and 138th St., with Dr. Samuel H. Sweeney performing the last rites. Among those attending were Dr. Cobb of Howard U., Dr. Bunche, Walter White, Ed Lawson, secretary of the UN Human Rights Division, Judge Mollison, Judge Rivers, Councilman Earl Brown, Lester Granger, Guichard Parris, Edith Alexander, Bill Trent, Grant Reynolds, Dr. and Mrs. Walter I. Delph, Spinkey Austin, Henry Lee Moon, Mrs. Bunche, Clifford A. Alexander, Harry K. Craft, Thomas Dyett, Edward Lewis, Dr. Kenneth Williams.

From out of town were a number of people, including almost all of Bill's family, among them his sisters, Mrs. Thelma Dean Manuel, Washington; Miss Elaine Dean, Detroit, and Mrs. Ruth Dean Baufman. Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta U., came in from Washington. So did Dr. William F. Green, Bill's uncle from Baltimore; David Melton, Washington; Mary Beth Green, D. C., and Barbara Ackiss, also D. C.

It seems that a streak of sickness is going around in Sugar Ray Robinson's family. First the champ had to postpone his California Cancer Fund bout because of a injuried back he sustained in training. Following that his wife, Edna Mae became quite ill. But they tell us another little Sugar Ray is expected sometime in the near future.

Three weeks ago Sugar Ray's mother, Mrs. Lelia Smith, had quite an attack late one night and had to be taken immedately to the hospital. She was in St. Clare's on West 51st st., until Monday. She is now doing all right in her Riverdale home. Ray and Edna Mae left town Sunday. He is on his way to the coast. Edna Mae will stop in Chicago and wait for him to pick her up on his way back.

Because of the recent increase of the number of servicemen visiting good old Harlemtown, the West 135th Street "Y" decided to reopen its servicemen's centre. Mrs. Evelyn A. Payne, who was secretary of the Harlem USO for a number of years, is in charge.

Pruth McFadin, a palsey victim, who has his own weekly program over WLS in Chicago, was in town last week to make a special appearance on the Arthur Godfrey's national Palsey program last Thursday morning, on television. Thursday night, Pruth was a guest of James Melton.

Bill Kelly, who for a number of years was George Cohran's assistant manager at the 125th Street Social Security Office, became the third Negro to be promoted to a top job as Field Office Manager when he was made head of the Washington Heights office.

"Right now I can defeat Jersey Joe Walcott, who I am positive is older than I." That is what Joe Louis says in the current issue of Quick Magazine. Joe also says that if he decides to continue boxing, he thinks the boxing commissions around the country would be doing the nice thing to him by waiting until he applied for a license before banning him from fighting. According to the article Louis goes on to say that he might become a TV disc jockey and will continue as director of the International Boxing Club, which pays him 15 grand a year. But ole Joe didn't say he was going to quit fighting.

ON THE Spot

by Arnold de Mille

NEW YORK—Arthur Godfrey to Gov. Talmage "You ain't nobody," while the Mariners supported him in a song entitled "You're Nobody 'Til Somebody Loves You" on last week's TV show.

The other night Walter White, NAACP head, and the Mrs. dropon 3rd ave. near 50th st. for a look-see. They were introduced to a couple celebrating their 32nd wedding anniversary. Also to John L. Lewis, boss of the coal miners.

Mr. de Mille

After a while the Whites and John L. joined the celebrating couple in a toast, then into a friendly conversation like friends from way back.

The name of the celebrating couple? Why, Billingsley. He is brother of Sherman Billingsley, the gent who owns the Stork club over on East 53rd st. off 5th Ave., often called the "world's most famous restaurant."

Think maybe Mr. and Mrs. Billingsley thought Brother Sherman's joint was too exclusive for them, too?

"The Challenge," a documentary motion picture dramatizing incidents of racial prejudice in the U. S. and how business and labor leaders have met and dealt with them, will be shown at the N. Y. Public Library's "Exploring the American Idea" meeting for young people at the 115th St. Branch on Wednesday, Jan. 3. at 8 p.m. It is a picture all should see, especially young people of high school age.

Evelyn Robinson, Sugar Ray's sister, seems to be attracting some attention these days as a model. She was a big hit last Sunday in Greenwich, Conn., and will be featured in a big fashion show March 1 in Jackson, Miss., sponsored by the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority. Also she is about to enter a fashion school to take up designing and drafting.

Rumors are being circulated around town and at Atlanta U. that fatigue and dissatisfaction with his work in Africa were not the motivating factors in Bill Dean's suicide. And rumors have a way of spreading fast, oftime doing a lot of damage.

A limited number of Ralph Bunche scholarship awards to attend the U of Oslo Summer School and Institute are available to American students interested in Norway's export industries.

Capt. Doris Williams, the only Negro commanding officer of the only integrated unit in the WACs, left for Germany last week.

Judge Herman Stout was fit to be tied last week. While he was on the bench being a humane and understanding jurist, someone broke into his apartment and robbed him of all his clothes. "Too bad I don't try those cases," he said. Wouldn't want to be the first guy to face him the next day!

Upper Manhattan will have its first art exhibit in which public school pupils and teachers will be joined by local outstanding artists on Jan. 23 at the District Curriculum, PS 90, 227 W. 147th st. Among the special features of the exhibit will be a number of collections loaned by the Museum of Modern art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Contemporary Arts.

"Cry, the Beloved Country," a motion picture filmed in South Africa, is powerful and full of realism. It shows segregation and discrimination at its worst. Canada lee and Sidney Poitier, who were taken to Africa to do the leads, sparkle. This is one foreign made film no one can afford to miss.

Probably the one and only red hat with a snake band worn by a man in captivity is the one Sugar Ray Robinson sported last Saturday morning. A plain bold red felt — and a red shirt to match.

Incidentally, the champ will make a personal benefit appearance in Chicago next month or early March. It will be in connection with a rally to build a recreation center in the Windy City and under the direction of Ethel Payne the Defender's gal who's doing the series on the Pullman porters. The date will be set in a few days.

March 6 is the date set for the NAACP giant benefit at Madison Square Garden. Oscar Hammerstein II and Lena Horne are the co-chairmen. Jimmie Durante, Camilla Williams, Dorothy Sarnoff, Dick Campbell, Melvyn Douglas, June Havoc, Maria Tall chief, Enzo Pinza, Juanita Hall and Eddie Cantor are some of the stars who said they will positively be there.

The Harlem branch library at 9 W. 124th st. is again open after being closed for more than a year. It has been completely renovated.

Augustus Granville Dill, now making his home in St. Louis, will give a conversational musical in the studio of Mr. Clement in Steinway Hall, N. Y., Jan. 25.

How's this for a twist in fate for you. Father Cornelius Drew, pastor of St. Charles Catholic church who is now trying to raise a million bucks to build a new school and recreation center in Harlem, tripped and broke a leg the other night while trying to put out a light in the old school building he's hoping to tear down and replace with a new one.

More about the Cafe Chambord. In case you don't know it, it is recognized as Gotham's most exclusive club but without a Walter Winchell and with an open-door policy. The first night the NAACP threw its picket line in front of the Stork club after the Josephine Baker incident, the Chambord's owner went through the line to talk to Walter White, invited him, his friends and everybody else to enjoy its hospitality. The prices, though, are higher than at the Stork.

Roger Rico, star of "South Pacific" who was with Jo Baker the night she was mistreated at the Stork, was fired a few days ago. Think maybe Winchell got to somebody!

ON THE Spot

by Arnold de Mille

NEW YORK—The heat was on in more than one way over the weekend. The weather took its toll, the fireworks celebrants had their fling, but the boys around the Theresa and other "marked" spots in town were hotter than the weather and fireworks put together.

de Mille

Sugar Ray Robinson, fully recovered from the heat prostration which kayoed him in the Yankee Stadium two weeks ago, pitched a wee because one of the big dailies carried a series on the Harlem numbers racket and accused him of owning a barber shop regarded as one of the biggest "dumps" in town.

"I don't know anything about it," Ray said. "Further, the Golden Gate Barber Shop does not belong to me."

The Golden Gate is nestled between Ray's office and his wife's lingerie shop on 7th ave. and 124th st.

Hopping mad, too, are Bill Brown, manager of the Theresa, Otto Ulrick, owner of the Palm Cafe on 125th st. and owners of the Braddock, the Apollo Bar, Small's and several other well-known spots in Harlem. All are accused of harboring bookies, numbers runners and bankers. An apartment directly opposite Sugar Ray's place was the scene of a raid Wednesday afternoon.

On the political side of the street, Deputy Building and Housing Commissioner Fred Weaver in no uncertain language made it clear that former Commissioner Ray Jones is responsible for him having no more power in his department than the office boy. Weaver said Ray gave all the power to the borough superintendents and just didn't accuse Jones of being responsible for some of the lives lost in recent tenement fires.

Republican district leaders Harold Burton and Charlie Hill left for Chicago convention determined that Eisenhower will not be their nominee.

The New York Urban League sponsored a conference the other evening on "The Negro in the Brewing Industry" at the United Mutual auditorium, but Jim Lawson's crowd, which has been boycotting one of the local beer concerns, broke it up by telling the League it should stop its pussyfooting around and do something about getting Negroes into the beer industry and on beer truck drivers and helpers. Edward is, the executive secretary, little difficulty keeping the quiet long enough to close meeting.

Folks around town are still ing a'out Judge Waring ref to address the NAACP conve because he felt the organiz was about to make a compro on the civil rights issue.

New York's lone Negro co man Earl Brown introduced a lution to the city council than 15 months ago that have made it almost impos for the tragedy that took the of three adults and four chi in Brooklyn two weeks ag called for the appointment of councilmen to make complet vestigations of all the N. Y. ments with violation. Brown asked for immediate action.

Grace Hale, field consultan Planned Parenthood Federati America, took a stroll down aisle Sunday afternoon George Reid Jordan at the C tian Science church on Park and 85th st. George is a cons tion engineer in Washington. left immediately after the re tion for Grace's home in Den Col.

A note from Rose Morgan, owner of the Rose Meta Hous Beauty, says that she is ha a great time in Zurick, Swi land. "I don't think the pe here ever saw a colored pe before," she said. "They stop look at me as though I were s thing good to eat. They make feel like something special."

Juanita Hall, star of "South cific," flew into town from cago to fulfill an engagement the 4th weekend at the Glen land Casino in New Rochelle.

William Warfield, baritone ring in the revival of "Porgy Bess" now at the Chicago C Opera, will fly in to narrate hour-long version of "Show B Saturday night, July 12, at Lewishon stadium.

An Army Ferryboat was christened Monday at a Govern

at Ft. Riley, Kans., w three-quarter-pound C sixth female in yo arem!

Island ceremony and renamed stationed at F "Sergeant Cornelius H. Charlto five and three in honor of the New York infan thia—the sixth man who died in Korea and truly's harem awarded the Congressional Me posthumously last February. is Harlem's first to be so honor

The de Mille household we creased by one last Thursda sister-in-law Betty Morse ed her husband Cpl. How

31a 1952

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor Atlanta Daily World

The Health Of The Negro Also Means The Health of America

The intelligent American citizen doesn't have to be told that the strength of a nation depends largely on the health of that nation and that one of the first requisites for defense is to see to it that all people are provided with the necessary health facilities.

America is in the midst of one of the biggest defense programs in the history of the country which also means that all available manpower must be in top shape as far as health is concerned. When this is made possible, production can always be kept at a top level.

A stranger visiting our country would think differently however, especially if he made a visit through the hospitals, clinics and various medical centers where health services are being offered. He would find that the Negro citizen, who comprises roughly one-tenth of the total population, would be lacking in these necessary items of health and medical care. This of course is very undemocratic.

During a recent hospital survey in 18 Southern and border states, it was discloced that Negroes have access to only 32 per cent of the existing bed space in 676 medical institutions. In many other areas this quota runs much lower, aside from the fact that living conditions under which Negroes are forced into, are conducive to disease and epidemics of all kinds.

We all know that there is a serious shortage of hospital space i nthe South as well as in the rest of the nation. What really should be done in order to meet the situation, is to share the hospital facilities on the basis of need, rather than on the basis of race or nationality.

Community leadership can best solve this problem of health. Those of us who realize the desperate need for better health facilities can do this through well organized political action and community organization.

Something definitely must be done about the health situation of Negroes, especially in the South. It seems ridiculous to limit health facilities for as large a segment as ten per cent of the total population of the United States when all available manpower in needed for defense purposes.

Negro (William Gordon)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor Atlanta Daily World

Full Integration Into Organized Labor Today

Full integration of Negroes into the total stream of industrial employment is still to be achieved on a large scale in this country. We still have with us those who view the total labor picture as something set aside for special group or race interest and not for country or economic interest as it will benefit the nation as a whole.

Organized labor, which in a large measure has been widely discriminatory in its practices, especially on a craft level, is now beginning to wake up and consider the Negro on an equal basis. This stand has not only helped the Negro, but organized labor as well; in fact the whole country has been given a shot in the arm economically.

There has been recently formed a Negro Labor Committee on a national scale, to work for more complete integration of Negroes into the ranks of organized labor.

The formation of such a committee is most significant, not so much because Negroes comprise the committee, but because both Negro and white make up the committee, which will act and work in the interest of both working groups. Through such a committee, there is bound to develop better understanding of the problems common to all people who work for their livelihood and those problems which confront those seeking employment on an equal basis.

One thing that can be said in behalf of organized labor during recent years, is that where fair employment practices laws do not exist, the leaders of both the C. I. O. and A. F. L. have been working towards granting rights to all members of their unions, regardless of race, creed or color.

It has definitely been established that Negroes are further along the road of full integration in organized labor than in any other section of our social life, including the armed forces.

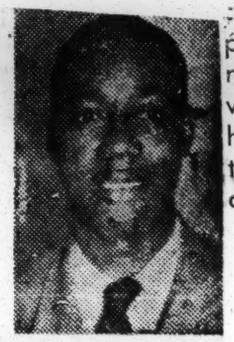
The army, like much of northern industry when it comes South, has taken the gradual and much too slow approach towards solving this problem of equality for all.

Industry, rather than insult some of the customs and folk ways of certain people who have always been backward in their views, has complied with the traditions and customs of the communities in which it locates. Even though, this has meant a drop in profits and a lag in social progress in the economy, industrialists have taken the easy way out of the situation.

The Army is still making excuses for customs and traditions even though it has been proven that mixed troops have proven to be the most efficient.

Organized labor has come out in front of most of our social institutions. Even though it has been termed hostile in many respects, it has lead the field in many instances by proving that the democracy we preach today, is one that can also be put into practice.

REVIEWING THE NEWS



By WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor Atlanta Daily World

The Declining Membership In Southern Churches Today

According to a recent survey made by Professor Ralph A. Felton and his associates of the Drew Theological Seminary, the membership in Negro churches is on the decline rather than an increase. There was a time when the church was the only place of expression for the Negro. Now there are other centers of interests coming into focus, and naturally these additional centers will command his attention.

The report reveals that more than three-fourths of the ministers who head churches have to engage in some other type of occupation in order to help supplement their income. This consequently, makes it rather difficult for a minister to give to his congregation the kind of program necessary for good leadership and guidance. The Negro churchman, like any other person is in need of leadership guidance. Unless the church is capable of affording this leadership and guidance, then it becomes secondary in his interest. He begins to look for some other institution that will assist him in his social, political, and economic problems.

As one among millions of church members, the following seems to be the type of program necessary to keep membership at its necessary level and likewise increase the growth of the Negro church wherever it may be located, South or north.

First of all the trained minister is more in demand for the church today than he was even a decade ago. Our way of living and our economic order demands a new type of leadership and guidance.

Churches should subscribe to more educational programs, designed to attract the interest of both adults and youths. In as much as the church is a center for spiritual guidance, it should be a center for physical and educational guidance. Each factor compliments the other.

There should be a program in all churches designed to lend more freedom of expression for young people. Let the youngsters feel that they are a part of the institution and that whatever is achieved in the center is done so through their efforts as well as those of adults.

In brief, churches must become less stereotyped and more community-wide in their program. The minister, who is picked the leader in the church, should also assist in being the leader in the community. Each problem which occurs in a community is just as much a church problem as it is a family, community or sectional problem.

The churches in our nation must become more concerned with the total development of problems, whether they are political, social, economic or spiritual. After all, all of these problems are produced by human beings. The membership of the church is made of human beings. No church can expect to continue to exist without taking into consideration all of the problems of these human beings. The church which lends itself more in this direction, will stop losing its membership. There will be a greater tendency for this membership to thrive and increase.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor Atlanta Daily World

Russell and the Negro Problem

There are some people still in our country, who would resort to almost anything to avoid giving the Negro citizen those things which he is entitled to under the United States Constitution. Senator Russell of Georgia, candidate for the presidential nomination is of no exception in this case.

The above accusation is based on the manner and methods used by the Senator in expressing himself on foreign and domestic policies.

On some issues, according to Russell, he is inclined to go along with the President's policies on both foreign and domestic. But of course when it comes to civil rights and FEPC, the Senator from Georgia takes a back seat. He has openly stated that much of the civil rights legislation as advocated by President Truman should be referred to as "civil wrongs."

This comes as no surprise to the millions of Negro voters throughout the country. We are well acquainted with the stand Russell has taken in Congress all along. Aside from taking the lead in filibuster tactics, he has stood to block all of the civil rights legislation that the President has brought forth. Space would not allow me to analyze the many issues he has blocked, especially those favoring minority groups in this country. This is of course, with emphasis being on the Negro.

His TV interview on Sunday certainly brought the Senator out in the open on what he would do if elected Chief Executive of this country. We get the impression from where we sit, that little if anything from his program would benefit the Negro or any minority group.

It is difficult to see how any person, calling himself a real American, can uphold many of the evils still existing in our country, when these evils affect upwards of more than ten per cent of the total American population. This seemed to have been the case with Senator Russell Sunday during the TV interview.

When questioned on civil rights involving the Negro in America Russell answered in part, that in America there is no Negro problem and that as far as he is concerned, Negroes are getting along fine in this country, almost totally without incident.

Even though the Russians are using the question to sell the rest of the world on what democracy really means, he seemed to

sense no danger in this action.

There are problems in America and they are problems which confront the Negro. These problems will continue to exist as long as politicians and people in the same position as Senator Russell fail to view the prospective in the light that it should be viewed.

We are still confronted with inadequate educational facilities, not only in the South but throughout this nation. This is not because we are not capable as human beings to shoulder responsibility, but merely because of pigmentation of the skin and hair texture.

Right in Senator Russell's own state, Negroes are not allowed in the State university and yet they pay taxes to help maintain the institution. Facilities for Negro education are shameful to observe, not only in the state of Georgia, but in most Southern states today, and very little is being done by top leaders to better the facilities. Without the decisions of the courts some states would have never made a move to better these conditions.

Lynching, police brutality and bad housing still plague the Negro throughout this area. Health facilities are at such a low level that it is shameful to look at the list of relief rolls, tax-supported hospitals and clinics where we run to keep ourselves in fair health.

Even though Negroes cook much of the food that is eaten by whites in the South, many of them fail to consider the necessity for good health standards in Negro communities. Many of these people are still short-sighted like the Senator who is a candidate for presidential nomination.

In the South today, there is still only a handful of Negro doctors to care for a large segment of our population. In many cities and areas in the South white doctors fail to serve Negroes, consequently many of them are left at the mercy of patent medicines, home remedies and out-moded methods of patent care. Yet, still in the South state universities are fighting to the limit to avoid admission of Negro medical students who want to become physicians and be of use to their people and their country.

In the eyes of the Negro these are problems and they are acute problems to us in America. They are problems to anybody who has the vision to see and the ability to reason clearly. These problems are not only obvious throughout this country, they have become universal.

In brief, this is no time to play politics with the rights and privileges of individuals. We are looking for a president who has the interest of all the people. We are not going to back those who would hold office for personal, sectional or political interests. Those who say there is no problem confronting the Negro are in no position to take top leadership in this country.

Dustin' off the NEWS

by

LUCIUS C. HARPER

"In 1950 there were about 4,000 Negro physicians and surgeons out of a total of 209,040 for the United States, a ratio of one for every 720 people in the United States, but only one Negro physician, to each 3,500 Negroes. In Mississippi, the ratio of Negro doctors to Negro population is one to 18,527." These figures are given in the foreword of a very important document which deserves wide reading — the "Five Year Report of Activities 1946-1951 of Provident Medical Associates, Chicago, Ill."

The record of five years of work by this organization, little known to the public, is both fascinating and inspiring. In January, 1946, a group of Chicago physicians — Negro and white — incorporated Provident Medical Associates as a not-for-profit corporation. It had for its purpose the medical education of Negroes and the improvement of the conditiions for their practice of medicine. When the organization was first formed it was concerned with local needs, and assisted the reconstruction of the medical staff of Provident hospital in Chicago. With funds provided by donors it has granted and administered fellowships to 20 Negro physicians on the staff of Provident hospital who were in training for certification by the various medical specialty boards. Its concern has now become national in scope, interest and support. It now receives and acts upon applications for fellowships and scholarships from all over the United States.

The funds which have made these fellowships and scholarships possible have come from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the Field Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund, Mr. and Mrs. Richard E. Deutsch and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis—in all more than $200,000 has been made available through the Associates. During the past five years, the Associates have awarded $189,000 in Fellowships to 76 individuals.

This organization of outstanding Negro and white doctors has for its president, Dr. E. V. L. Brown, University of Illinois; as treasurer, Dr. Franklin C. McLean, Univ. of Chicago; and as secratary, Dr. Nathan O. Calloway (now on leave as a U. S. Army Major assigned as Assistant Chief, Medical Service, Percy Jones Army Hospital Battle Creek Mich.). The associates pay no professional salaries. Outside of clerical and office expense, all funds available to it have gone into fellowships.

Provident Medical Associates defines its purpose as follows:

1) To provide assistance for Negroes to obtain education and training in the medical and surgical specialties These men will become available for the teaching and training of other medical personnel, to improve the care of patients.

2) To provide funds to qualified undergraduate medical students who cannot afford the cost of medical education, now approximately $1,500 a year.

3) To uncourage and support Negroes who desire to enter the profession of teaching and research in clinical medicine and the medical sciences.

Provident Medical Associates is limiting its scholarship awards for work leading to the M. D. Degree to students enrolled in unsegregated medical schools.

Medical institutions, medical schools and hospitals are awakening to their responsibility to the Negro of America. Opportunities for trained men never before open to Negroes are available. We salute Provident Medical Associates for seeking to meet the needs of one great section of our people by bold affirmative and effective action.

Dustin' off the NEWS

by

LUCIUS C. HARPER

(continued from last week)

The first Negro magazine to actually cause a great flurry and uproar in literary circles was "The Messenger" issued during the early 20's by two young and brilliant writers, namely, A. Phillip Randolph and Chandler Owen, then residents of New York City. It grew out of the socialist party and advocated a new political doctrine among Negroes. It brought to the front many notable writers. When the support of party affiliation lagged the magazine was unable to maintain itself and finally folded. Randolph went into the ranks of the Pullman Porter, and Owen is now a noted economist and an expert authority on international affairs.

Where as the "Crisis" under Dr. Dubois had been regarded as ultra-radical, the youthful "Messenger" editors with their new political doctrines of the left-wing variety created a new era of thinking and developed some dynamic and powerful writers. Two who have remained in the limelight are George Schuyler and Theopolis Lewis.

At about the same time a magazine of a lighter vein appeared in New York which for the first time, began to glorify the chorus girl, folk from theatrical circles, and to recite about the breezier life of that city. It had a flair for the fancy and was printed on highly glossed paper and featured the brilliance of colored ink. It was the "New York Tattler" the creation of a noted hotel man, Seymour Jordan. It was one of the liveliest types of gossip magazine that had been issued, and has not even until today been equalled for its spiceness and merriment.

The "Tattler" was a combination of magazine and newspaper and a sort of a fore-runner of the present day tabloid.

Other magazines like "Fire" which was a poetical effort edited by Langston Hughes and "Harlem," a short story compilation produced by the W. B. Ziff and Co. budded out but both folded.

Pittsburgh also took a hand in the magazine industry some years back when Ira F. Lewis and Professor Buchanan issued a well edited and compiled booklet known as "The Challenge". It ran for about four issues.

The one magazine that had a glorious birth and died aborning was "The Reflex-us". It began under the editorship of George Johnson and John McKinley. It was to have been an auxiliary publication of the Chicago Defender, and was to be presented as a surprise package to the Editor and Publisher, Robert S. Abbott, but in the interim after the magazine had been named through a nationwide contest and the first issue left the press, jealousies arose in the organization and Mr. Abbott was lead to believe quite erroneously that he was being defrauded.

Other magazines that have made their appearance in Chicago were "Bronzeville", edited by Clovis Fouche and James Gentry, the "Heebie-Jeebie" by Claude A. Barnett and Percival Prattis, the "Savoyager" with James Gentry as its editor and "Flash", by Augustus Ivory which has been in the field for several years.

Chicago has probably given birth to more magazine ventures than any city its size. Yet, there is hardly a magazine of national reputation that has succeeded for any length of time. "Ebony" and the Johnson group including "Tan Confessions", "Negro Digest" and "Jet" are also proving an exception to this general rule. Chicago is a splendid distributing center but a poor birth place for a magazine venture. New York is still considered the magazine capital of the world.

Dustin' off the NEWS

31 by Negro

LUCIUS C. HARPER

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Harper has recovered to the extent that his physicians gave him permission to continue his writing. This is his first column since his illness.

Defender

Honor Well Deserved

The selection by the U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce of John H. Johnson, publisher of Ebony Magazine as one of the ten outstanding young business men of 1951, is an honor well deserved. The feat he accomplisned in this field of literature is just short of being a miracle. It is almost unexplainable. P. 11

Where the Negro, down through the years, has had quite a measure of success in establishing and maintaining weekly newspapers, he has correspondingly experienced many tragic hardships and business failures in his efforts to publish magazines. The public welcome for such an enterprise just wasn't there; that is before Negro Digest and Ebony came on the scene. Actually, Negro Digest "broke the ice."

It was almost a half century ago when the first Negro magazine was issued in Atlanta, Ga., by a young college graduate by the name of J. Max Barber. It was "The Voice of the Negro," which began in 1905. It was a creditable venture and sparked with the live issues of that era that had been fanned into fever heat by the DuBoise-Booker Washington controversy. It was the first to print pictures and illustrations and short stories exclusively from Negro sources.

In September 1906, its office was raided by hoodlums during the Atlanta race riot, its editor chased out and the magazine was destroyed. Barber, the publisher, ended his career as a dentist in Philadelphia. Dat. 2-2-52

Some four years later when the NAACP was founded, "The Crisis" with the scholarly Dr. W. E. B. DuBoise as editor was issued and has remained ever since. With organization support it at one time reached a peak circulation of 85,000. It was never able, however, to attract national advertisement because of its organizational identification and racial policy and remains today a sort of "house organ."

In 1915, when Negroes celebrated their half century of freedom at the Coliseum in Chicago, Anthony Overton, the High Brown Cosmetic manufacturer, issued a magazine in commemoration of the event with Katherine Irving as editor. Its form was similar to the Saturday Evening Post, and its cover was done in three colors. It was named **"The Half Century Magazine."** It stayed in the field about two years.

Then came **"The Favorite Magazine"** edited in Chicago by a promising young poet of that day, Fenton Johnson, who had attracted literary attention by the publication of a book of poems entitled: **"A Little Dreamin' "**. He was a relative of the well known Negro banker, Jesse Binga, who financed the enterprise until it proved a poor business venture. However, a record attempt was made in the publishing business by [illegible]ga and Johnson when they issued **"The Champion Magazine."** It finally suffered from a neglected public and also folded after a few month's struggle.

During this period, the National Urban League saw the need of having its own mouthpiece and issued **"Opportunity"** a well edited monthly chronicle, which reached its highest influence under the editorship of Dr. Charles Johnson now president of Fisk University. During its career, it had many other able and scholarly editors

Dustin' off the NEWS by LUCIUS C. HARPER

Defender p. 11 31 A Negro Champion Del.

Dat. 2-16-52

Lucius C. HARPER For Many Years Author Of This Column, And Executive Editor Of The Chicago Defender, Died Sunday, Feb. 10, 1952 At The Age Of 57 In Chicago

NEW YORK—It's a girl at the Dave Hepburns. He's editor of "Our World" mag. Can't understand all the excitement over the women's new "poodle" short haircuts. Nothing new about a poodle. Short haired women have been forced to wear poodles ever since they kicked the sides off their cradles!

When Edith Sampson spoke in Norway recently, she was billed as "Judge" Edith Sampson. Is that true or is it wishful thinking on Edith's part? Information please

Speaking of Edith and the speeches she has been making abroad recently giving Josephine Baker "Hail Columbia" and telling all Europe how veddy veddy nice the U.S. is to its colored citizens: Why not have the NAACP stage a debate between Josephine Baker and Edith when Edith returns home?

Betcha Jo Baker would accept the chance to defend herself; and the debate would pack any auditorium at a dollar a head. Proceeds could go to NAACP. I'd keep my press card in my pocket and spend a buck myself to hear La Baker trim Edith down to her size.

The whole town is talking about the Red Randolph separation. He's the owner of Harlem's swank Shalimar on 7th Ave. A thumb in our nose to Dr. E. W. Taggart of Birmingham, Ala., if press reports are true that he and his Magic City Golf Club asks city officials for a jim-crow golf course.

Walking On Knees

If the reports are true, Dr. Taggart is one of our acquaintances whom we will not "look up" when we visit Birmingham in March. It's not that we won't be looking while we're in Birmingham—It's just that it's so hard to "look up" and see a man who is walking around on his knees!

Speaking of traveling: We'll be in Dee Cee, Feb. 22, to "bathe in Bourbon" at the Guardsmen's dance, as Atty. Turkey Thompson's guest. Hope to see you at the dance.

Jo Baker

Edwards

Edith Sampson

Tobias

If you are too tight to see us there, we'll get together a "652" you know where, if you are a member of the D.C. dawn patrol. And stop playing that number Don't you know what happened to Pudding Head Jones and "White Top?

After we leave the Guardsmen, we'll dash to Philly on Feb. 23 to "address" the Practical Nurses Industrious Club at the Divine Lorraine Hall at a 7 p.m. dinner meeting. You Philadelphians come on out, won't ya? We like the "wide open spaces," but not in a banquet hall.

Recommended to people in love: Tommy Edwards's pleading version of "Please Mr. Sun." It's cute as pie.

Walter White is "well" again, but some of us who know him have our fingers crossed and wish he would take it a little easier. We can't afford to lose him now—but a bad heart is a bad heart even when it's Walter White's.

Big Town's Big Problem

A Harlem doctor refused to let his young wife join one of the best known women's organization in Harlem, because there are more Lesbians in the club than women. That's one way of keeping your wife! No kidding, Lesbians are becoming real problems to Big Town husbands.

Prettiest and most refreshing young thing on the Harlem scene is model Esther Morris of Cleveland, who just got a St. Nicholas Ave. apartment with her also pretty chum, Nancy Holloway. They came in, got themselves a job and took to New York like ducks to water.

It will be denied, but Dr. Channing H. Tobias will resign as director of the Phelps Stokes Fund when he returns to the U.S. soon. Harlem women will tell you that tennis playing is not the only thing that Althea Gibson does well. The Urban League Guild's Beaux Arts ball is always held at the Savoy Ballroom and its boxes at $50 a head are always a sell-out.

The club has an ironclad rule that checks for all boxes must be in by Jan. 15. Bessie Buchanan reserved her annual box for the ball and then went to Florida. Her check had not arrived by Jan. 15. Sharply at midnight on Jan. 15 the Guild's treasurer sold Bessie's box to someone else.

Can't Keep Her Out

Up spoke Guild Chairman Mollie Moon. Said she: "Rules or no rules, if we are going to have a ball we'd better hold Bessie's box for her." The box was held. Bessie just happens to be the wife of Charlie Buchanan who OWNS the Savoy and who is the apple of his eye

The frustrations of a reporter: When the plane crashed last week in Elizabeth, N. J., I dashed over to the St. Elizabeth Hospital in an attempt to steal an exclusive interview with the plane's only colored passenger, Mildred Smith. Knowing that reporters would not be allowed on the hospital wards, I posed as Mildred's distraught brother.

I got in all right, but when they told Millie "your brother is here" she said, "I don't have a brother." I then had to spend ten minutes convincing a nurse and a cop that Mildred was so badly hurt she didn't know what she was talking about.

When I finally convinced all three of them, including Mildred, that I was her brother, I rushed over to Mildred, kissed her in bed and whispered that I was a reporter and begged her not to give me away.

She played it cool, gave me an interview and I rushed out—only to call Baltimore and learn I had missed my national deadline by five minutes!

Popular Young Man

Life goes on in the Big Town. Disc Jockey, Willie Bryant is being carefully groomed by the politicians as a candidate for City Councilman. No question about it, he has more popular support than anyone in Harlem.

Personal to Mrs. Memphis Garrison of Gary, West Virginny: Coming your way in March. Sounds like a good story.

And to Mrs. C. A. Simmons in Bill Townsend's office out there in Chicago: Army officials will not let me into Edgewood Arsenal. It's a classified base because of the work there. Attention B S. Philadelphia County Prison: I'm still trying. Still in your corner!

LANGSTON Hughes

Passing For White, Passing For Colored, Passing For Negroes Plus

In the current issue of OUR WORLD, there is a brilliantly written and stunningly illustrated article on Hawaii called "Revolt In Paradise." It contains some saddening revelations, particularly concerning mainland Negroes passing for Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian—or anything but what they are. Some, light enough, of course, pass for white. But others are passing for colored. Not Negro colored, any kind of colored but COLORED colored. Just as some folks I know who are as Negro as I am insist that they are Indians.

In my travels about the world, I have occasionally come across American Negroes passing for some other colored nationality. Even in Paris, where there seemed little need to me to attempt to pass for anything, I met a young lady from Georgia passing for Javanese. On the boat coming home to New York, I met a quite brownskin woman from the Middle West passing as an Argentinian on a very meager knowledge of Spanish. And in Hollywood I met a cute little colored girl who looked no more East Indian than Dinah Washington, with a caste mark on her forehead pretending to be from Bombay. I admired her nerve.

It is true that in the United States there are some advantages in being or pretending to be, any kind of colored person but an American Negro. That is the reason, so Harlem teaches me, many brownskin Puerto Ricans make little haste to learn English. They feel that if they speak English well, they will be taken for American Negroes—which is about the last thing, apparently, anybody wants to be. Woe is us, and woe is me! I, however, have never felt that way. It has always seemed to me more fun being frankly colored. AMERICAN NEGRO COLORED, than pretending to be anything else. But I do not condemn people who, for financial reasons, find it advantageous to be something else, at least not in the USA.

But it does seem to me a little silly to attempt to pass for something else in countries where color makes little, if any, difference. A friend of mine last year on a pilgrimage to Rome, told me that she met a member of our race from her home town who never passed for white at home, passing so determinedly in Italy that she would not even speak to a colored person Now, that made no sense at all in Rome, as far as I can see for there the Italians like colored Americans better than they do white Americans. In fact, from all I can hear today, it is an advantage to be colored in many parts of Europe rather than white, if you are from this country.

Some Negroes take full advantage of this, and are going in for being what one might call 100 percent colored, Negroes plus, even pretending to be more Negro than they naturally are. I have even heard recently of some American WHITES in Europe claiming to be colored when they discovered that Negro-ness might get them a better public reception than whiteness. Speaking of Negroes who use race as a wedge to popularity, when I was last in Europe, I remember Negro musicians who, at home, oiled and conked their hair down, letting it go entirely natural abroad when they discovered that the European women loved the feel of natural Negro hair—so alive and springy. I have heard Negroes sing spirituals abroad who would not think of singing one at home—when they learned how much Europeans love and respect our folk songs.

But to get back to passing for colored—but not American colored. Even in Mexico, which is a brown-skin country, some Negroes pass for Indians or Mexicans. There is little need for this, as far as I could tell when I lived there. No one Jim Crows or segregates anybody, as a rule and some Mexicans are dark as Joe Black. So why go to all the trouble of passing? Why Negroes who do not try to pass for anything at home should suddenly want to pass for something else abroad has always puzzled me. The foreigners are seldom fooled. White American tourists may be taken in, but not the natives. And white American tourists are about the last people it would seem to me worthwhile impressing. If, by passing, one can get a better job, I say, 'Go to it." But to pass in a foreign country for social or other non-lucrative reasons, seems to me sort of silly.

Maybe my race pride gets the better or me, but I think it is much more fun being one's self as were two anonymous Negroes in this world I love. Their names I never knew, but I will not forget them because they were so colored. One was all dressed up like a Turk in baggy trousers and a red fez serving Turkish coffee in the Haus Vaterland in Berlin. But when he saw us come in, a party of colored folks from home he yelled, "Hey now! What gives in Harlem?"

And when I first got off the boat in Shanghai and got into a rickshaw and went riding down the Bund toward the hotel, whom should I pass in another rickshaw going the opposite way, but a very colored boy. As soon as we spied each other through the traffic in the busy street, he half rose and I half rose. and both of us yelled, "Hy!" The rickshaw went on. I never saw him again the whole time I was in China. I never knew his name. But race had greeted race across space. And I remember his grin much more clearly than I remember the features of any of the faces of any of the heads turned away by persons passing for something other than Negro with such ardor that they wanted to fool even me in a foreign land. Read how some colored folks in Honolulu would not let OUR WORLD take their pictures for a colored magazine!

LANGSTON Hughes

Chicago Defender, P. 10 Col 1-12-52

Recent American Anthologies Seem To Deliberately Omit Negro Poets

Phyllis Wheatley in her day was the most famous woman poet of Colonial New England. General George Washington wrote her a letter praising her poetry. Her mistress gave her her freedom in recognition of her talents and the former slave girl was sent to England as a representative of Colonial culture, and in London in 1773 her collected poems appeared. But Phyllis Wheatley's poems do not appear in "The Oxford Book of American Verse" nor in "Modern Poetry" nor in "The Pocket Book of American Poems" nor in "A Complete College Reader" nor in "100 American Poems", all recent collections of American poetry. Nor do any other Negro poets appear in these volumes.

Paul Laurence Dunbar at the turn of the century was one of the most widely read and best loved of American poets. Several of his books had been published, his work appeared in our leading magazines, and he himself recited his poems before large audiences all over America. In an era of dialect verse, Dunbar's folk-like charm and humor were as much loved as that of James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field. The poems of Field and Riley are reprinted in the anthology "Best Loved Poems" as edited by Richard Charlton MacKenzie for Perma Books, New York, 1948. But there is not a word of Dunbar's in this large collection which contains everybody from Walt Whitman and William Cullen Bryant to such dubious poets as Ella Wheeler Wilcox and Edgar Guest. No Negro poet is included.

James Weldon Johnson's Negro sermons in verse in "God's Trombones" are among the most beautiful and reverent of American poems. Some of Claude McKay's poems are among America's most powerful. Countee Cullen's lyrics are among our loveliest. The love poems of Georgia Douglas Johnson sometimes equal Millay's. "The Pocket Book of Verse —Great English and American Poems" edited by M. E. Speare, Ph. D., of Harvard and John Hopkins Universities, now in its 31st printing, contains Vachel Lindsay's "The Congo" but not a single line of James Weldon Johnson's. It contains comparatively minor poets like Orrick Johns and Amy Lowell but not Claude McKay or Countee Cullen. It contains Elinor Wylie but not Georgia Douglas Johnson. It does not contain any Negro poets at all.

Gwendolyn Brooks has received the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry. Margaret Walker has been awarded the Yale Younger Poets Prize. Both are among America's finest younger poets and, as Negro women, express in their work segments of interest not found in other poets. Neither Margaret Walker nor Gwendolyn Brooks (or any other Negro poet) are included in the large and beautifully printed "Modern Poetry" edited by Friar and Brinnin for Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951, although this anthology contains such precious or narrowly read poets as Allen Tate, Delmore Schwartz, Howard Moss and Marguerite Young, along with the great names, excluding Negroes, of American poetry. There are almost a hundred poets in this book presumably representing modern poetry, but **not one** is colored.

There are no Negro poets in "100 American Poems" edited by Selden Rodman for the New American Library, no Owen Dodson, no Robert Hayden, no Sterling Brown, although it contains James Agee and Theodore Roethke, Gertrude Stein and Ezra Pound, Peter Viereck and other esoteric Americans. It might as well include a few Negroes. Melvin Tolson's work has been widely discussed in recent years and he has won a "Poetry" magazine prize. But the Negro Tolson is not to be found in "A Complete College Reader" used in many of our colleges and purporting to draw from "the huge library of the world". No other colored poet is there either. And quite without shame, the "Oxford Book of American Verse" containing 1106 pages of American poetry, and published by the Oxford University Press, has **not one single Negro** in all its pages. From Phyllis Wheatley through Dunbar and Johnson and McKay to Gwendolyn Brooks, they could not find one Negro poet worthy of inclusion. Maybe they are indulging in cultural genocide. Poetry or prejudice? What do you think? If as reader, teacher, or writer, it worries you a little, write some of these editors and publishers a letter and ask them what their point is. I'd like to know.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender, Dec. 3-1-52 Chicago Ed

Simple Says The Road Is Longer In Front Than It Is Behind

"White folks measure the race problem by how far they have come," said Simple. "but Negroes measure it by how far they have got to go — which is a long, long ways.

"White folks are always saying, 'Isn't it wonderful the progress that's been made! Look at Dr. Bunche!"

"I turn right around and say, 'Look at me.'

"That jars them because I don't look nothing like Dr. Bunche.

"Then they say, 'Take Marian Anderson.'

"I say, 'Take Zarita,' which shakes them, because when I get through describing all them furnished-room gals there are in Harlem that never heard of Marian Anderson they change the subject."

"Sometimes they say, for example, 'Years ago, Mr. Simple, Negroes could not stay at the Waldorf-Astoria.'

"I say, 'Mr. Simple can't stay there now—because Mr. Simple ain't able.'

"They say, 'But it's money in your case, not race.'

"I say, 'Yes, but if I were not of the colored race, as smart as I am, I would have money—so it is race right on.'

"That shakes them again so they switch around to something else. 'Look at Dawson and Powell, those fine men you colored folks have in Congress.'

" 'Yes,' I say, 'Look at them—just two in Washington all by their lonesome. As many Negroes as there are in the U.S.A. there ought to be two dozen Negro Congressmen in Congress. But half the Negroes in the South is dared and scared to vote.'

" 'But the Supreme Court says Negroes have the right to vote.'

" 'The Constitution says I have the right to all kinds of things! But have I got them? A Negro can't go running to the Supreme Court everytime he can't vote. Only the rich can do that, pay them lawyers, take all that time off from work, and wait for the Supreme Court to pass a decision. After it's passed, the Klan starts marching. We can't enforce no laws by ourselves. And you-all won't. Leastwise, half the time, you don't.'

" 'We don't?' says the white folks. 'It's up to the law enforcement authorities to do that, the police!'

" 'The police?' I says. 'The police just love to bop a Negro across the head just 'cause he is black. They ain't worried about enforcing no Supreme Court laws. Soon as they see me coming, colored, they think I am wrong.

"Police say, 'Boy, what are you doing in this neighborhood?'

"I say, 'Coming from work, sir.'

"They say, 'Where do you work?'

Then I have to go into my whole pedigree just because I am a black man in a white neighborhood. Only thing the police is worried about is keeping me in my place, that's all. Voting ain't their problem."

" 'You are most pessimistic about things,' says the white folks.

" 'You would be, too, if you was black.' I say. 'Now, take Dr. Bunche, since it's him you want to take. He might be President, after Truman retires, if he was white. But you know and I know, smart as Dr. Bunche is, he'll never make it! Take Marian Anderson singing like a bird all these years, but never could she sing her way into the Metropolitan Opera House—which is like that Metropolitan insurance which built that Stuyvesant Town for white only which it took ten courts to get one Negro into. Take Billy Eckstein, if he was white he would have a leading role in here on a visit and was met at the City Hall by a Negro. I bet Churchill would be so surprised, he would turn right around and go back to England! That is what I mean by this race problem. White folks have got a long ways to go. To hear you talk these days, you think you have already went. Oh, no! The road is longer ones and Churchill come over in front than it is behind, and

LANGSTON Hughes's

The UN Universal Declaration Of Human Rights Simplified

The other day I visited for the first time the beautiful new skyscraper United Nations Headquarters in New York. Ben Carruthers, the young Negro in charge of the Social Affairs Office there, gave me a simplified version of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" prepared for children. I think adults might read it with profit and pleasure. Slightly condensed, it is my privilege to give it to you here.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL

THERE ARE MANY WHO CARE LITTLE ABOUT THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS TO LIVE THEIR OWN LIVES. Both children and adults can be unreasonable and be a nuisance to each other. It can also happen that people attack each other and are cruel to each other, and time after time mankind has suffered dreadful wars. But most of us would rather live in a world where we could all say and believe what we wanted, and where no one would be afraid or in need. We would like for there to be justice and peace all over the world. The members of the United Nations have, therefore, promised to do everything they can so that we may all enjoy such a life, whether we be children or adults. And so we all must know what rights we have when we are together with others. UN has adopted a Declaration on our Rights and has sent it all over the world. This has been done so that each and every one of us may help the United Nations to see that what is said in the Declaration is really carried out. In this way we also can play our part in safeguarding freedom and building a good world for ourselves and others

1. RIGHTS. All human beings have equal rights from the time they are born.

2. EQUALITY. These rights are ours whether we are children or adults, boys or girls, men or women, whether our abilities are great or small, whether we are strong or weak, and whether we have parents who are respected by others or whether we do not even know who they may be. The peoples of other countries have the same rights as we have. There is no distinction on account of the color of our skin or the differences in our clothes, nor because of our beliefs or teachings, how we talk or how we live, or for any other reason.

3. JUSTICE. It is the right of each of us to behave according to our age without being plagued or punished, so long as we do not interfere with the rights of others. No one shall be blamed for anything wrong before it is quite certain that they are to blame. Those who have done wrong shall also have the right to explain how it all came about.

4. PUNISHMENT. We shall never—whether we are children or adults—be punished in any way but that which is reasonable and worthy among free grown-up people.

5. WHEN WE ARE TOGETHER. We all have the right to meet with good-will from others. We shall also be left in peace when we so wish, so long as we do not upset others. Each of us has the right to own things which others shall not take from us or use against our will.

6. DEMOCRACY. All who have joined together in a group have equal rights to take part in decisions. All shall be able freely to say what they think and what they believe in without being tormented. No one shall be threatened or tricked into joining anything against his will.

7. SECURITY. All of us have the right to get help from each other whenever we are in need.

8. LEISURE TIME. Both children and adults shall have reasonable time with the right to do what they want, so long as it is not against the spirit of the Declaration.

9. THE COMMUNITY. We shall all work together so that everyone throughout the world can get enough food, clothing and homes. Everyone shall have good working conditions. Before we grow up we shall have the benefit of good schooling where we can be helped to develop our abilities.

10. THE LIMITS OF OUR RIGHTS. Nothing in this Declaration shall be used as a pretext to refuse others anything of what is stated herein. Nothing in this Declaration gives us any right to behave differently towards others than we expect them to behave towards us.

LANGSTON Hughes

Watermargin, Cornell's Interracial House, Is Democracy In Action

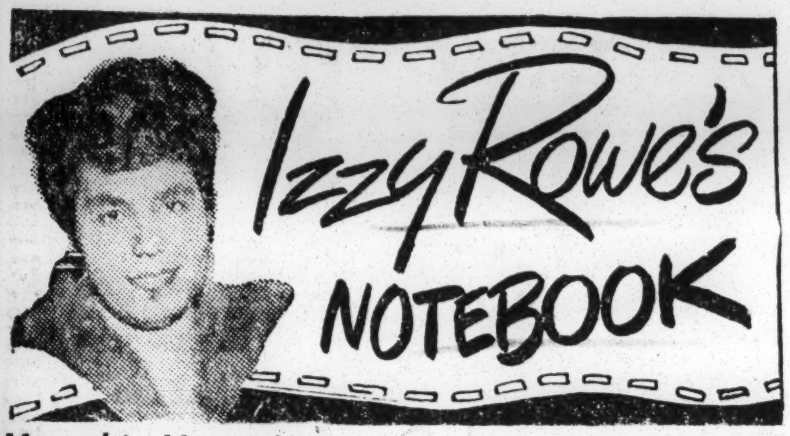
Students always make a cordial audience. So I was happy when Watermargin invited me to Cornell University to read my poems on the campus above Cayuga's waters. I had been there once before about ten years ago, for, I believe, the Cosmopolitan Club. It was good to be returning to one of America's great educational institutions again.

Watermargin was founded by a group of World War II veterans and occupies the oldest former fraternity house on the campus. Its members consist of various nationalities, white, Negro, Oriental and Latin American. A number of them live in the house and dine there. It is run entirely by students. I was a guest there, and shall not soon forget their courtesies and hospitality. The preamble of Watermargin's constitution contains this statement of the organizations aims: "It is our intention to devote our efforts to a program aimed at the creation of a common understanding among men in our society today regardless of racial or religious affiliations, in the hope that these ideals shall spread and find adherents in all forms of human relationships among the peoples throughout the world."

By its very existence as a house unit in which students of various bloods and backgrounds live, it in truth "represents a living proof that men, regardless of racial or religious differences, can live together in harmony." Among its objectives are "To stimulate and support the extension of practices against discrimination and intolerance on the campus, in the community, and throughout the nation." And, "To promote the growth of similar organizations on other college campuses throughout the country." Certainly I hope that both of these objectives are achieved. In regard to the first one, Watermargin has made its influence felt in a number of vital ways at Cornell.

This interracial inter-denominational group has brought to the campus in the past such outstanding speakers as Eleanor Roosevelt, Bayard Rustin, Roger Baldwin, Lester Granger, and Margaret Mead. And next year they expect to present Marian Anderson. Besides their speakers series, Watermargin conducts an educational program to train their members to cope with the problems of intergroup relations in their local communities after graduation. They aid the townspeople of Ithaca with their problems. They are not a student group living an isolated campus life or standing aloof from the community in which their college is situated. In 1950 they sponsored an inter-collegiate conference on "Inter-Group Livihg and the College Campus" attended by some forty delegates from seventeen schools and colleges. All of Watermargin's social functions are entirely interracial and both campus and community residents are welcome. Among the parties Watermargin has held at its house has been one for Duke Ellington, and another for Dizzy Gillespie.

While I was at Cornell I had the pleasure of attending two classes, one an English class engaged in the writing of short stories, the other a class studying the basis of American ideals. Just before leaving, I had luncheon with the Edward Devereuxs. Mrs. Devereux is the late Edwin Embree's daughter, so we reminisced pleasantly concerning the days of the Rosenwald Fund and the many scholars and writers her father had known. Then I took a plane and flew back to New York in the late afternoon, curving out over the Atlantic Ocean and coming down at Idlewild. On the way into the city in the airport bus, I sat next to a woman who had just left far-off Trinidad that morning after breakfast and was in Manhattan in time for dinner—a non-stop flight in El Presidente. I had not come from so far away, nor from so exotic a place. But I had come from a house named after the title of an old Chinese novel, which, translated, means "Watermargin—where all men are Brothers." So we each talked about the interesting places we had been that day before the planes whirled us up into the air and set us down at New York City.



Memphis Memories

NEW YORK CITY—Since we so recently returned from our first trip South in years, and were quite impressed with much that we saw, we feel almost qualified to make the statement that it's not entirely true what they say about Dixie. Segregation, though still in style, seems to be wearing thin in spots.

Certainly in a metropolis as large as Memphis a visitor doesn't come in contact with as many vestiges of the die-hard Dixie that she once might have. Here and there, the racial distinction signs are inconspicuously displayed, and undoubtedly there are other places where those "in the know" don't trespass.

It's an accepted fact that there are front-door entrances to theatres for "Whites," and around the side entrances leading to the gallery for "Colored." Train station waiting rooms are segregated, but the Airlines Terminal might almost be a smaller edition of LaGuardia, except that Negroes aren't served in the dining room. Inconsistently, everybody drinks out of the same bottles at the soft drink vending machine.

Some gas stations have separate rest rooms and proudly proclaim the fact. Others have found that this detracts from the volume of gasoline sold to colored customers, and please everybody by using no racial label on the latrines, and raising no objection to their use by Negroes who have the temerity to try.

All of the larger department stores accept Negro patronage on a "come-in-try-on" basis, but some of the salespeople are still reluctant to use the respect titles of Mr., Mrs. and Miss. These insist on using a first name when it's known and "customer" when it's not. While not ideal treatment, it's still better than that accorded in those citidels of segregation farther North, Washington and Baltimore where Negroes are openly refused try-on privileges in some stores.

Beale Street is really Beale Avenue, and doesn't look at all like we imagined. All of the things immortalized by song seem to have vanished, and the thoroughfare which W. C. Handy made famous might be any street in any colored section across the country. Fine, brick business buildings are predominant, among them the Union Protective Assurance Company, headed by Louis Harold Twigg, which has grown into a near million dollar company in a few short years. There's the Tri-State Bank of Memphis, a district office of the Golden Circle Insurance Company; the newspaper office of the Tri-State Defender where L. O. Swingler holds forth; the Friendly Fidelity Casualty Company which has J. R. Arnold Jr. as president; the Gorine College of Cosmetology and also the New Daisy Theatre. Yes, Beale Avenue is quite respectable, and a far cry from the Beale Street we'd heard so much about!

Count Basie and Billy Eckstine played a concert the week before we arrived and packed the auditorium at $2.50 a head. While they were well received, the most popular singer in Memphis, who packs the house whenever he makes an appearance, is the Howling Wolf whose brand of blues appeals to the masses. Lionel Hampton's crew was set for two days at the W. C. Handy Theatre last week, fresh from a stay in Hot Springs. The tune which garners most juke box nickles at the moment is the Bennie Benjamin-Georgie Weiss hit, "Wheel of Fortune," sung by any recording artist.

However, our main interest was the selection of a Spirit of Cotton for the stellar role in the Memphis Cotton Makers' Jubilee, and the subsequent tour in the interest of publicizing cotton. As one of the judges we helped to select Miss Barbara O'Cele Thompson, a junior at Texas Southern University, as the 1952 "Spirit." Other judges were Mrs. He'en Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., and Atty. Ben Jones of Memphis, with Addie Jones, who writes for the Tri-State Defender, as coordinator.

Mrs. L. C. Bates, who is city editor of the State Press, Little Rock, Ark., will replace Mrs. Ethyl Venson, wife of the founder of the Jubilee, as escort for the "Spirit" on the national tour. This will be the first time that Mrs. Venson has not made the presentation trip, which she was forced by her husband's illness to forego for '52. However, at the invitation of the Haitian Government, she might make the journey to that country at the end of the U. S. tour.

Memphians were wonderful to us. We met many new people and hope that we made friends with more than a few. Just to single out a few to whom we'd like to express our appreciation for helping to make our memories of that city among our most pleasant, the Twigg family, Ann Reba, Louis Harold Sr. and Jr. and Clara Ann, Dr. and Mrs. R. Q. Venson, Dr. and Mrs. Julian Kelso, Arneda Martin, Anne Hickman, Dr. and Mrs. T. M. R. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss.; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Lewis, Mary Lou Davis and a fellow who answered to the last name of Spencer, but whose first name I never heard, who proved to be an excellent train-meeter, chauffeur, etc. Thanks ever so much for a wonderful time!

However, there's no place like home and that 'tis said despite the fact that even in such a short time this tassel tosser feels like a stranger—and doesn't know hat's been happening . . . Of course, there's the news about Josephine Baker who has picked up a NYork manager named Taub. It's being said that he's doing a great job and among other things has her set for the coast with Marion Davies backing her in the finest places. It's also being eared around that she may open that Manhattan nitery after all—if the Cafe Society management can see its way clear to take over a bigger spot; maybe the La Martinique . . . Canada Lee is getting his big guns set and will be off in June on a safari, with camera crew, movie script and all to do an authentic documentary on the historic culture of the Bush People of Dutch Guiana. Historians will tell you that those people have a background that the civilized world can and should be proud of, never mind their dark skins . . . James Edwards, the warmth of Charlie Buchanan's smile which lit the H'wood beige movie star, has decided to take NYorkcame to the fore Wednite as a result of the Savoy's highly for it and is wiring written scripts to tinsel city's biggies anticipated twenty-sixth anniversary. All the old gang was and local TV producers. on hand except pretty Cissy Bowe Phillips. Such happenings is why it's nice for Izzy Rowe at 2091 7th Ave., NYC 27.

The bucks Bill Graham is dropping in his touring Gospel Train would pay off the average income tax debt for several years. That's the show which caused Henry Snorgrass to give up hack driving and try his hand at road managing again . . . Barbara Purvis is among the working class in San Francisco and has fallen in love with the place . . . The big street will be twice blessed by dance director Henry LeTang, who will be choreographer for both the new show, bowing at the Palace this week, and the forthcoming revival of "Shuffle Along" . . . The "gods" have sided with Earl Bostic and he will hit the spotlight trail in mid-April. That's just about two and a half years earlier than expected.

Sarah Watson, the effervescent one, and Rose Young, the energetic wit, were full of enthusiasm when they returned from Miami last week. They had nothing but praise for the place and went all out for the Lord Calvert . . . Petite Vivian Cervantes has decided to play the glamour down and take one of those "Hello Girl's" assignments and will add beauty to the voice with a smile . . . H'wood is setting cameras for a technicolor version of "Carmen Jones' . . . So happy that this corner keeper got back to town in

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The Tip-Off

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Some Alabama backers of Senator John Jackson Sparkman, the Democratic vice-presidential candidate are trying to elevate him without eliminating the ugly record surrounding his native state.

Alabama Gov. Gordon Persons who claims to have played an important part in bringing the nomination of Senator Sparkman is on record as raising the race issue in the textbook censorship controversy.

The Birmingham News on May 22 in a story reporting that the "FEPC chapter rapped" in "Challenge of Democracy" a note worthy textbook, said: Gov. Persons said, among other things, he agreed with the Birmingham Real Estate Board but he was 'amazed' to find that no objection had been raised to Chapter 28" (entitled 'Minorities Should Share American Way of Life.")

"I know (quoting Gov. Persons) of no one who treasures Southern tradition who will ever agree to the breakdown of our segregation laws and to acceptance of FEPC."

Hence the textbook issue, like the housing issue, is used as a vehicle to raise the issue and to further cruel bigotry and irrational myths. The textbook issue comes to plague human relations in 1952 just as the racial zoning question spotlighted the Dixiecrat upheaval in 1948.

"Unless this entire chapter," Gov Persons is quoted as saying, "is removed from the book, which can easily be done, it would be my suggestion that the book itself be deleted as an acceptable textbook for use in the Alabama schools."

This week the textbook issue was due to be aired in court just as plans were being made for a giant homecoming celebration for Senator Sparkman. Gov. Persons is expected to play a leading part in that homecoming.

Carrying the textbook censorship controversy to court will serve to help minorities. It will help to ventilate the bigotry, narrow-mindedness, tight-spiritedness of certain forces in this state. In Alabama, a small group of public official are afraid of information; they are afraid of scientific truth; they are afraid of fresh ideas; they are afraid to let the people know.

Minorities include racial, religious and national groups other than the Negro segment. Unless people know about each other they can't understand and appreciate one another. Understanding is the mother of peace and the father of desirable human relations.

Next Monday in Huntsville, Ala., Democratic Vice Presidential Sparkman comes back to his native Alabama. Already, it is reported, a group of Negro citizens have been invited to participate in the welcome home. This is a gesture, but it won't gloss over the festered spots in democracy in this state.

You simply can't any longer climb to national heights by crushing the politically weak and the economically impotent.

Transplanted citizens who were voteless in Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and other Southern states who now live in the Midwest, on the West Coast and in the Eastern industrial areas are writing home for Alabama's story, part of which awful record they know..total racial disfranchisement in Wilcox county; nine unsolved bombings in Birmingham; 60 Negroes killed by law enforcement agents in Alabama over the past five years; the "White Supremacy" label on the official Democratic ballot, job denials and other heart-breaking discriminations.

Outside of the South liberal-minded voters want to know whether Senator Sparkman ever spoke out on any of these issues. He has both spoken and voted against civil rights. Against the by-products of the denial of civil rights he has kept quiet. No man is a full liberal who is defective on human rights.

Civil rights are the best scales on which to weigh the national candidates. This issue is the historical parallel to the slavery question. Human freedom is tied up in civil rights the same as liberty is tied up in freedom.

EMORY O. JACKSON (NEGRO)

THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Alfred Baker Lewis, a businessman and member of the national board of the NAACP, has written an essay on the comparative merits of the platforms of the two major parties in FEPC which I am using as a column today. Mr. Lewis makes it clear that the article does not necessarily represent in any way the official stand of the NAACP on the subject. Because of the varying interpretations placed on the controversial subject, I am presenting Mr. Lewis' viewpoint.

Here is his essay:

The difference between the Democratic and Republican platforms regarding a Fair Employment Practices Law is perfectly plain. The Democrats came out flatly for and FEPC law. The language, to which the Georgia and Mississippi delegations made an ineffective effort to object, says: "We favor federal legislation to secure these rights to everyone. (1) The right to equal opportunity for employment."

The Republicans made no such commitment in their platform. This is natural enough, for the Republicans are in general the party which big business supports and big business dislikes any kind of federal regulations.

In addition, the Democrats called for a curb on filibusters by saying: "In order that the will of the American people may be expressed upon all legislative proposals, we urge that action be taken at the beginning of the 83rd Congress to improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after a reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority in either house."

The Republicans were silent regarding filibusters.

The differences regarding a federal FEP law in the two platforms coincide with the differences in the views of the presidential nominees. Governor Stevenson for the Democrats urged a state FEP law with enforcement powers in Illinois, and the law was not passed only because of the solid opposition of the Republicans who held a majority in the Illinois legislature stand on a federal FEP law is equally clear. The NEW YORK TIMES, on July 24th, quotes his words as follows: "In Illinois I have tried earnestly to effect the adoption of an FEP law, with powers of enforcement. I feel very strongly that this is the first responsibility of the states themselves. If the states are unwilling or unable, then there is no alternative to having the federal government do so . . . I think the Democratic party cannot retreat from the platform plank adopted at the 1948 Convention." (The 1948 platform plank endorsed a federal FEPC law in much the same words as the 1952 platform).

The Republican candidate, General Eisenhower, on the other hand, declared flatly against a federal FEP law. Speaking at Abilene on June the 5th, in answer to a question regarding his stand on a federal FEP law, he said: "When you get to compulsory action in certain specific phases of this thing, I really believe that we can do more by leadership, and by getting the states to do it, than by making it a compulsory federal law." Since the federal government should not have a compulsory law on the subject, in General Eisenhower's opinion, its leadership would certainly not be effective in getting the states to adopt a law with enforcement powers. And unless General Eisenhower is extremely dumb, he must know, as Governor Stevenson does, that there is practically no hope whatever of getting a good many states to take any action on this subject at all.

In addition, General Eisenhower testified back in April, 1948, before the Armed Services Committee of the United States Senate, to the effect that Negroes should not be fully integrated in the Army, but kept in separate platoons or companies. If he is elected president, he will be Commander- in-Chief of the Army, Navy and the definite progress toward integration in the Armed Forces already made, which is almost complete in the Navy and Air Force, though still lacking in the Army, will be in danger.

The Tip-Off

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The Tip-Off

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The South is moving solidly back into the Democratic Party fold.

While this is going on one of the two Negro congressmen, the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell of New York, is steaming off, trying to pick a feud with Atty. William L. Dawson of Chicago, the other Negro Congressman. He charges that Dawson caved in on civil rights behind closed doors. He blasts Senator Sparkman of Alabama, vice-presidential nominee of the Democratic Party. He inferentially counsels Negro voters to skip voting in the presidential slot unless there is a satisfactory clarification by the standard bearers of their civil rights stands.

Happily most voters are able to read the platforms of the two major parties for themselves. Dawson was only one member of the platform drafting committee. Strong Southerners in number greater than one were on the same committee. No one has ever accused Congressman Powell of selling out because he could not wring from a congressional committee on which he was a member everything that his constitutents may have wanted.

A number of check-ups of congressional absenteeism reveals that Congressman Powell has the worst record. Yet this should haves nothing to do with the merits of the issue but cast light on the kind of interest he has shown in the body which develops legislation. A verbal war on Dawson is no way to work for civil rights it seems to me. It could be only an electioneering tactic and also a campaign for the social national political leadership of the darker segment of the population.

On still another front, Bishop D Ward Nichols of the "Mother District" of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was member of a delegation that visited Republican Presidential Nominee Eisenhower He was a plumper for Eisenhower before the Republican National Nominating Convention. He seemed to have excused the General for his states' rights approach to fair employment practices, the real test of civil rights sincerity. To me who is not for compulsory FEPC is no friend of the cause of equality of opportunity. Compulsory FEPC advocacy, so far as I am concerned, is the basic, the fundamental, the conclusive measuring rod in this campaign.

Bishop Nichols served for eight years in Alabama, the Ninth Episcopal District of the AME connection. He is due back in Alabama during this month. He could have made a contribution to the civil rights program while in the state by doing something on the voter-registration front. While in Alabama he could have moved toward trying to open up the Alabama Republican Party which was "lily white" in those days. He could have helped with the restoration of the Negro ballot in Wilcox county, or Lowndes, or Monroe.

Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution has called voting the most vital of the civil rights. Today in Alabama there are approximately 800,000 Negro citizens of voting age with only 25,000 to 50,0000 of them on the qualified voters list. In Birmingham, there are around 18,000 Negro citizens of voting age with less than 5,000 of them qualified to vote. It is perhap easier to talk in New York than to toil in Alabama.

In another development, John Sengestacke, publisher of The Chicago Defender conferred with Democratic Presidential Nominee Stevenson. No report of that conference is available at this time. In other words, the Negro vote and civil rights loom large in this campaign.

A number of influential Southern newspapers for the first time are supporting Eisenhower, not necessarily the Republican Party. It is doubtful whether by this method a real two-party system can be development in the South. The whole scheme, it seems to me, is to hamper, sidetrack, weaken or destroy the civil rights porgram which was exposed by President Truman. Is the Republican Party going to be hoodwinked by such tactics?

It its clear to me that the only way to enact civil rights is to make the progarm bi-partisian, the same as the foreign policy. Civil rights is a major link in the foreign policy any way. Both parties have civil rights planks in their platform and but parties are responsible for the legislative failure of this program.

The Tip-Off

By EMORY O. JACKSON

"Perhaps we had better straighten

Editor's note: The Tip Off today is publishing an editorial from the Southern Farm and Home, Montgomery. edited by Aubrey Williams.

CHAPTER 28—NOT TO BE READ

If one were asked what was the most Un-American thing that had been committed in Alabama during the last year, the right answer from a long-time point of view would be the act of the State Board of Education which banned Chapter 28 in a textbook. The name of the textbook is THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY. It is intended for use among high school students in the state.

What happened as nearly as we can find out, is that the State Board of Education had approved the book. Then they got a letter from the Birmingham Real Estate Board, which up to this time had not been supposed to act as the state censor of what high school youngsters should or should not read. In their letter the Real Estate people demanded that the book be thrown out. A long-distance call to the Governor, who was somewhere in the East, informing him of the Real Estate Board's letter brought a suggestion from the Chief Magistrate to the State Superintendent of Education that the book be held until he, the Governor, could return to the state.

When questioned, the Governor admitted that he had not read the book. Later, when the issue got hot, the Governor consented to allow the book to be used if Chapter 28 was taken out of it.

What is in this Chapter 28 that caused the Governor and State Board of Education to take the position that the young people of Alabama should not see it?

We have just finished reading it. What the authors have done is to provide a discussion such as might take place in any high school among a group of students. The discussion is about prejudices that are common among people. Young people four young people—Jim, Connie, Metro and Mary—discuss with their teacher, Mr. Evans, prejudices against Jews, Negroes and foreigners.

The following excerpts are typical of what is in the chapter:

"We didn't get very far in class today, discussing our prejudices against minority groups," said Mary. "It's hard to change people with strong prejudices and I think we should let minorities work out their own problems."

out our thinking on what the term minorities implies," said Mr. Evans. "Our discussion centered around just a few, but we have many minority groups in America. There are also many different religious sects that may be classed as minorities."

"There are the immigrants, too," said Metro. "My parents were born abroad. You can see the results of immigration right here in school in the names of some of our students, like Cicarrelli, Kocinski, Konevieff, Popovich. OBoyle, Kuhn, Chamberlain and Katz."

"Naturalized citizens have made some of the greatest contributions to America," said Mary. "Think of Bok Pupin, Steinmetz, Einstein, Schurz, Carnegie, Chavez, Toscanini Iturbi, Koussevitzky, and beautiful Sonja Henie."

"One thing bothers me a lot," said Jim. "Ive heard there is social discrimination in keeping Jews out of certain hotels, clubs, and resorts. They are sometimes refused admission to colleges and universities on the ground that "the quota" is filled. And they're also barred from many sororities and fraternities."

Thus these four students continue their discussion, filling out Chapter 28. Finally they came to the Negro.

"Of all the groups in America, I believe the Negro has the most difficult problems of all," said Metro.

"I ought to know something about that," Connie said slowly. "I believe that one of the Negro's greatest needs is an opportunitity for steady work with good wages."

"Listen to this," Metro said, "I found these figures on Negro employment in the MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW for January, 1945. The Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that there are five and a half million Negroes classed as workers in the United States. Employment

"New York State has passed a peacetime law,' said Mary, "but some authorities maintain that it won't work. They claim that you can't get rid of people's prejudices by passing a law.'

And so they continue. Now this is the sort of material that Governor Persons and the State Board

THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

ASHVILLE, Ala. — (SNS) — This small farm town has 15 Negro voters, according to civic leaders here. Today they join millions of others throughcut the nation in selecting a president of the United States.

Ashville is the hometown of Banker Curtis Atkins, Republican national committeeman from Alabama. This is also the hometown of Prof. J. H. Davis, a schoolteacher and farmer.

The Vocational Educational Association here sponsored a civic meeting at the Mount Zion Baptist Church at which they discussed "First-Class Citizenship in a First-Class Country." Voting is one of the important steps in the direction of first-rate citizenship.

Rural cities like Ashville are developing leadership, one of the major needs of the Negro group in Alabama. To sit in and hear citizens discuss their problems, relate experiences, and set their goals in a type of inspiration one gets by leaving Birmingham and moving around among the people.

Ministers are the most active in these smaller cities, especially those who live in these places. Much of the leadership motivation has come from the fraternal orders. That is why it is necessary to prod men like Grand Master Charles V. Hendley of the Alabama Prince Hall Masons to put more of themselves into the struggle for the restoration and liberation of Negro suffrage in this state.

Another problem of equal concern to the group is equality of educational opportunities. There are many unhappy reports one gets in traveling about in this state. In North Alabama I heard it said that Negro public school children living in Blountsville are forced to walk more than two miles to school at Oneonta. This is in Blount County where there are no Negro voters. Why can't the NAACP, the ASTA and the State Federation of Women's Clubs investigate this?

In Limestone County, a report says, an undesignated number of Negro farmers have mortgaged their homes to purchase sites on which to built Negro schools. This is something which the Alabama State Teachers Association could check into and also the Alabama Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. What do some of these organizations do to justify their existence? Where are our leaders? In Hale County, according to reports, teachers are being required to contribute to a school building fund. In Birmingham, the teacher salary case is still pending in the federal courts. This is an old, old case. So old that it is growing grand children in the form of new educational suits the NAACP has indicated that it plans.

It is interesting to look at the estimated number of Negro voters in the eight-county Fourth Congressional District represented by Honorable Kenneth Roberts of Anniston. This district is gerrymandered in a wipsy-display fashion.

4th Congressional District County	Negro Voter
Autauga	?
Calhoun	850
Clay	25
Coosa	56
Dallas	112
Elmore	40
St. Clair	74
Talladega	719

CORRECTION

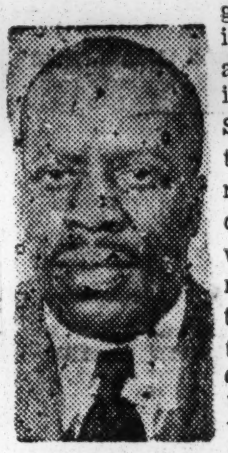
In last Friday issue, the Negro vote estimates were for Fifth Congressional District instead of the Sixth.

The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Coming downtown Sunday morning a friend of mine related by way of personal story how the become-a-voter campaign is catching fire. Little children playing in the parlor hear the plugs on the radio and read the publicity in the newspaper. To their parents they say, "Mama, when I am old enough I am going to vote."

Ministers are urging their congregations to register and vote and are sponsoring ballot clinics. Social clubs are trying to get their members to become qualified voters. Service men's organization are pushing the get-the ballot drive. At last there is a fervent demand for the franchise.



This week the Ninth Episcopal District of the AME Church under Bishop I. H. Bonner is scheduled to open one of its conferences in Camden, Alabama, down in Wilcox County. This is a way will be a homecoming for a native son of this county, Bishop Bonner. He rose from humble circumstances to the highest position within the gifts of the AME Church.

Founded by Richard Allen, the African Methodist Episcopal Church has in a way been the church of liberation. Considered as one of the most powerful organizations in this country in the fight for true brotherhood and enlightened democracy, the AME Church leaders, like Bishop S. L. Greene of Georgia, Bishop Frank Madison Reid of South Carolina, and some others, have spoken out for the right to vote.

Negr citizens in Wilcox County where the AME Church will be hold ing a big meeting are voteless. The late Ligon Wilson, of Snow Hill Institute headedth e first ASTA vote commission and was unable to persuade the rulers of Wilcox County to allow Negro citizens to vote. He was deputy grand master of the powerful Prince Hall Masons who have a titantic following in this county. The Masonic distress sign, I am told, is recognizable by Masons. There is distress in Wilcox in regard to voting by Negro citizens.

Bishop Bonner is a leader among his people. He is a native Alabamian and of necessity has the highest welfare of his group at heart. Nothing could be more of a tribute to him in the field of citizenship duty than to use his influence to restore the voting rights of Negro citizens in Wilcox. He should be able to do this, it seems to me.

A few days ago the Rev. William Atmore, moderator of the Mt. Pilgrim Baptist Association, urged his fellow ministers to enter the field of registration and voting. The Rev. J. L. Ware, president of the Birmingham Baptist Ministers Conference, has provided literature on suffrage for his fellow ministers. The pulpit leadership is the most felt leadership among our group.

In my opinions, the church and our fraternal societies, are the organizations with the prestige and the strength to lead the campaign for the ballot in Wilcox, Lowndes, Monroe, Marshall, and Blount Counties in particular. For these are Negro-voteless counties. Political leaders who are talking about building a two-party system in Alabama should realize that such as this is possible only by freeing the registration system of its bottlenecks.

In the Sunday, October 19 Montgomery Advertiser-Journal, Staff Writer Geoffrey Birt does an essay on the political situation in Dallas, Marengo, Lowndes and Wilcox but reveals nothing about restrictive voting. The "White Supremacy" sign needs to be removed not only from the emblem of the Alabama State Democratic Party but its spirit cleansed from the registration machinery. No Negro has been registered to vote in Dallas County in the past two years, it has been reported.

Under Alabama law the boards of registrars are supposed to meet every first and third Monday of the month for the purpose of registering applicants to vote. Periodic sessions of the boards are held. One can find out from the Courthouse, the newspaper in his city or county about the registration dates.

The big need in the Black Belt counties is a type of leadership that can inspire and give direction. The Negro people need to be taught the importance of the ballot and encouraged to use it. They need help in making their bid to become ballot holders.

I should like to recommend to the ASTA vote commission that registration clinics to be held in all of the Black Belt counties where there is either no Negro voting or token voting. District meetings have already been planned but can't some special ballot workshops be promoted? At least the ASTA should use every honorable means and all kinds of persuasion to get the names of the school teachers on the voting lists.

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JOHN H. JOHNSON, EDITOR

OUTSTANDING IN '51—Editor and publisher of Ebony, Tan Confessions, Jet and Negro Digest, John H. Johnson of Chicago has been named one of the 10 outstanding young men of the country for the year 1951. Selections are made annually by the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce and Johnson is the first Negro businessman to receive the honor.

On Baltimore They Sat Down And Worked It Out

By JOHN "Rover" JORDAN

ALTHOUGH MARYLAND is the traditional "border state" on the northern rim of the Dixie belt, it is often considered to be just as "southern", as far as racial prejudice is concerned, as South Carolina. In some ways it surpasses its neighbor, Virginia, in this unholy business of segregation.

In view of Maryland's southern accent, it becomes especially significant that the Baltimore School Board voted last week to admit Negroes for the first time to one of the city's white high schools, Polytechnic Institute.

This historic action occurred when the Baltimore city segregation law collided head-on with the U. S. Supreme Court ruling which says that Negroes must be offered equal public educational opportunities or be admitted to white schools. It was sort of like the irresistible force meeting the immovable object. However, something had to give—and it wasn't the Supreme Court ruling.

MR. JORDAN

Journal and Guide

THE COLLISION BETWEEN these two issues came when 16 colored boys applied for the special "A Course" at highly-rated Poly. Its famed "A Course" is a jet propelled four-year program for talented teenagers who want to be engineers. For a half century its graduates have won admission almost automatically to sophomore terms at many of the nation's top engineering colleges.

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Interestingly enough, Baltimore's decision to admit colored youngsters to Poly came quietly, without loud oratory or impassioned pleas. Chairman Roszell C. Thompson and a majority of school board members rose to new heights in democracy as they ruled to admit qualified young Negroes. The vote was five to three.

Norfolk, Va

THIS IS NOT MEANT to imply that the board voluntarily sought out the segregation issue through its own spirit of Christianity and fair play. The board was under pressure. There were at least ten qualified colored students requesting an answer. There was the Supreme Court ruling. And the formidable legal machinery of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People loomed as an omen in the background.

An alternate proposal was that an "A Course" similar to Poly's be set up quickly at Douglass High School, a colored institution. This would mean that the city would have to spend about $78,000 for necessary laboratories and other facilities.

Robert H. Roy, assistant dean of Johns Hopkins University's School of Engineering, pointed out that an "A Course" at Douglass would be "something identical in form but not in spirit."

The board had to find an answer for this vital question: Would graduates of a Douglass "A Course" be admitted as readily to engineering colleges as graduates of the Poly "A Course"?

* * *

THURGOOD MARSHALL, head of the NAACP legal staff and himself a graduate of Douglass, stated: "At best it would be a gamble and a gamble is not what I consider equality."

Wilmer R. de Huff, principal of Poly, rose to point out that he did not have the slightest doubt that Negro boys would win acceptance by Poly's student body.

"But," he asked, "what would happen if a Negro boy made our football team?"

He observed that Poly's athletic teams use city parks and the Park Board has a rule against interracial athletic contests.

Mr. Thompson, the school board president, had the answer.

"The School Board will sit down with a Park Board and work it out," he said.

One of the brightest highlights of this historic meeting was the cool, down-to-earth philosophy of the American who heads the board. Many of this nation's racial problems could be promptly solved if more leaders had the statesmanship to "sit down and work it out."

Capitol Spotlight

LOUIS LAUTIER
NNPA STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON. — Southern senators protested loudly over the five-day delay of the Senate in taking up the tidelands bill after they had succeeded in shelving the Alaska statehood bill by recommitting it to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The delay was occasioned by a division in the Senate over whether that body should proceed to the consideration of the tidelands bill or the Hawaii statehood bill.

Louis Lautier

The proposed tidelands legislation is designed to permit the immediate resumption of exploration and development of the vast undersea oil reserves lying off the coasts of the United States, particularly submerged lands of the coasts of Texas, Louisiana and California.

The United States Supreme court has ruled unequivocably on three occasions that the coastal states do not and never did own the lands beneath the open ocean adjacent to their coasts, but that the Federal government, under the constitution, has had "paramount rights and interests" in the mineral resources of the area since the beginning of the nation.

As soon as the Senate voted 45-44 to return the Alaska statehood bill to the committee, Senator Ernest J. McFarland of Arizona, the majority leader, moved to take up the tidelands bill.

The Senate had had the Alaska statehood bill before it for four weeks, during which southern Senators filibustered to prevent a vote on the merits because of the civil rights issue. They feared that if Alaska and Hawaii became states, there would be four pro-civil rights senators from the two new states.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs committee and a sponsor of the tidelands bill, opposed the motion to take up the controversial submerged lands bill because it also came from his committee and its consideration immediately following the Alaska statehood bill would overwork him.

He asked Senator McFarland, who owes his position as majority leader chiefly to Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, candidate for the Democratic nomination for President, to agree to consideration of the Hawaii bill.

But Senator McFarland indicated that he thought the Senate had already given a great deal of time to the consideration of civil rights measures, such as home rule for the District of Columbia and statehood for Alaska.

Proponents of Hawaii statehood were ready to vote immediately on the McFarland motion, but southern Senators feared to bring the question to a vote. They thought the motion would be defeated.

During the debate, Senator Tom Connally, Democrat, of Texas, a filibusterer from way back, charged that "a little group, perhaps a considerable group" was telling the Senate it could not consider tidelands until Hawaii was given statehood.

Senator William F. Knowland, Republican, of California, denied that there had been any obstruction on the part of supporters of statehood for Hawaii.

Senator Russell B. Long, Democrat of Louisiana, repeated, in essence, the Connally charge. Long is the son of the late Senator Huey "Kingfish" Long, who holds the filibustering record. The "Kingfish" on June 12-13, 1935, spoke for 15½ hours, a filibustering record never excelled in the Senate.

After a bitter exchange between Connally and Knowland, Senator Francis Case, Republican, of South Dakota, accused Connally of attempting to set up two classes of citizens—those of the mainland and those of a "foreign dependency or province"—and ignoring the fact that the people of Hawaii are citizens of the United States.

Knowland resented Connally's questioning of the American citizenship of Hawaiians and his implication that the Californian, whose state is interested in the tidelands issue, would subordinate the tidelands question to the interests of the Hawaiians.

The Defense Department Finds Way To Segregate

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

PUBLIC LAW 815 PROVIDES Federal aid to school districts for the construction of schools where the activities of the government, either on military reservations or at other defense projects, have caused an influx of large numbers of children who cannot be furnished school facilities by local taxes which go to the support of the local school district.

Public Law 847 provides funds for current annual expenditures, giving Federal aid to school districts which have been flooded by children because their parents have moved into the district and work on federally-owned property or because the government has purchased so much property in the area and made it nontaxable that the local school district can no longer provide an adequate program of education.

MR. LAUTIER

Congress during its last session passed a bill to amend these two laws. The amendment was designed to provide for the construction, maintenance and operation of elementary and secondary schools in communities where defense activities of the Federal government have created unusual burdens. It would have improved the administration of an established program of federal aid to local school districts, where facilities are inadequate to meet the impact of expanded defense activities.

BUT PRESIDENT TRUMAN last November 2 vetoed this bill because it contained a provision which would have required nonsegregated schools on federal property in southern states to be run on a racially segregated basis, although the nonsegregated schools were being run successfully.

After pointing out that the proposed amendment would require federal schools on military bases and other federal property to conform to laws of the states in which they are located, Mr. Truman, in his veto message, said:

"This is a departure from the provisions of Public Laws 815 and 874, which require only that the education provided under these circumstances should be comparable to that available to other children in the state. The purpose of the proposed change is clearly to require that schools operated solely by the federal government on federally-owned land, if located in any of seventeen states, shall be operated on a segregated basis 'to the maximum extent practicable.'

Mr. Truman pointed out that "Not every school operated on a federal reservation has been integrated." He said: "It is never our purpose to insist on integration without considering pertinent local factors; but it is the duty of the federal government to move forward in such locations and in such fields of activity as seem best and appropriate under individual conditions and circumstances."

* * *

DESPITE THE ACTION of the President and the clear, unmistakable language of his veto message, the Defense Department seeks to justify continuation of segregated schools on military bases by administrative interpretation of the law.

The question was raised recently in connection with segregation of children of personnel stationed at Fort Bliss, Texas. The Defense Department took the position that the schools at Fort Bliss are administered by the local educational agency, which has a policy of segregation, and that the law precludes the exercise of any federal control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of instruction of any school of any local education agency.

The conclusion was reached that the imposition of the local pattern of segregation in the school program operated on federal property at Fort Bliss is, in accordance with the law beyond federal control.

* * *

THIS STRAINED INTERPRETATION of the law by the Defense Department is not only contrary to its interpretation by the President, but it is also contrary to the intent of the law

itself.

The Congress intended that in cases where the post undertakes the job of operating the posts chools, the post schools shall be comparable to the public schools in the state in courses of study, curriculum taught in the various grades, and the qualifications of teachers.

The law simply states that "To the maximum extent practicable such education shall be comparable to free public education provided for children in comparable communities of the state."

MAYS

The Future Is With Judge Waring; a Great Man Has Retired From Public Life

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

WILLIAM Lloyd Garrison was born at a time when human slavery was regarded by millions of his countrymen as a divine institution. It was defended on the ground that the African slaves were an inferior group. It was defended on the ground that slavery was the cornerstone of civilization. It was supported on the ground that slavery was a blessing to the slave. It was also supported on the ground that God willed it. It was a divine institution.

Dr. Mays

For some thirty-five years Garrison was editor of the **Liberator**, and at the tender age of thirty-six he wrote in the **Liberator** in the first issue, Jan. 1, 1831, the following words: "I will be as harsh as truth and as uncomprising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard."

* * *

HE WAS HEARD. In a single generation there was a great war between the states, others joined Garrison, Lincoln issued an Emancipation Proclamation Jan. 1, 1863, and four million slaves were set free from physical bondage. I suspect Garrison was the most hated man of his day. At the age of twenty-five he was convicted of libel in Baltimore and was sentenced and served time. In 1831 the Georgia Legislature offered a reward of $5,000 to anyone who would arrest Garrison and bring him to trial. Four years later a Boston mob led him around with a rope around his body. He was heard because some give Garrison credit for the Civil War.

But the work of Garrison is not finished. He helped to give the Negro physical freedom. Now the Negro must achieve educational, economic and political freedom. He must also achieve freedom in his mind, the most difficult kind to achieve.

More than a hundred years after Garrison, a few Southerners have been trying to finish Garrison's work. I refer particularly to Judge J. Waties Waring. Waring is a Southerner to the manor born, a proud, aristocratic Charlestonian, an able jurist, fearless and sane, a first-rate American. He dared to do what was just as unpopular in his day as what Garrison did in his. He broke the sacred white primary and that was almost unforgivable. He handed down decisions which said that the Negro's opportunity to get an education has to be as good as that of a white boy. Dissenting from his two colleagues in the Clarendon County case, he argued that segregation per se is discriminatory and unconstitutional. This act was anathema.

* * *

LIKE GARRISON, he was not liked. His friends forsook him. He was socially ostracized. His life was threatened. His home was molested. To many people Waring had lost his sanity. It's the way of history. His fate is the common fate of all who dare to break with tradition. It was thus with Roger Bacon and Galileo in science. It was thus with Susan B. Anthony when she set out to free women from ignorance and disfranchisement. It was thus with Peter and Paul when they broke with the customs of Judaism. It was this way with Martin Luther when he declared the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers.

But the future was with Paul, Peter, Bacon, Galileo, Susan B. Anthony and Garrison. Christianity is here. Experimental science is a common thing. Nobody doubts the revolution of the earth. Women have the ballot and are being educated on an equality with men. Negroes are physically free. Segregation in less than a generation will be declared unconstitutional. The future is with Waring. A great man has retired from public life.

MAYS

The South Carolina Court Ruling on Segregation Was Not Unexpected

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THE three-judge court in South Carolina has ruled that segregation does not violate the Federal Constitution. They have ruled that separate but equal is not undemocratic and it is not unconstitutional. It will go back to the United States Supreme Court.

I felt strongly that the court in South Carolina would rule unanimously in favor of segregation. Judge Waring has retired and I did not expect another judge in the South at this time to take the position taken by Judge Waring.

Dr. Mays

Somehow, I have always feared what the United States Supreme Court might do on this subject. Even the Supreme Court will hesitate to hand down a decision that the South vigorously opposes. The Supreme Court faces a dilemma. It has a very hot potato in its hands. It can hardly afford to hand down a decision in favor of segregation.

SUCH A decision would reflect unfavorably upon our democracy and the peoples of the earth would lose faith in it. Their faith in it is not too strong now. The colored peoples of Asia, South America and Africa will watch eagerly what the Supreme Court does on this subject. Not only the colored peoples but the white peoples as well.

A decision in favor of segregation by the highest court in the land will play right into the hands of the Communists the world over. A decision of that character would resound around the world. The good things that are happening will be drowned out. The Supreme Court had better watch its step.

Furthermore, the results here at home would not be too good. If the Supreme Court should place its stamp of approval upon segregation in public schools, it is highly conceivable that many areas in the North where no segregation now exists would set up segregated schools. It is yet to be proved that segregated schools can be equal.

EVEN IF the facilities are equal and the teachers are equally good, it denies the pupils the opportunity of competing with members of all races and groups. I believe the competitive element is important. If segregation is confirmed by the Supreme Court it will slow up the Negro's opportunity to be employed anywhere that his competence warrants.

My candid belief is that the United States Supreme Court will continue to hedge and dodge this problem for some time to come. It will do so with the hope that the South will come around in time to accept non-segregated schools. I do not believe the Supreme Court would dare make a decision that would hurt us in the eyes of the world. On the other hand, the Supreme Court may fear to rule out segregation.

Basically, segregation means that one group is unfit to move freely with another group. It is a badge of inferiority. It says to the people who are able to enforce segregation that you do not have to deal as justly with the Negro as you do with white citizens. Both from my understanding of the Christian religion and the Federal Constitution, segregation is wrong.

* * *

BUT ONE fact is clear. There will be a continuing effort to improve the Negro schools. The South is afraid that segregation may come to an end. They know that it may come to an end very soon if Negro schools are not rapidly and greatly improved. They even know that segregation cannot last forever. But they intend to postpone the ending of segregation as long as they can.

It is too bad that we had to be forced through court action and through fear to provide good schools for Negroes. The Negroes begged, pleaded, and literally prayed for better schools. In most instances their prayers were not answered until Negroes began to sue in the Federal courts.

Whether segregation ends soon or late, the Negroes are getting better schools. As the physical facilities improve I hope that the teachers will also improve. Fine buildings and equipment alone will not do the work.

MAYS

Complete Integration In Education Will Not Mean the End of Really Good Negro Institutions

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

A GREAT conference was held at Howard University April 18. It was initiated by Charles H. Thompson, able dean of the graduate school. It was one more significant project that Dean Thompson has sponsored over the last several years. The findings of this conference will be published in the summer issue of the Journal of Negro Education.

Dr. Mays

People were there from several sections of America and from many areas of life. It will prove to be one of the

most important meetings of this decade. The people assembled at the conference may and do differ on many issues but they were in agreement on the vital issues.

For example, no one doubted that court action is a "must" in the Negro's effort to achieve first - class citizenship. There was complete agreement on this point. There are other methods besides the courts but the courts cannot be left out. There was complete agreement on the point that integration in education must become a reality.

* * *

NOBODY THERE believed that there can be equality of educational opportunity in a segregated system. Integration means not only that students will be integrated but faculty and staff as well. The members of the conference were aware of the fact that there can be and may be discrimination even after segregation has been abolished.

It was a realization of this fact that made them emphasize integration on the teacher and staff level as well as on the student level. There was also agreement on the point that integration in education is a two-way traffic.

When segregation goes the best schools, Negro and white, will survive. No school will be judged on the basis of race. It will be judged by the quality of its teaching, the competence of its faculty, the adequacy of its equipment, the character of the school, and the goals toward which the college strives.

* * *

RACE OR national origins will not be criteria. And this is as it should be. If there is any standard of measurement other than competence, integration itself will be discriminatory. If a college or university is to close when integration comes solely because it once served only Negroes, that would be discrimination of the rankest kind.

I do not plan to work myself out of a job at Morehouse. I plan to make it so good that it will serve all the people and will never die.

It was also agreed that some of the Negro colleges will not be able to make it in an integrated society. When the plumb line is applied to some of our colleges, they will be found wanting. The consensus was that if this should be the case in a few instances, it may be all to the good. It was felt too that real integration will mean wider employment all along the line.

* * *

ALL THIS suggests that Negro college heads will need to set their colleges in order. The faculties that are playing around, more concerned with social standing than they are with scholarly production, had better look out. The teachers will be judged on the basis of how well they teach, how well they love their students, how many scholarly articles they have written, what kind of research is in process, how many books they have produced and how they stand on questions of honor and integrity.

They will not be judged on the kind of cars owned, how expert in bridge, nor on the salary they receive. The competition will not be with Negro scholars. It will be with scholars. Negro students will have to pick up, too. Many of them will have to work harder than they do now. Make no mistake!

The white students work hard and the faculties of the best white colleges are producing. We often ape the white man in the wrong things. Let us ape him in devotion to the educational task.

MAYS

Negroes in America Have Not Been Fooled As the Anglo-Indians Were Fooled in India

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

A FEW weeks ago the press of the nation announced that the non-whites of South Africa had initiated a non-violent campaign in defiance of unjust laws imposed upon them.

A more recent press release points out that the natives are protesting specifically against two laws. One of them is the "Pass Law" which requires that natives carry identity passes. The other one is the law which imposes residential segregation of white and colored peoples.

Dr. Mays

The Supreme Court of South Africa declared these laws unconstitutional but Malan immediately pushed a law through Parliament nullifying the decision of the Supreme Court. The African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress are united for the first time to fight the injustices of the Malan Government.

* * *

THIS MOVEMENT is based upon the Gandhi program of India which eventually brought India her independence. The South African strategy is a simple one. They plan to violate the law quietly and accept arrest without protest or resistance. They are starting on a small scale with a few volunteers, the number to be increased gradually, with the hope of a mass movement later on.

Recently the Indian Congress leader was arrested because he defied a government order by addressing a public meeting. His followers did not protest his arrest. The leader of the African National Congress, James Moroka, is urging his people to oppose the laws without doing anything to precipitate bloodshed.

An Associated Press dispatch said three weeks ago that 10,000 Negroes, Indians, and colored peoples (persons of mixed blood) had volunteered to participate in the campaign.

* * *

THESE THREE groups, are beginning to see the light. They are beginning to see that Bantus, Indians, and colored people cannot get anywhere by fighting among themselves. Although the Malan government gives the mixed bloods and Indians more privileges than they give the Bantus, one fact is clear: The whites of South Africa are determined to keep all three groups in an inferior position. There is no mistake about that.

Even the liberal whites who believe that more justice should be given would hardly advocate complete equality for the Indians or the colored people; to say nothing of the Bantus. The Malan government intends to keep its big foot on the necks of all three. They might as well stick together.

* * *

THE NEGROES in this country saw this problem early and for the most part clearly. They saw that whether they were very dark, brown skin, or very light skin, their role was one of subordination. The aim was to keep all Negroes down regardless of their color.

Seeing this fact, Negroes of all colors stand together in their fight for freedom. Negroes in America have not been fooled as the Anglo-Indians were fooled in India. If the three groups in South Africa stand together their emancipation will come sooner. If thousands upon thousands of people disobey the laws and do it long enough, they will have to change the laws.

I hope that the Government of South Africa won't try to exterminate these groups by force. The United Nations may duck this South African problem but it belongs to the United Nations and it would strengthen itself morally if it took a hand in the South African situation.

* * *

IF THE MALAN government were wise, it would begin immediately to change the unjust laws against which the Bantus, Indians and colored peoples are striking. But governments and people in power are seldom wise. Poor fools! They think they can win their way through force, by beating the poor and the helpless into submission.

They succeed a long time but in the end they lose. If the government were wise, it could go further. It would work out a program of advancement for the peoples of South Africa including all peoples. A program that would include democratic participation of all citizens in the affairs of the state. But the Government of South Africa is afraid to do right.

MAYS

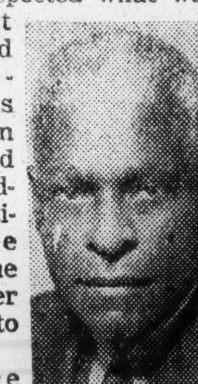
The Column Salutes W. H. Aiken, Builder Of Many Fines Homes In Atlanta, Georgia

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

PRIDE in the accomplishment of a member of one's group is a healthy sign.

One's roots must be anchored deep in country, state or ethnic group or all three if one is to be secure within. Gandhi loved and respected what was English but he achieved security because he was anchored in Indian life and culture. Gandhi was a citizen of the world, but he was 100 per cent loyal to India.



Dr. Mays

My niece tells me that when Lindbergh made the first non-stop flight to France, the Swedes in her high school were saying all over the place, "He is a Swede, he is a Swede."

When I walked into the office of Ebony magazine two or three years ago, I was proud because there is an office that any racial group would love to have. Tuskegee swells my chest because it is the result of the genius of Booker Washington. I am glad to be a member of a race that produced Charles Drew, Ralph Bunche, Roland Hayes, Mordecai Johnson, Mary McLeod Bethune, Nannie Burroughs, Charlotte Hawkins Brown and others. I am incurably a race man.

MY HEART was made glad last week when I visited Waluhaje, an apartment hotel built, owned, controlled, and operated by colored people. It was built by Aiken, Inc. W. H. Aiken is as outstanding in his field as Hayes is in song and Charles Drew was in medicine. He is definitely out front as a contractor and builder.

There were those of the other group who did not want a Negro to build an apartment hotel which when completely finished will cost $2 million or more. But Aiken persisted and he built and supervised his own apartment hotel.

Atlanta is known as a great educational and business center. Six outstanding institutions for Negroes are located in Atlanta. It is the home of the Atlanta Life, the Citizens Trust Company, and the Atlanta Daily World. Now it is the home of the greatest apartment hotel ever built and owned by Negroes. Atlanta can now offer a lovely place for transients to stop and for fraternities and conventions to meet.

* * *

THE HOTEL can easily take care of a conference of seven or eight hundred people. There is space to park 1,000 cars. There is a complete kitchen in each apartment with Westinghouse equipment. There are 129 apartments, two, three and four rooms. The landscaping is superb. Although beautiful seen from any angle, the beauty of the setting is revealed best when one goes up on the top roof and views the surroundings.

It could best be described by a poet or an artist skilled in painting. The lighting is artistic and the decoration in the lobby is striking and appealing. Super market, variety shop, barber and beauty shops, pressing and laundry service, club rooms, florist shop, photograph studio, recreation hall, dining room—all these and more are there.

AROUND WALUHAJE on

nearby are some three un... $7,000 to $75,000. Walter Aiken
sand residences for Negro has built more than 5,000
They range in price from abo houses in all sections of At-

lanta for both colored and In the Aiken construction no color line. When friends
whites and Waluhaje is the ci- work Negroes and whites work from North and South visit At-
max of his building program. together, side by side. There is lanta they will not only want to

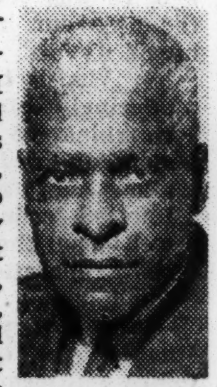
MAYS

Why Should There Be Separate Cabs For Negroes, Whites In Some Dixie Cities?

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

I ARRIVED in New Orleans too late to catch my train to Baton Rouge. It was the morning of Dec. 2 and I was on my way to Southern University where I usually go once a year. After calling around to see what and where was my next best connection for Baton Rouge, I discovered that a bus was leaving soon, so I dashed to get a taxi only to find that New Orleans, like Atlanta, has some old law that doesn't make sense. The taxi driver pointed me to a taxi approximately one hundred or more yards away. He said he carried only white passengers. I said facetiously: "White money is better, eh?" He smiled and said, "No, that isn't it."



Dr. Mays

As I rode on in the Negro taxi, I discussed the question with the driver to find that he was in favor of the city ordinance or practice which forbids Negro taxicabs carrying white passengers and white taxicabs from carrying Negroes. His argument was that he would starve if it were otherwise.

HE SAID white people wouldn't ride in a Negro cab and many Negroes would pass him up to ride in a white cab. It made no impression on him when I told him that in Washington, D. C., where there is no such rule, Negroes do well in the taxicab business and that white people ride with Negroes and Negroes ride in cabs owned and driven by whites. I also cited New York, Chicago, and several Southern cities where there is no such rule. He didn't like my line. He thought I was a little cracked.

I knew Atlanta did that, but I had never seen a copy of the city ordinance. I got a copy recently, and here it is:—

"It shall be the duty of all owners and operators of taxicabs or autos for hire within the city of Atlanta to indicate on the sides of such vehicles whether the taxicab or auto for hire is to be used by and for white or Negro passengers. The sign so indicating shall be painted under the owner's name and shall be in letters not less than one inch in height. The sign shall read, 'for white passengers only,' or 'for colored passengers only,' as the case may be. This sign, as well as the 'auto for hire' or 'taxicab' sign shall be painted on both sides of the vehicle in an oil paint of contrasting color to the vehicle, and in paint that cannot be rubbed or washed off. Such sign shall remain on said car so long as the operator owns a permit and license to operate that machine. No such taxicab or auto for hire owner or operator shall carry both white and Negro passengers in the same vehicle, but shall serve one or the other of said races to the exclusion of the other. There shall be white drivers for carrying white passengers and colored drivers for carrying colored passengers. Applicants, in filing their petitions for permits shall state on their applications whether the taxicab or auto for hire is to be used for white or colored passengers."

This law places the Negro and white passengers at a great disadvantage. In downtown Atlanta where Negro taxicabs do not frequent, the Negro cannot get a taxi. He may need to make a train or be in a hurry or sick. If a Negro cab isn't available, it's too bad. If a white person is in a Negro section, he is equally disadvantaged. The Negro cabman cannot take the white passenger.

* * *

IT SOMETIMES happens that a white taxi will not come in a Negro area to get a white passenger even when he has been told that the passenger is white. The driver who violates this law may be fined, lose his license or both. Is it fair? The economic argument is not convincing. I believe the Negro taxi and the white taxi would make just as much as they do now if no such law existed.

MAYS

Nothing Hopeful Seen in Truman's State of Union Speech to Congress

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

I HAVE read carefully every word of the President's State of the Union message. I see nothing particularly encouraging in it. Peace is our goal but there can be no guarantee that it can be achieved. We must not let down in our preparation. Billions will need to be spent this year for defense. Inflation has not been curbed. The President is urging Congress to pass strong anti-inflation laws. There is no confidence among the nations. There is too much corruption in Government. The President thinks that by the end of 1953 we can be "over the hump." What hump?

Dr. Mays

There were a few encouraging signs. There are 61 million peoples employed. Wages are high. Point Four is working well. He is advocating an increase in benefits under Old Age and Survivors' Insurance. The war has been confined to Korea. He advocates home rule for the District of Columbia, civil rights legislation, fair tax laws, better schools, better health facilities, social insurance, Federal aid to education medical education and the like. All these are necessary.

* * *

THERE IS no way in the world the message could have been made any more encouraging. These are not encouraging times. We face a terrible dilemma. All history proves that when nations spend billions upon billions for war purposes they eventually go to war. It is not true that peace can be maintained if the nations are thoroughly prepared. I see no end to this arms race. On the other hand, the United States would not advance the cause of peace if we disarmed. Weakness does not guarantee peace. I do not believe for one minute that Russia would disarm if through some miracle the United States would disarm. Nor do I believe we would disarm if through some miracle Russia would disarm. We would not believe Russia and Russia would not believe us. So here we are. There is no guarantee of peace if we continue to spend 50 billions a year and no guarantee of peace if we stop arming completely. It all means that there can be no peach through armaments and no peace in unilateral disarmament.

The problem is now as it always has been. The big boys cannot get together. If the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China could agree to a program of disarmanent, the smaller nations would fall in line. If the big nations would permit the small nations to draw up a program of peace, nations like Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, I believe we would get somewhere. These nations are not imperialistic. They are not seeking world power. They would be far more objective and fair in their approach to world peace. But the powerful and mighty nations have never left the affairs of the world in the hands of the small nations. Nations, like organizations and men, feel that it is their God-given right to lord it over those less strong than they.

BUT MAKE no mistake, there are two major problems confronting the world. One is the necessity of rearranging the economic goods of the earth so that no body is cold and bare, no stomach is empty of food, no mind steeped in ignorance, no head without sufficient shelter, and no person without justice and freedom. Franklin D. would call it the "four freedoms." The other problem is the problem of trust and confidence among the nations so that we can begin in 1952 to reduce our arms progressively so that in due course our arms will have been reduced to police protection only. If we cannot do these two things there will be no peace in 1952 and none anytime in the future. We should start conferences on disarmament and keep them going until we are able to build up confidence. Confidence and trust are the spiritual bases for peace. Peace has never been built on arms alone. People fight because they are afraid. And as long as nations prepare for war they will be afraid.

MAYS

White Florida Should Build Memorial to Harry T. Moores

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

DRIVING from Miami, Fla., on Dec. 31, where I had been in attendance at the Omega Conclave, members of my family and I stopped at Mims, Fla., to see the bombed house in which H. T. Moore was killed. I am happy that the Omega fraternity put up $1,000 to swell the reward money that might lead to the arrest of the guilty party or parties. We could not go inside the house. It was roped off and officers were there to see that there was no trespassing.

Dr. Mays

Apparently investigators were there—whether FBI representatives I do not know. A steady stream of visitors had been coming by for several days to see the place. Other cars came while we were there. The room where Mr. Moore was sleeping was almost completely demolished. The house was so badly damaged that it is a miracle that anyone escaped alive.

The funeral was scheduled for the next day, Jan. 1. The Rev. Edward T. Graham of Miami had urged his people to show their sympathy for the family by attending the funeral and sending flowers and telegrams. Such action would say to the Mims community that the people were concerned. I believe he requested other ministers in Miami to urge the members of their congregations to attend and send flowers.

* * *

I PREDICTED last week that nothing would be done about the murder of Mr. Moore. I hope I am wrong. If I am, I will write an article apologizing.

Although Florida may never reveal the name or names of the guilty party or parties, there is something that the people of Florida should do. I do not know who killed Mr. Moore. It could have been a white person and it could have been a Negro. I am strongly of the opinion that a Negro did not do it. If a Negro did it he was probably put up to it by some white person. Evidence seems to point almost always to white persons when Negro homes are bombed. Evidence certainly points that way when Negro homes have been bombed in Chicago, Atlanta, Birmingham, Miami and other places. It happens usually where Negroes are moving into a white neighborhood. In Moore's case, the bombers apparently did not like his stand on the question of equal and fair treatment of Negroes. The bombers were in all probability members of the white race.

* * *

I WOULD like to see Florida atone for this murder. I would like to see an owner or publisher of an outstanding Florida newspaper take the lead in giving the people of Florida an opportunity to raise a memorial fund for the Moore family. A white paper should spearhead the movement. I believe if such a thing were done, thousands of Florida citizens, Negroes and whites, would be glad to protest this dastardly deed by contributing to such a fund. I believe a newspaper in Miami, Tampa, or Jacksonville, could raise $25,000 for the Moore family. Surely it would be a meager sum for the murder of a decent, law-abiding son of Florida. The Moore home should be rebuilt by the citizens of Florida. After rebuilding the house, the balance should be turned over to the Moore children. It would be a lovely thing if the Governor of Florida would give impetus to such a move.

If this were done, it would go a long way to redeem the good name of Florida. It would advertise to the world that the real citizens of Florida do not like what was done and as tangible proof they are rebuilding the Moore home and giving their children money beside. I wish white Florida would lead this movement. But if they do not I hope Negroes everywhere will help do it. If Florida did it, it would save the soul of Florida. Even if the guilty is punished, something should be done for the Moore family.

MAYS

Governor Byrnes' Speech Attributes Great Power To the Negroes, Saying They Own Democrats

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

ON FEB. 6, Governor Byrnes of South Carolina addressed the joint session of the Georgia Legislature. It was an interesting address. I read it and I heard it over the radio. The Governor paid a great tribute to Negroes. He gave them credit for the South losing control of the Democratic party and for the Federal Government trespassing upon states rights.

Dr. Mays

He pointed out that the Democratic party in its platform in 1840 resolved that the Federal Government has limited power granted to it by the Federal Constitution. States rights were respected in practically every democratic platform from 1840 to 1948.

"But in 1948 a very mild declaration of the rights of the states was formally rejected in the Democratic Convention at Philadelphia. We know what caused the rejection of the cardinal principle of that Democratic party."

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HE POINTED out that for many years Negros have been migrating from the South to the large cities of the North; most of them were Democratic cities. The depression came and Negroes left the Republican party. They left the Republican party because the Democrats had charge of the distribution of relief.

They took advantage of the opportunity "to favor the Negroes who soon became active workers in the Democratic political machines of the big cities. They voted en bloc.

Several years ago their leaders demanded that Congress enact legislation enforcing the so-called civil rights and enact a Federal fair employment practice act. They realized that members of Congress regarded such legislation as solely within the jurisdiction of the states and therefore demanded that the Democratic party abandon the doctrine of the rights of the states."

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HERE THE Governor attributes great power to the Negro people. It is surprising that he gives them so much power.

He says the Negroes, because they vote en bloc, held the balance of power in eleven states "including the states with the largest electoral votes." Mr. Byrnes goes on. He accuses the big city Democratic political bosses who controlled the convention of bowing to the Negroes' demands on civil rights when they (the Negroes) threatened to desert the Democratic party.

It was at this point that the Democratic leaders abandoned the principles of the party and adopted "a platform more socialistic than democratic." The only reason the party bosses did not enact civil rights legislation was the fact that the Senate rules could not be changed.

* * *

HOW STRANGE it is that Governor Byrnes would accuse Negroes of voting en bloc! Until recently the South voted en bloc. Speaking of the South politically, for decades it was spoken of as the "Solid South." Having only one party, it was natural that the South would vote en bloc.

For decades, it could always be predicted that the South would vote Democratic in a national election. Of course, Negroes do not always vote en bloc. In almost every election there is a split in the Negro vote.

But even if they do vote en bloc they do what every enlightened group in history has done. It has voted for what it considered to its best interest.

* * *

I SAY to Governor Byrnes that if Negroes had been treated more fairly in my native South they would have never migrated to the North. If the Southern states had discharged their duties towards their Negro citizens, the question of civil rights would have never risen.

The Federal Government comes in on civil rights when the states prove themselves incompetent to deal justly with Negroes and other minorities.

If the South had acted justly, loved mercy and walked humbly with its God, there would have never been any need of Supreme Court action to get better educational facilities for Negroes. Mr. Byrnes knows these things.

The Governor seems to have ended his speech in doubt. "For the Democrats of the South this may be the last stand. We can lie down and take it or stand up and fight. I hope we will stand up and fight." If the South fights against democracy and justice it will lose.

MAYS

Difficult for Him To Believe That Ex-Talladega Prexy Beittel Was Biased

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

IT IS difficult for an outsider to appraise what goes on in the inside of an institution.

It is for this reason that I shall write cautiously about the Talladega situation. I shall be careful also because it may not be easy for one college president to speak objectively about the affairs in another college. But frankly I was surprised that anyone could honestly charge that President Beittel "has taken an ambiguous attitude on racial discrimination and racial segregation."

Dr. Mays

It is very difficult for me to believe that.

I have known Doctor Beittel for a number of years. We met for the first time in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. I learned to know him very well.

At that time there were many students in the university who were prejudiced against Negroes. They were easily discovered. But I do not believe that anyone in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago would have ever dared accuse Beittel of being ambiguous on questions of race or of being prejudiced against Negroes or other minorities.

I believed then and I believe now that he is free of race prejudice. I believe that those who made that charge against President Beittel made a weak case. It it exceedingly difficult to prove that the man "has taken an ambiguous attitude on racial discrimination and racial segregation."

* * *

THERE ARE thirty-two presidents in the United Negro College Fund. Most of the presidents are members of the Negro race.

Here again, if Doctor Beittel had been one who hedges on race, we in the United Negro College Fund would have discovered it. We have complete confidence in Doctor Beittel on this point. It is a gratifying thing to note that the Board of Trustees feels as I do about President Beittel on this question.

The trustees successfully refuted this charge. They quoted excerpts from speeches made by Doctor Beittel proving that, in words, he was right on the question of race. But they went further. They pointed out the fact that President Beittel's youngest son graduated from Talladega.

It seems to me that a man who permits his own son to graduate from a Negro college is not taking an ambiguous stand on race. Not only that but his son was a member of the Alpha fraternity. Here again the Beittels would hardly have permitted their son to join a Negro fraternity if they were ambiguous on the question of race.

MAYS

There Are Not Enough Negro Scholars to Staff Adequately the Class A Negro Colleges

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

NO ONE can deny that the State of Georgia has made and is making a great effort to improve the collegiate education among its Negro citizens. All three of the state-supported colleges for Negroes have now been placed on the approved list of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. This is a fine thing and a step in the right direction. But as I read the appropriations for the various state-supported colleges for 1952-'53 from both the Atlanta Journal and the Atlanta Constitution two things come to my mind.

Dr. Mays

The first factor is the amount allocated to the white schools and the amount allocated to the Negro schools. The figures are taken from the Journal and the Constitution. The University of Georgia was allocated $2,090,000; Georgia Tech $1,575,000; Georgia Medical College, $575,000; North Georgia College, $285,000; Georgia Southwestern College for Women, $475,000; Georgia Teachers College, $312,000; Valdosta State College, $172,000; Georgia Southwestern College, $93,000; West Georgia College, $129,000; Middle Georgia College, $97,000; South Georgia College, $117,000; Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College, $124,000. These twelve schools for whites received $6,044,000.

* * *

THE THREE schools for Negroes received $1,060,000. Albany State College was given $262,000; Fort Valley State College, $340,000; and Savannah State College, $458,000. The white schools received almost six times as much as the Negro schools. It may be if we had the combined enrollments in the twelve white institutions and the combined enrollment in the three Negro institutions, the allocations would be more nearly equal than the figures indicate.

The enrollment figures might justify the allocations although Negroes are about one-third of the population. I cannot in fairness pass judgment on the allocations. I do know that it has been only recently that the Board of Regents has taken the Negro schools seriously.

IT IS the second observation that disturbs me. The report says that Chancellor Caldwell was authorized to begin working with one of the state Negro colleges to set up a Negro graduate program. Since I do not know which one of the three Negro colleges will be selected, I can speak with objectivity. Graduate work in Negro colleges disturbs me. There are not enough Negro scholars to adequately staff the Class "A" Negro colleges. And besides Negro scholars are being sought by white colleges in the East and West. Every Negro college president must admit that he cannot find enough able Negro scholars to get all the teachers he needs in the undergraduate colleges. Now to tag on a lot of graduate schools simply complicates the problem.

I am dubious at another point. Will the State of Georgia put enough into graduate education at one of the Negro schools to make the graduate program equal to that at the University of Georgia? What will the state do about technology, law, and medicine for Negroes? Will the state in time build a technical school for Negroes as good as Tech? A medical school as good as the one for whites in Augusta? I wonder! I wonder! I wonder!

I do not believe the State of Georgia will ever build a technical school for Negroes that will equal Georgia Tech. I do not believe the state will build a graduate school for Negroes to equal the University of Georgia. The Supreme Court will not permit Georgia to send Negroes outside of the state. If Negroes stop accepting the aid, what then? The solution is not to duplicate these services on the graduate and professional levels.

MAYS

Present Conditions Make It Extremely Hard for a Negro to Vote for Any Southerner as President

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

IT HAS been a long time since a Southerner has sat in the White House as President. Mr. Truman is from Missouri but Missouri is a border state. Barkley, the Vice President, is from Kentucky. Kentucky is almost Southern but not of the Deep South. Senator Russell is definitely a man of the Deep South. He is seeking the nomination for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket.

Dr. Mays

I am sure that Senator Russell would appreciate being President and I am sure he would not refuse Negro votes if they were needed to get him the nomination and the Presidency.

But it is difficult for a Southerner to receive the nomination. There are many Southerners who would no doubt make good Presidents. But a Southerner who stands well with his colleagues in the South must play a certain role. He must be conservative on the race question. However subtly it may be disguised, he must believe in white supremacy.

* * *

HE MUST defend the institution of segregation to the death. He must oppose civil rights. I do not believe any Southerner seeking public office would have the courage to denounce segregation and embrace a civil rights program. It would be a kiss of death—at least the politicians think so.

This being true, it is very difficult to know what a man like Senator Russell stands for, way down in his heart. As far as I know, Senator Russell has not run for office by waving the red flag of race.

But I also know of no utterance where he has come forward advocating complete equality for the Negro in every area of American life. The very fact that a large Southern group is backing Senator Russell is proof that his racial attitude satisfies the South. It is a conservative attitude.

* * *

WHEN SENATOR Russell says he believes in equality under the law, I presume he means equality under the law of segregation. It is my conviction that anyone who believes that the strong group has the right to enact laws of segregation for the weak that has had no hand in the making of the laws, believes in inequality. It will be difficult for Senator Russell to impress Negroes otherwise.

He may be a Justice Black whom Negroes fought on every hand and who turned out to be a great liberal judge. But Senator Russell is not beyond politics. Justice Black is. Being beyond politics, he has demonstrated that he is a great man. But Justice Black would have never grown to his present stature by playing politics in Alabama.

I understand that Senator Russell is an able man. I hear that he is affable. They tell me he has the respect of the men in the Senate. He is a hard worker and gets results. But fifteen million Negroes would have great fears if Senator Russell were President of the United States.

* * *

I LONG to see the time come when geography will not count against a man. But at this stage of the game, however able Senator Russell may be, it will be exceedingly difficult for him to swing the nomination. If he said what Negroes would like for him to say, the Senator would lose the support of his Southern friends. The Senator is in a tough spot.

I would like to see a Southern man run for the Presidency of the United States who was so fair on all issues and so free of sectional claims and racial fears that his chance of being President would be as good as that of a man from New York or Massachusetts or Ohio. But that time has not come.

As the South becomes more liberal on the Negro question it will grow bigger in mind, heart and soul. When that time comes the South will again put its share of men in the White House. The South's attitude toward the Negro has kept the Negro and the South behind.

Courier

Are Negro Colleges Helping Integration

AT THE CLOSING session of the conference on integration in education held last month at Howard University, Dean Thompson raised the question as to what Negro colleges are doing to help forward the process of integration. He indicated how unfortunate it is that Negroes go around talking about the abolition of segregation on the one hand and on the other many of them frequent every segregated dive in the community. I found myself in complete accord with his views.

Dr. Mays

I have always felt that self-respecting Negroes should be discriminating in the acceptance of segregation. There are some forms of segregation which a man must take of necessity. He may have to ride on a segregated street car, bus or train. The law says that he must ride segregated. As a law-abiding citizen, he accepts the segregated condition. Perhaps the man has to go to work that way. He may have to travel on business that way or go see friends and relatives that way. In order to satisfy the inner man many Negroes felt that they had to eat behind the curtain on the diner before it was removed. These may be considered necessities. And as long as the law says this must be done, most of us are not able to go up against the law and suffer abuse, clubbing, jail or death.

These are situations in which Negroes have no choice but to accept segregation even when he knows that segregation is wrong, un-Christian, and undemocratic. I have no quarrel with Negroes who accept segregation because it is a necessity.

But I do quarrel with those who deliberately plan to go and do go to a segregated theatre or shows where there is a side or back entrance for Negroes and where one must climb high and sit in the "buzzard roost" in order to see the picture or show. I do not see why one would voluntarily accept segregation in the house of worship. I cannot see why one would spend his money at a place where segregation is practiced.

I know the argument. Those who do these things say that they go to segregated shows for cultural reason, education and relaxation. I could believe them if they were discriminating. But when they go to "trashy movies" as readily as they go to a grand opera I do not believe they are seeking culture. When they patronize a store that segregates as readily as they do a store that does not segregate I do not believe they are seeking culture and certainly they are not seeking relaxation.

Even if culture is the main reason, and I do not believe it is, one has to decide between culture and self-respect. There are many ways to get culture and education. Nothing is more informing than reading a good book. There are many programs of culture and education on the radio and television. Conversing or associating with men of culture and education is a stimulating experience. One does not have to volunteer to be segregated to get education and culture.

I believe that freedom begins in the mind and not in the body. It is important to keep the mind and soul free even if the body is in bondage. When we volunteer to be segregated when we do not need to, we are accepting segregation in our minds. And nothing is ours until we accept it. A man who never accepts segregation in his mind has never been segregated even though his body rides in a segregated coach or bus.

The slave who was obedient to his master, but made it clear that he was not to be whipped was not a slave. Peter and Paul were prisoners, but they were free men. As long as a man's mind is free he can never be made a prisoner, he can never be jim-crowed, and he can never be taken for an inferior person.

MAYS

Segregation Is Most Damaging In Hospitals, Survey Shows

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

"UNTOUCHABLES" is the title of a booklet just released by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Another title is "The Meaning of Segregation in Hospitals." The fund recently polled 2,414 medical institutions listed in the American Hospital Directory for eighteen Southern and border states and the District of Columbia. Twenty-nine per cent or 711 of the 2,414 institutions responded. Of the 711 institutions that replied, 584 (82 per cent) admitted Negroes as patients and of a total of 102,969 beds, Negroes had 33,451 beds or 32 per cent. This percentage may or may not be true if we had replies from all of the 2,414 institutions questioned. But the percentage of beds available to Negroes in 711 institutions is very good. There are two factors in this pamphlet which are not good.

Dr. Mays

THE ATTITUDE of the hospital administrators is not good at all. About 62 per cent of them were in favor of admitting Negroes on a segregated basis; 10 per cent reported that they were in favor of maintaining separate hospitals for whites and Negroes. In other words 72 per cent are in favor of maintaining segregation.

In one sense segregation is most damaging in hospitals; especially in cases of emergency. It is here that the report of the Southern Education Fund is most disturbing. It details what many of us know from close contact with persons who have been refused admittance to white hospitals in emergencies. The report covers a perod of twenty years.

It goes back to 1930 when George S. Moore Jr., son of a noted physician, was hurt in an automobile accident, motoring from Nashville to Tuskegee. The car overturned near Huntsville, Ala., and Moore Jr. sustained a broken back. The white hospital in Huntsville had no facilities for Negroes, and Moore had to be taken in a hearse to Athens, Ala. En route young Moore contracted pneumonia and died.

IF THE white hospital had taken young Moore, he would hardly have died. In 1931, women of Fisk University, Juliette Derricotte, dean of was hurt in an automobile accident near Dalton, Ga. Three white physicians administered first aid treatment in their homes, but did not dare hospitalize her. An ambulance had to be ordered from Chattanooga, sixty-six miles away. Of course, she died. No white woman would have been treated that way. In 1932, a Negro girl with a bullet wound in her head was denied admission to two hospitals in Washington, D. C. She was taken to Freedmen Hospital, but was dead on arrival. In 1945, a Negro woman, in labor, was denied admission to the emergency ward in a hospital in D. C. The child was delivered on a sidewalk.

In 1947 something equally horrible occurred when two Clark College students were injured en route to Nashville for a track meet. The injured students had to go fifty miles to a hospital. One of the students died. Aug. 27, 1950, three Negroes were denied beds in Breckenridge County Hospital in Hardinsburg, Ky. One of the victims died on the floor. The only medication was morphine. March 6, 1951, Mrs. Emma Dangerfield was brought to a white hospital in Birmingham, Ala., and was refused. She died.

• • •

SEGREGATION IS bad enough but when a hospital refuses to give medical care to a man because he is a Negro the state ought to do something about it. There should be a law forbidding a hospital to refuse service to any person who is in need; especially in an emergency. A movement should be started to get state laws against such discrimination.

Negroes are getting the ballot and if they would register and vote, these conditions could be changed. Thousands of white people would assist in getting such laws passed, but I believe the Negroes will have to take the initiative. The tragedy is that Negroes are not registering and voting as they should. This is true even in cities like Atlanta where Negroes need have no fear of voting.

MAYS

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Dr. Mays

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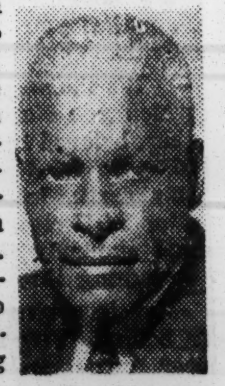
MAYS

Morehouse Is Ready To Try Experiment; May Change Emphasis In American Education

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

BEGINNING in September, 1952, Morehouse College joins eleven other institutions that are participating in the pre-induction scholarship program. The idea is to take exceptionally smart students who have finished the tenth, eleventh or twelfth grade and who are under 16½ years of age and give them an opportunity to complete their college education in four years. It was originally designed to make it possible for young men to complete their college work by the time they reached the draft age of 18½ years. But now the program includes women where the college is co-educational.



Dr. Mays

It is quite possible for a youngster who is 15 years old and who qualifies for college to complete his A. B. or B. S. by the time he is drafted. Even a boy who is 16½ can complete two years of college work by the time he is 18½. If he stands high in his class, he will be deferred until he completes his college work. So a student who qualifies is likely to finish his college work before the Army calls him.

ELEVEN COLLEGES are experimenting with the program this year. They are the University of Wisconsin, the University of Chicago, Columbia University, Yale University, Fisk University, the University of Utah, Oberlin College, Goucher College, the University of Louisville, Lafayette College and Frances Shimer. Morehouse makes the twelfth institution. Being a college for men, our students will be male. The program is sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

I suppose each institution will differ a bit from all the rest, mainly because the cost varies in each institution. But the general plan is to provide complete scholarship aid for the student who needs it. For example, at Morehouse it will cost a student approximately $750 to get through next school year. This will include tuition, all fees, board and lodging. Whereas at Morehouse the cost for the year is $750, it may be $1,200 or $1,500 somewhere else. If the student qualifies and is in need he can get a scholarship to cover the full cost of his education for a period of two years. The experiment is for two years only.

* * *

IN ALL of the institutions the student must be under 16½ years old. He must have completed the tenth, eleventh or twelfth grade. He must be highly recommended as to ability and character. Finally, he must pass an examination which each institution will provide for its students. The number of scholarships available may vary. Morehouse, for example, has been given thirty scholarships for the academic year 1952-53 and thirty for the academic year 1953-54. The smallest scholarship awarded at Morehouse under this program will be $373.

The object behind this program is the belief that a bright student doesn't necessarily have to spend four years in high school and another four years in college, but rather that college and high school can be covered in six or seven years.

In all twelve of these institutions, the emphasis will be on general education. The plan is to give the student a breath of culture and knowledge before he begins to specialize. Specialization and depth without breadth may make a one-sided man. If the experiments prove successful, they may profoundly influence or modify education in this country.

* * *

A GENERAL EDUCATION program is not easy. Even educators and college presidents can be mighty conservative people. People fear the untried. They love the beaten paths of tradition. People who have been trained in their special field do not readily embrace a program which requires a little more work than they customarily do.

One may have to read widely and study much if engaged in a general education program. But those who have been experimenting for some years say that the experiment is challenging, stimulating and rewarding. Such experiments may help change the emphasis in American education.

MAYS

There Are Not Enough Negro Scholars to Staff Adequately the Class A Negro Colleges

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NO ONE can deny that the State of Georgia has made and is making a great effort to improve the collegiate education among its Negro citizens. All three of the state-supported colleges for Negroes have now been placed on the approved list of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. This is a fine thing and a step in the right direction. But as I read the appropriations for the various state-supported colleges for 1952-'53 from both the Atlanta Journal and the Atlanta Constitution two things come to my mind.

Dr. Mays

The first factor is the amount allocated to the white schools and the amount allocated to the Negro schools. The figures are taken from the Journal and the Constitution. The University of Georgia was allocated $2,090,000; Georgia Tech $1,575,000; Georgia Medical College, $575,000; North Georgia College, $285,000; Georgia Southwestern College for Women, $475,000; Georgia Teachers College, $312,000; Valdosta State College, $172,000; Georgia Southwestern College, $93,000; West Georgia College, $129,000; Middle Georgia College, $97,000; South Georgia College, $117,000; Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College, $124,000. These twelve schools for whites received $6,044,000.

THE THREE schools for Negroes received $1,060,000. Albany State College was given $262,000; Fort Valley State College, $340,000; and Savannah State College, $458,000. The white schools received almost six times as much as the Negro schools. It may be if we had the combined enrollments in the twelve white institutions and the combined enrollment in the three Negro institutions, the allocations would be more nearly equal than the figures indicate.

The enrollment figures might justify the allocations although Negroes are about one-third of the population. I cannot in fairness pass judgment on the allocations. I do know that it has been only recently that the Board of Regents has taken the Negro schools seriously.

IT IS the second observation that disturbs me. The report says that Chancellor Caldwell was authorized to begin working with one of the state Negro colleges to set up a Negro graduate program. Since I do not know which one of the three Negro colleges will be selected, I can speak with objectivity. Graduate work in Negro colleges disturbs me. There are not enough Negro scholars to adequately staff the Class "A" Negro colleges. And besides Negro scholars are being sought by white colleges in the East and West. Every Negro college president must admit that he cannot find enough able Negro scholars to get all the teachers he needs in the undergraduate colleges. Now to tag on a lot of graduate schools simply complicates the problem.

I am dubious at another point. Will the State of Georgia put enough into graduate education at one of the Negro schools to make the graduate program equal to that at the University of Georgia? What will the state do about technology, law, and medicine for Negroes? Will the state in time build a technical school for Negroes as good as Tech? A medical school as good as the one for whites in Augusta? I wonder! I wonder! I wonder!

I do not believe the State of Georgia will ever build a technical school for Negroes that will equal Georgia Tech. I do not believe the state will build a graduate school for Negroes to equal the University of Georgia. The Supreme Court will not permit Georgia to send Negroes outside of the state. If Negroes stop accepting the aid, what then? The solution is not to duplicate these services on the graduate and professional levels.

MAYS

Our Fight Against Communism Never Will Be Won on the Battlefield Alone

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

EVERYBODY ought to know by now that race prejudice is a national problem. It is a world problem. Cairo, Ill., is in the Midwest. South San Francisco is by no means in the South. It was also outside of the South where cemetery officials refused to bury a veteran because he was not white. We have the bombing and murder of the Moores in Florida and the riots in Cicero because a Negro wants to live in a decent place.

Dr. Mays

Prejudice is by no means directed against the Negro alone. It is directed against the Jews and against all peoples of color. It so happens that it hits the Negro hardest—harder than any other group. It has always irked me that if it can be established that an individual isn't a Negro he can ride anywhere in the South without segregation. But when it comes to living and jobs it strikes all colored peoples.

IT GRIEVED me when I read a few days ago what happened to Sing Shen in South San Francisco. Shen was a former intelligence officer of the Chinese Nationalist Government. He was not a Chinese Communist. The United Press states that the residents of an all-white Southwood residential district voted 174 to 28 against Sing Shen and his American-born wife, and their small son moving into their neighborhood.

Shen's faith in America was so great that he was willing to risk a vote. He lost—despite the fact, he had made a down payment of $2,950. Furthermore, there are no legal bars that could keep them out. The U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that racial covenants on real estate are illegal.

Sing Shen made a significant speech while the ballots were being counted. He spoke as follows: "If the balloting is against me, it will prove we are fighting in vain in Korea." After the voting his wife said in tears: "We'll have to sell the furniture we bought and go somewhere else to live. I hope the people are happy now and will live secure in the knowledge their property values will continue to rise." Fourteen marked their ballots "no opinion" and thirty-one persons refused to return their ballot. Sing Shen is a graduate of Earlham College of Richmond, Ind.

• • •

IT IS amazing how the human mind tries to play tricks. At first they suggested that children might "throw rocks at the Shens and dump garbage on the house" if the Shens bought there. They told him that his presence would lower the property values. There were also mild threats. If the Shens had insisted on moving in, I wonder what would have happened? Would there have been another Cicero?

It seems that these people would have let their prejudice go especially since we are fighting against communism and for freedom. I am sure the Communists have spread that all over the Communist world. It doesn't help us. The Crisis magazine points out what speakers and writers have been telling us a long time that racialism damages our cause even in Japan.

Hugh H. and Mabel M. Smythe, commenting on the race question in Japan, make it clear that integration of the Army in Japan came too late to erase the discriminatory effect of a segregated Army. They could not understand how democratic America could have a black army and a white army. The Smythes are teaching in one of the Japanese universities.

HERE AGAIN the good things that are happening in the United States are lost sight of as long as we have Cicero, South San Francisco, Groveland, Florida and other places.

It should be the duty of every American to strive to eradicate every bit of prejudice against racial and religious groups.

Our fight against communism will never be won on the battlefield alone. And it is highly important that we have the millions of Asia on our side. But the refusing to let Sing Shen live in a white neighborhood will not help us in the fight.

MAYS

Misnamed 'Race Problem' No Longer A Predominantly Southern Problem

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

RECENTLY the National YMCA got out a pamphlet on "Population Changes and Their Implications for the YMCA." Patterns of migration move in three directions: (1) It moves from the interior to the the West Coast, the Gulf and Atlantic Coast, and to the Great Lakes region; (2) from the farms to cities; (3) from the centers of large cities to the suburbs. Despite improved roads, rural electrification, government aid and other modern conveniences, people continue to leave the farm. Between 1940 and 1950, five million people left the farm.

Dr. Mays

Negroes were largely represented in that number. In the last ten years large numbers of Negroes left the Southern states. Most of them moved to the industrial cities of the North. This pamphlet points out that "the non-white population of the industrial states of California, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, increased by 55 per cent and rose from 2.8 million to 4.4 million."

* * *

IN THE same ten-year period, in the same states just named, "the increase in white population was 14 per cent." This is significant when we consider the fact that for the country as a whole, the non-white population increased by 15.1 per cent and the white population by 14.1 per cent. The non-white population includes Negroes, Indians, Japanese, Chinese, and other non-white races. But the vast majority are Negroes.

This is startling. The net increase in Negro population for the South between 1940 and 1950 was one-half of one per cent, "and the increase for whites was nearly 16 per cent. In other words the "non-white population of the South increased by only 55,637 for the decade, while the white population increased by nearly 4.5 million, over eighty times the non-white increase." Even so, over ten million of America's 15 million Negroes live in the District of Columbia and the seventeen so-called Southern states.

WHAT DO these population shifts mean? It means in the first place that the misnamed "race problem" is no longer a predominantly Southern problem. This is a good thing. Although there are advantages in having a large number of Negroes in a particular city, it seems helpful to have Negroes living in all sections of America. It also means that we will hardly be able to make the farm as attractive to the majority of peoples as the city. This will be true of Negroes and whites.

The population shifts where Negroes are concerned means that Negroes are becoming more and more sensitive to segregation and discrimination. It seems a contradiction that so many Negroes went North between 1940 and 1950 when it was in that decade that Negroes made their greatest advance in achieving civil rights.

It was in that decade (1940-1950) that Negroes began to vote in large numbers in the South, that segregation was legally abolished on the dining car, that segregation was outlawed on inter-state travel and it was in that decade that several hundred Negroes entered Southern universities. It was also within the last ten or fifteen years that the South began in earnest to try to equalize educational opportunities for Negroes.

The integration of Negroes in the armed forces also began in that decade when Negroes moved North in large numbers. It is probably true that there were fewer lynchings in that decade than in any previous decade since 1885.

* * *

IN BRIEF it means that although many changes for the better have come the Negro's way, they have not come fast enough. The Negro smarts and chafes under every form of discrimination based on color. He resents not being allowed to work at certain places because his skin is colored. He resents being held to certain jobs when he could be promoted.

He resents being denied a meal because he is colored. He resents segregation, period. He knows the North is no heaven but he knows there is less segregation by law in the North. It is my hope that conditions will continue to improve in the South and so rapidly that when a Negro goes North it will not be because of segregation and discrimination.

MAYS

Supreme Court Rulings Abolishing Segregation Are Wasted If Negroes Hesitate to Use Laws

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

THE SUPREME Court has outlawed several "jim-crow" restrictions within the past several years. The white primary is a thing of the past. Restrictive covenants are illegal. Segregation on buses in interstate travel is unconstitutional. Negroes cannot be denied admission to a goodly number of Southern universities. And now, the Supreme Court has recently outlawed "jim-crow" coaches on trains in the South.

Dr. Mays

In November, the United States Supreme Court "upheld a lower court ruling that separation of white and colored passengers is an unconstitutional burden on interstate commerce." And before this article appears there may be a ruling on segregation in elementary schools. All this means that the Negro's best chance for justice in this country lies with the United States Supreme Court and the ballot.

But Negroes everywhere should bear one thing in mind. The Supreme Court can hand down decisions but cannot make Negroes take advantage of their newly won freedom. It is a true saying, "you can take a horse to the water but you cannot make him drink it."

* * *

SO THE nine judges cannot make us enjoy our new freedom.

In 1946 the white primary was outlawed in Georgia. There are close to 100,000 Negroes in Fulton County eligible to register and vote. There are only 19,000 registered. And they tell me that less than half of the 19,000 registered voters voted in the Presidential election.

Suppose 75,000 Negroes exercised the ballot in Fulton County; suppose 50,000 Negroes voted in the city of Atlanta; suppose one-third of the voters in Georgia were Negroes. If this were so, no Governor and no Mayor anywhere in Georgia would dare insult Negroes in his campaign.

There are two million Jews in New York. No politician in New York would dare run for office on an anti-Jewish platform. They wouldn't dare do it in New York on an anti-Negro platform. No politician would dare raise a voice against Catholic or Irish in Boston. If Negroes do not use the ballot wherever they can, they do not deserve to be free.

* * *

NOW THE Supreme Court has ruled that Negroes are not to be segregated in coaches in interstate travel. But the ruling will availeth naught if Negroes traveling from Georgia into South Carolina or from Louisiana into Georgia are satisfied to continue to ride in the segregated coach. Conductors may try to get Negroes to ride "jim crow" and the Negro porter may advise Negro passengers by orders of the conductor to go into the Negro coach, but there will hardly be any arrests if the Negro passengers refuse to obey.

It should be borne in mind, however, that this Supreme Court decision does not apply within the state. A Negro passenger cannot insist on non-segregation as he travels from one point to another in the same state. There the state law applies.

* * *

NEGROES IN large numbers will not apply the new test. The vast majority of them have been so conditioned to segregation that they will be too timid to ride otherwise. But I do hope that a goodly number of Negroes, poised and sensible, will take advantage of the recent decision outlawing segregation on coaches in interstate travel. The Supreme Court can rule, but Negroes must act on the decision once they are handed down.

This is very necessary. White people need to get used to Negroes riding in the same coaches they ride in. Negroes in the South need to learn to be at ease anywhere and at home in the world. This is God's world.

There was a time when white people were horrified if a Negro rode Pullman. A few Negroes kept riding even when it was dangerous to do so. Now Negroes ride Pullman and white passengers are not disturbed. They are used to it.

The same will be true in coach travel if Negroes take advantage of the new laws.

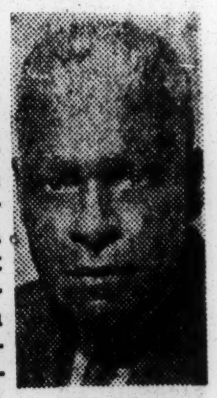
MAYS

White Ga. Candidate Hit By Biased Advertisement Because He is Employed As Race School Instructor

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

OLD MAN prejudice raised his ugly head again in Georgia last month. In an effort to defeat Baxter Jones for Congress from the Fifth District, a group of friends of Congressman James C. Davis ran a paid advertisement against Candidate Jones in the Atlanta Journal under the date of May 12.



Dr. Mays

The basic charge was that "Baxter Jones Jr. is a professor at Atlanta University and an associate professor at Morehouse College, both Negro colleges!" For this reason the advertisement contended that he was disqualified to truly represent the people of this district. To quote:

"While he has every right to follow his chosen profession as a teacher, we do not believe that his vote, under the circumstances, while under obligation to the people who advocate FEPC, the CIO Political Action Committee and other like questions could truly represent the people of this district.

"THE PHILOSOPHY of a man who teaches before and among members of the colored race cannot possibly accept the gratuity which goes with such a position and still remain independent of the influence of those who advocate the FEPC, the end of segregation of the races and of many other long-seated traditions of the South." Baxter Jones was defeated. (Mr. Jones has never been an associate professor at Morehouse.)

Even if he had been, it would not have been a disgrace to teach at Morehouse. Since the close of the Civil War white people have taught in the Negro private colleges. And they have not all been Northern whites.

Paine College in Augusta, Ga., is a splendid example of white teachers of the South teaching in a college for Negroes. Stillman Institute in Alabama is another example of Southern whites teaching in a Negro college.

* * *

IT WILL BE a sad day if Negroes ever become so steeped in prejudice that white teachers cannot teach in Negro colleges. The Negro private colleges have in them the making of great institutions. They are usually free of the prejudice and restriction that beset white institutions.

The private Negro colleges are the most significant institutions in the whole of the South. They set the example for the white colleges. They are the citadels of freedom and democracy, and the reservoirs of interracial good-will.

These colleges have never discriminated against teachers because they were white. They have never discriminated against speakers because they were white. In reality, they have never discriminated against white students. The absence of white students in most of these colleges is due to state laws of discrimination of which Negro educators had no part in the making. They are segregated institutions not by choice of Negroes but by laws put on the statute books by white politicians.

* * *

I REPEAT WHAT I said a moment ago. These colleges set the standard for real freedom and democracy in education in the South. If there is held an institute of human relations in Tennessee where people can come together as Americans and as Christian citizens, this institute must be held at Fisk, LeMoyne or Lane. There is no other institution in Tennessee where such an institute could be held with complete freedom.

If the Negro and white peoples are to get together in Georgia and discuss their common problems on the basis of complete equality, the meeting must be held on the campuses of the Negro private colleges.

If you are to find integrated faculties in the South where Negro and white scholars teach on the basis of absolute equality, they will be found in the Negro private colleges.

* * *

HAMPTON, ST. PAUL and Virginia Union are the freest colleges in the State of Virginia. If you are seeking complete academic freedom in the South, it will be found on the campuses of the private Negro colleges.

These colleges set the pace in these areas for the colleges of the South. The freedom which is inherent in the private Negro colleges does not exist on the campuses of the white colleges of the South. The private Negro colleges are citadels of freedom and democracy.

MAYS

'South of Freedom' Is a Book That You Should Put on Your 'Must' Reading List

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THE PEOPLE who do not want the truth written about the South will get angry. Those who want the world to believe that there is a completely "New South" or that progress in human relations is being made so rapidly that the "Perfect South" is right around the corner will put the book down in rebellion.

Dr. Mays

The self-righteous who criticize the South without recognizing the shortcomings of the North will squirm as they read. But honest people, people who want to know the truth, will gladly admit that "South of Freedom" is an outstanding book.

The book is the result of a promise Rowan made to a Southern white sailor who became his friend in the Navy "to tell the world about the life of an American Negro in the South."

THERE ARE several reasons why I call "South of Freedom" a great book. It is a true picture of America's race problem. It is 90 per cent accurate. Rowan knows what he is talking about and he writes objectively. He avoids extremes. He doesn't pretend that the South is the "Kingdom of Hell" while the North is the "Kingdom of Heaven."

Because the South has made some gains, he does not fall into the dishonest error of saying that "all is right down South." Despite the gains made in the South and the difference between North and South, he sees clearly that the Negro does not function in the main stream of American life, but rather moves along the path of of the ragged edge.

This is true in the North, but more true in the South. As the author implies, the situation will never be as good in the South as it is in the North until the law is on the Negro's side in the South. The laws segregate the Negro in the South. The difference is well stated by the author.

". . . IN THE NORTH the fight is against small men who manifest their hatred and antipathies by guile and trickery; in the South the struggle is against little men with the towering club of law, and it is impossible, often, to negotiate either with law or little men with towering clubs."

It is a great book because it is well written and the author's insights, diagnoses and interpretations are superb. The book sparkles with passages like the following: "Prejudice is no ailment of the toe, or of the Southern extremities of mankind; it is near-gangrene of the body, the whole body, and what is needed is a wonder drug, a tonic for the national blood stream, not amputation of any apparently less healthy part of the body."

The book is so beautifully written and the interpretations are so sound that the reader will not be able to scan it. He must read it.

* * *

A REPORTER must get his data quickly. I wish he had spent longer in one place. I wish he had talked with more people in places like Atlanta. Thousands know there that money is no cure-all and many have no economic fear of the abolition of segregation.

I fear he gave the impression that it is absolutely necessary for a Negro "to smile meekly" or "to dance a little jig" when encountered by armed patrolmen "bent on having some fun." I have met a few patrolmen who were courteous and there are Negroes who cannot "dance a jig."

A great book because every line in it is a challenge to America to do something about the one obstacle that keeps the United States from being the greatest nation in history.

* * *

ROWAN DID not find a brand "New South," but he is cautiously hopeful of the future. He says on the last page: "But today is a long day for the Negro, and perhaps only the dawn is at hand. The wheels of justice are turning, and everywhere that old despot, 'custom,' is on the run."

Every American should read "South of Freedom."

MAYS

Politics Make Strange Companions; For Example Take Note of Byrnes Backing Eisenhower

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

A FEW weeks ago General Eisenhower and Senator Taft were at dagger's point

Supporters of Eisenhower gave the impression to the public that Eisenhower was the very epitome of honesty and virtue whereas Senator Taft and his group were unscrupulous and dishonest.

Dr. Mays

The newspapers of the nation took up the cry and Taft and his supporters were beaten at Chicago partly because the people felt that Taft and his supporters were determined to win the nomination at any cost. The Eisenhower supporters needed just that note of honesty to put the general over.

It is pretty clear that General Eisenhower and Senator Taft are worlds apart on foreign policy.

I DO NOT believe that Senator Taft and General Eisenhower can now see eye to eye after having had one breakfast conference. These two men who fought each other bitterly and tenaciously before the nomination are still far apart. And yet, General Eisenhower has sought the aid of Senator Taft, a man who had been branded by Eisenhower supporters as unscrupulous and dishonest.

The major theme the Republicans have developed up to this point, which is not a good one, is corruption in government. I believe the issues in this campaign are far deeper, and I am also convinced that corruption in government is not peculiar to any one party.

The Republicans are going to clean up Washington. They are going to "throw the crooks out." In fact, one is led to believe that every Democrat in Washington is a crook. As paradoxical as it may seem, General Eisenhower has gone on record as supporting any Republican nominee anywhere in the United States in order that he might have a Republican Congress if elected.

* * *

WHEN GENERAL Eisenhower makes a general statement

like that he must be willing to close his eyes to the record of any Republican running for office whose record is not good. If he is willing to back any Republican running for office, it is not a good way to clean up corruption in Washington.

It is unfortunate that Nixon has to be embarrassed at this time over $18,000. I believe Nixon was not bought off in this deal, but it will be exceedingly difficult for him to explain it; especially since he too, has said "throw the crooks out" by electing Dwight Eisenhower. Politics make strange bedfellows.

Governor Byrnes has gone out for Eisenhower. Governor Byrnes has been a Democrat all his life and now he says he is going to vote the Republican ticket. As I see it, there are two main reasons. One is that he does not like Stevenson's stand on the Taft-Hartley law and he does not like his stand on civil rights.

* * *

I BELIEVE Governor Byrnes is against Stevenson because Stevenson has the support of Truman. It is hardly possible for Governor Byrnes to like Truman. It is rumored that Mr. Byrnes was slated to be Roosevelt's running mate the last time.

It is rumored further that he was cast aside by Roosevelt when people told Franklin D. that he could not win with Mr. Byrnes. Truman came in and got the job that Mr. Byrnes might have had.

It is hardly possible for Mr. Byrnes to be in love with Mr. Truman. I think, too, he left as Secretary of State under Truman. These may be some of the reasons he has declared himself for Eisenhower.

Everybody knows that Stevenson and Sparkman are miles apart on many issues and yet, I think Sparkman was chosen with the hope of carrying the Solid South. When men want office they will sacrifice many things.

31a 1952

Negro(Marjorie McKenzie)

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Mrs. Edith Sampson's Mission to Europe Has Served a Dual Purpose

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

ANY THOUGHTFUL person is bound to be distressed by the unfavorable press which has been following Mrs. Edith Sampson, the State Department's special representative who is just back from a mission abroad. Mrs. Sampson's job this year has been to interpret the status of American Negroes to Western Europe and thus to offset the propaganda of the Communist press which dramatizes and distributes widely all news about racial incidents in the United States.

Miss McKenzie

To this assignment, Mrs. Sampson brings her experience as an alternate on the 1950-1951 U. S. Delegation to the United Nations and as a member of the 1949 world tour of Town Hall's "Meeting-of-the-Air."

Mrs. Sampson is also a successful Chicago lawyer and a national officer of the National Council of Negro Women. She has had, in addition to an unusual opportunity, the time, the money and a genuine purpose to serve her people and her country.

BUT LAST summer from Austria, and, in the last few months from France, Germany and Scandinavia especially, stories have continued to come over which charge that Mrs. Sampson has distorted the position of the American Negro to her European audiences by minimizing his disadvantages and exaggerating his gains.

The Negro Press has taken up the European reports, and, adding to them similar criticism of Dr. Channing Tobias, who is the U. S. alternate delegate to the United Nations this year, challenged a leadership which "apologizes" for discrimination at home.

So far, Mrs. Sampson has not answered her critics, but surely she must be dismayed that her expenditure of time and money and earnest goodwill has not resulted in more universal approval by Europeans or Negro Americans. Perhaps it is no answer to point out that Secretary of State Acheson has lived above bitter criticism.

It may be that anyone who represents our Government abroad as an ambassador of the foreign policy is not free to make personal defenses nor to project independent opinions and evaluations. If this is true, then Negro leadership and the Negro people must consider whether the state of race relations in this country would justify any Negro accepting responsibility to serve as a spokesman and emissary of the Government.

* * *

WHAT THE loudest of Mrs. Sampson's critics are really saying is that the American Negro is so far outside the mainstream of American culture, so much the victim of violence and oppression, that he would be a fool ever to identify himself as an American first and secondly as a Negro.

However, it is the experience of most American Negroes, traveling in Europe or Asia, to feel pride in their American citizenship, to realize that as Americans of any status they have more freedom and security than most of the world's people. They can readily understand that whatever forces threaten this nation are threats to them and to the opportunity which they have

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

District of Columbia's Voters Show Opportunity Knocks for Race in U. S.

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

WE HAD TWO excellent demonstrations of citizenship in action in Washington last week.

In the Democratic primary contest, a pure party affair in the voteless District of Columbia, Negro voters gave Averell Harriman a four-to-one victory over Estes Kefauver. As a result, the six delegates from the District will be committed to Harriman on the first ballot at the convention.

M. McKenzie

This decisive and vigorous response to Harriman in his first primary contest is also the first opportunity for Negro voters to register their support of a liberal candidate, one who is four square on FEPC and civil rights generally.

With no previous experience in voting, District residents turned out for this non-statutory preferential primary in a way that should cause both parties to rethink their strategies. For, Mr. Harriman's success would suggest that there is still magic in a candidacy honestly committed to Roosevelt's New Deal principles, enough magic to bring together elements that will split or stay at home in November under the leadership of a cautious and divided man like Kefauver.

* * *

DISTRICT RESULTS ought to be a straw in the wind for the Republicans, too. And, though they seem to be good at grasping at straws, the Republicans have indicated that they are unable to grasp the reality of the strength of the Negro vote in the urban North and West.

Or, if they do, they are too rigid to make proper and adequate responses to their knowledge. They would rather adhere to Republican dogma, rather be right, rather not gain the Presidency than relent and make an honest civil rights fight.

The Democrats, with twenty year's practice in adjustment, have an edge on resiliency. Further, they appear to care more about winning than being blindly doctrinaire about past errors. Obviously, then, the next move is not up to the Democrats but to Negro voters. They ought to point to the Washington lesson and reform their lines. They should be able to see that a great floodtide of opportunity for interpretation and participation is theirs.

The rank and file understand very well one basic issue: first-class citizenship. I don't know what percentage of Mr. Harriman's votes were cast by Washington's unparalleled middle-class Negro population, but during my stint at the polls as a volunteer worker, I saw many a man and woman barely able to write his or her name whose one question of election officials was how to vote for Mr. Harriman. A month, two weeks ago, these people had never heard of Averell Harriman.

* * *

THE OTHER victory for citizenship in action in Washington was the appointment of John B. Duncan to the long-vacant office of Recorder of Deeds. Mr. Duncan, a Housing Administration attorney, is president of the Federation of Civic Associations. This means that he has been part of the real life of the Washington community.

When Congress decided to remove the post from state patronage and reserve it for local residents, there may have been an ulterior motive or two in the legislative intent. But certain it is that no one could have been named who is more completely immersed in local affairs than Mr. Duncan.

To be president of a federation of civic associations means having gone to a thousand meetings, no matter what the weather or the measure of one's fatigue. It means having considered a thousand details of the most supremely local and often boring and even insoluble aspect. It means, in Washington where residents have no vote, doing all of this because of a sense of civic pride and responsibility.

Mr. Duncan's appointment proves that it pays to be a good citizen, even without benefit of a power line to the White House.

* * *

A LEADER is one who serves the people. His service and their acceptance of it are the source of his authority.

For example, the Rev. Smallwood Williams, the pastor of the Bible Way Church in Washington, led nearly 500 members of his church to the polls to vote for Harriman. Politicians have to reckon with the Rev. Mr. Williams and with his counterpart in cities with a real franchise. Though we may deplore bloc voting in principle, the stern realities of jim crow are liable to produce just such demonstrations for a candidate who does not equivocate his opposition to it.

Citizenship apathy is a response to lack of choice. Washington is not wanting in good citizens, though the charge of apathy is made often. Recent events show that Washingtonians need only the inspiration of a leadership in which they can believe to act.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Dr. Davis Provides Us With Ammunition for an All-Out FEPC Campaign

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

IN THE midst of staking out the issues for the Presidential campaign, we have driven no single stake as deeply or as insistently as we have FEPC.

And yet, if anyone were to ask us, scholar, politician, labor leader or just plain citizen, for a definitive statement about Negro employment and the experience of the last decade with the fair employment principle, few of us have complete and accurate information on the subject.

M. McKenzie

This fog has been authoritatively removed by Dr. John A. Davis in Fortune magazine for July, 1952, in an article entitled, "Negro Employment: A Progress Report." Dr. Davis is a professor of political science at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, and is a Ford Foundation fellow now writing a book on civil rights. He was with the first FEPC experiment, the old New York Committee on Discrimination in Employment, and later with the President's wartime FEPC as director of research.

AS ONE of the early experts on how industrial management can successfully go about the business of using Negro workers on a non-discriminatory basis, Dr. Davis knows the elusive facts and figures on this subject probably better than anyone. And, being a political scientist, he sees them in a sociological and political context.

Unfortunately, Fortune is a very slick magazine, costing a dollar and a quarter a copy, and very few of us are likely to see Dr. Davis' article. Top-flight industrialists, will, of course, but for legislators and organizations and politicians, **reprints are clearly indicated.**

One of the reasons that it is difficult to pin down the story of the Negro worker is that, like everything else about Negro America, the story is not consistent. Skill in, and responsibility for collecting and analyzing the information about Negro employment vary greatly.

The history in the past decade, says Dr. Davis, shows an uneven but advancing line of progress. It is also, he adds, a history of unrealized fears and, in this fact, lies the hope for continued progress in economic democracy.

* * *

FOR EXAMPLE, the million additional colored workers who found jobs in industry and trade for the first time in World War II have not lost these jobs as they feared.

New enterprises have enabled them to establish a high degree of seniority and job security. Since 1945, Dr. Davis reminds us, eleven states and twenty-two municipalities, with a combined population of sixty million persons, have passed laws against job discrimination.

Dr. Davis is concerned not about the fact of progress, but about its pace and this he sees as the political question. He says that Negro workers, right along with management, would prefer voluntary action in the development of fair employment pattern. But from experience we know that the advocates of voluntary action and education really seek only to avoid change.

* * *

THOSE WHO want to see the best available statistics on the status of Negro workers since 1900, properly telescoped, will have to read Dr. Davis' article.

They will find also a summary of the role of labor unions in this field, of the various Government agencies concerned with labor utilization, of the experiences of states and communities with FEPC laws. Perhaps best of all is the combination of this information with a report by name and locality, of the plants that have good and bad records in hiring policies.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Playground Controversy Makes Washington Move in September Resolutions

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

WASHINGTON, perennial proving ground in the battle over segregation, was moving in all directions at once last week.

Another crisis arose in the city playgrounds, where the District Recreation Board's policy of gradual desegregation makes every school yard a challenge to riot. Meanwhile, on the level of commercial recreation, progress was being given a helping hand by the president of the District's Board of Commissioners.

Miss McKenzie

One of the difficulties with gradualism as a technique for solving race relations problems is accuracy in timing, in knowing when to maintain the status quo and when to take the next step forward. Rosedale Playground in bursting Northeast Washington has been a scene of dissension because of the Recreation Board's refusal to convert the area to non-segregated use.

Despite picketing by Negroes this summer and open use of the playground by them in defiance of its policy, the board has refused to change.

* * *

THE FAILURE of public authority to keep pace with community facts breeds disrespect for authority. If the police evict from the playground Negro children who scale the tall fences because the gates are locked against them, then the Negro residents of the area are outraged.

If the police do not molest Negro children inside the playground, some of the members of the white community are motivated to self-help.

If the Recreation Board insists on so explosive a method of dealing with the physical and ideological transition of Washington, then it has a duty not to drag its feet.

Gradualism as a theory should prove itself by results, just as any other theory, whether more or less assailed, more or less radical. To act after leadership groups have issued repeated warnings, after the neighborhood has abounded with rumors of trouble, after the police department has been called in to stop an affray, after men have been at each other with bats and guns, is to be an irresponsible exponent of the theory of gradualism.

NO GRADUALIST, Washington's top Commissioner, F. Joseph Donohue, is welcoming the Washington premiere of "Cry the Beloved Country," starring Canada Lee, with personal, formal invitations to civic leaders. The movie will be shown at the Dupont Theatre, which was the first of Washington's sure seaters—the small houses showing foreign and special films—to admit Negroes on a non-segregated basis.

The Dupont's move was significant because it occurred during the dark days when discrimination at the National Theatre was under attack. Now the lights are on again at the National and soon will be at the newly redecorated Gayety, whose democratic leadership has proved so financially successful to the management.

On the top level, then, Washington's three legitimate theatres, one of them an experimental theatre in the round, and its four sure-seaters are all non-discriminatory. In encouraging this development, our courageous Commissioner shows again where he stands and enhances our faith in the sincerity of his efforts to meet problems of segregation in official quarters.

* * *

RECREATION, whether for children or adults, whether public or commercial, would appear to be less important as an issue to the people of the community than housing or employment.

But because Washington is a city in which Negroes have achieved reasonable financial security and have experienced increasingly more democratic patterns in employment and housing, the strains in recreational and educational facilities have become the chief areas of crisis. On the second day of this school term, there were 7,000 more Negro than white children in the public schools, although Negroes do not comprise even one-third of the total population of Washington.

Many of these Negro children are housed in old, poorly equipped buildings, must travel long distances from home to school, are overcrowded and are taught on double shifts.

* * *

THESE INADEQUACIES spill over into and are mirrored by the inadequacies of supervised neighborhood recreation. These are hardships that hard-working, well-paid and tax-paying parents find unendurable. From the haven of their security they will be vocal, even brash. Washington will have to change or it will explode and the Recreation Board might well be advised that neither alternative is likely to occur gradually. The board's immediate expedient of closing Rosedale Playground is, of course, a sterile answer to the problem.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Did the NAACP's Harry Moore Give His Life in Vain?

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

IT WILL be difficult to express our horror over the newest Florida atrocity. We have said all the words of shock and condemnation that Florida's reign of violence has earned for her. Now a time, not to say, but to act, is upon us. Harry T. Moore's death must serve as a point of no return in American race relations, else he will have given his life to our cause to no avail.

Miss McKenzie

There is, first of all, a certain anachronism in the killing of a Negro in a leadership position. It is a thing that might have happened twenty-five years ago. But the pattern of violence in the South in recent years has been directed at the little people—soldiers, sharecroppers, prisoners in Southern jails. Our leadership, though bold, has been safe. The followers have paid with their eyesight and their lives for following. There is a lawyer in a big Southern city who talks brave words and who carries a gun in his brief case, but he has never had to use it. In Florida, he might, given the chance.

* * *

AND AMERICA herself has a problem of different dimension if the program against the Samuel Shepherds, the Isaac Woodards, the Rosa Lee Ingrams, the Isaiah Nixons is to be expanded to include the strong and protected. For the freely spoken protest of our leadership has been the bright and hopeful part of our fight for first-class citizenship. First, then, we ourselves must recognize the bombing at Mims, Fla., as a throwback and as a final warning.

Second, we must understand that the chief function of Negro leadership in this crisis will be to interpret Moore's death as a problem for all of the people of this country and for their government. What about a Congressional investigation of violence against the minorities of the United States? Let a Senate committee expose the tie-up between law enforcement officers and the men who exploit minority workers and the way in which both of these groups accomplish their purpose through the mad men in hate organizations.

SHOCKING IDEA, isn't it, from which anyone can see the legislators and the executive department recoiling in alarm. Not a new idea, either, and the stock answer to it has been that such an expose would do more harm than good. It would fan old hatreds anew and damage our international relations beyond repair, say the men who decide whether such investigations are to be conducted. This evil is one which must be kept hidden. It is all right to investigate gambling, corrupt politicians and shady revenue officers, but not the deprivation of life and limb of American citizens.

Congress, knowing the dimensions of the problem so well without investigation, is perfectly free to amend Sections 51 and 52 of Title 18 of the U. S. Code, if it would, and thus increase Federal protection. And this, in turn, would put pressure on Florida and her ilk to join the Union. Congress may go on pretending to be hamstrung by closure and calendar Wednesday rules, but if Negro leadership cannot now pull a new civil rights law out of the second session of the Eighty-second Congress, then the jig is up. For a thing that is big enough, serious enough to frighten the whole people into action will sail over and under and around the rules.

* * *

THE DEATH of Harry T. Moore, in his bed, in the night-time, is, to use Walter Lippmann's phrase, a voice of America. Mr. Lippman has pointed out that the Voice of America cannot sell the United States abroad because many voices speak for this country. The unofficial voices are heard and believed also and destroy the "line" of the official Voice. In this sense, the total reality of American race relations speaks with a voice that no pap about Negro progress can make palatable to the rest of the world.

The detonation of the Florida bomb that killed Harry Moore has been heard in every distant place. The Soviet radio will beam it to minds not leavened by any contrary information. William Patterson, deprived of his passport in Paris and waiting to present "Genocide," the Civil Rights Congress' brief against the United States to the UN Assembly, has been provided with the prize of a collection of gory tales. It would be redundant, foolish, empty, for the United States to explain any further. It must act.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Legalized Gambling Politically Impossible Under Existing Set-Up

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editoris opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

IN THE midst of the corruption that is compounded of organized gambling and political bribery, we have tended to do one of two things: (1) Ask for new Federal controls, or (2) urge state and city clean-up campaigns. The problem, like all social evils, is too complex for either of these pat answers. To solve it, we have to work in the round, and, as citizens, we need a lot more information, stated in simple terms.

Miss McKenzie

The problem is as big as it is complex. One of the four reports of the Senate Crime Committee states that twenty billion dollars changes hands every year because of illegal gambling activities in the United States. This occurs despite the fact that all states have laws against gambling, some also outlaw it in their state constitutions and many state courts refuse to enforce wagering contracts.

Nevada is the only state that legalizes almost all gambling, but even Nevada has a constitutional provision against lotteries. Many states have experimented with the legalization of gambling, but usually have gone back to their earlier or even stiffer prohibitions.

For legalization to work and to bring about the release of gambling activities from the control of organized crime, it would have to be uniform in all the states. At the moment, this avenue of reform appears to be politically impossible.

* * *

PRACTICALLY ALL states have laws against bookmaking and slot machines. Most of them also prohibit numbers games, lotteries and gaming houses. Twenty-five states license horse and dog-racing tracks and the owners themselves have a society to protect against fixing. As we all know, state laws have not been effective, chiefly because of lax or unequal administration, which, in turn, is the result of social and political pressures opposed to enforcement.

Federal laws against gambling go back to 1890, when the use of the mails for the distribution or sale of any lottery was forbidden. In 1895, Congress banned the foreign importation or interstate transportation of lottery tickets. Both laws carry $1,000 fines and up to two years in jail.

Added to these two prohibitions is the mail fraud statute which prevents the use of the mails for any fraudulent scheme to obtain money or property. Administrative problems on staff and judicial interpretations which exclude some schemes as outside the laws, have hampered the enforcement of these Federal anti-lottery statutes.

Slot machines are a two-billion-dollar-a-year evil, although forty-three states ban them. There are ten slot-machine manufacturers in Chicago who operate openly, and there are over 200,000 machines throughout the country. Not until January, 1951, did Congress outlaw the transportation of slot machines in interstate commerce and require manufacturers to make reports on sales and deliveries.

* * *

IN 1948, Congress dealt what is regarded as a death blow to luxury, off-coast gambling ships by prohibiting gambling on any American ship and providing severe penalties. Federal Communications Commission authority is just beginning to be used. There has been no enforcement of a law prohibiting licensed radio stations from broadcasting information about lotteries. Some 1948 regulations which declare all radio give-away shows to be in violation of the Federal Communications Act are under court review. And the FCC's authority over program content enables it to refuse to renew licenses to stations which broadcast racing information useful to gamblers.

The Federal Trade Commission may prohibit unfair competition or deceptive practices in interstate commerce, and thus has tried to ban punchboards and other schemes used to stimulate sales. FTC's weapon, the cease and desist order, has not proved an effective control.

* * *

FOR THE future, the Senate Crime Committee has recommended several steps. It has sponsored a bill to amend the anti-lottery and slot machine statutes for broader definitions of the prohibited devices.

It has proposed three bills to deny interstate communication facilities to gamblers. The best of these is aimed at wiping out the racing-news services. The so-called "bookie bill" directly prohibits the transmission of gambling information. Both bills purposely have weak enforcement provisions until more experience is obtained.

The new ten per cent excise tax on wagers and $50 occupational levy are really experimental and some experts believe that corruption may increase rather than diminish, as a result. Prosecution depends on a difficult problem of proof and a greatly expanded staff for the Internal Revenue Bureau.

For further study of the problem, the Senate Crime Committee has suggested the establishment of a National Crime Coordinating Council, with members chosen from local crime commissions. Approval of the proposed Federal Crime Commission is not likely. Thus it appears that the Kefauver Committee has talked big but walked softly, and its ual control of the evil and pre- attacks on gambling seem well serving individual freedoms.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

The Problem of Surplus White Teachers in D. C. Might Advance Integration

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THE NEWS that utilization of white surplus teachers in the District of Columbia's understaffed, overcrowded Negro schools is being considered by school authorities is a harbinger of better days to come. The District budget officer has pointed out that the request for funds for sixty-six needed Negro teachers has to be balanced against the fact of several hundred surplus white teachers.

Miss McKenzie

Should they be fired? In answer, a white school board member has been quoted as saying that Washington is rapidly approaching the dissolution of segregated schools.

Private and parochial schools have been going democratic in Washington for the past seven or eight years. Their experience provides a useful sample of the way most of the people of the District will react to non-segregated schools.

* * *

PRIVATE SCHOOLS are good testing grounds for educational innovation. Because they are contained units, better administrative control and uniformity in an experiment are possible.

Usually the student body is culturally more homogenous, in the sense that the economic and educational background in the homes of the student is more nearly similar than in a public school.

It has been contended by some educators that because of these similarities, more democracy and more freedom can be realized in a private school setting.

* * *

ONE OF the bombshells exploded at the White House Conference on Children in 1950 was a report by Dr. Allison Davis of the University of Chicago. Dr. Davis' thesis was that the public school system is built on middle-class assumptions, whereas many of its children are from lower-class homes and do not understand the language, social habits nor expectations of the system and its teachers.

This is unfair to such children, whose basic intelligence may be obscured under a lack of apperceptive background.

In the private school, the middle-class assumptions are reinforced by the fact of a middle-class or, in some schools, an upper-class student body. And in situations where people of like experience are learning or working together, real lessons in democracy are possible.

THIS DOES not suggest that we should scale down the public school program, but rather that we adjust it to realities and recognize that it has a supplementary job to do in the achievement of the American dream.

The private school is more directly faced with the illogic of segregation because its directors and faculty are free of political and legal barriers. Its parents are uniformly aware of the demands of a democratic society and of their responsibilities to their children in a world in which racial dilemmas must be solved.

"The thinking Negro refuses to accept the idea or even the theory that race prejudice is natural and inevitable, that it is inherent in the child, either white or black. He insists that it is acquired and cultivated, and that the greatest single aid to its cultivation is segregation."—R. R. MOTON.

In the real sense of the word, private schools are "ready" for integration. Indeed, those that have not changed over already, cannot afford to wait much longer.

* * *

A NUMBER of Washington's private schools seem on the brink. They make a number of oblique approaches. The Sidwell Friends School, which has Quaker origins, has received an award for the best job in interracial, intercultural education in the District. It has everything but Negroes in its student body.

Last month, the school magazine published a story by Kenneth Allen, one of its high school students, that was as strong and straightforward a propaganda piece for integration as I have read. Kenneth wrote about a Negro soldier in Korea giving up his life for a white corporal who had taunted and despised him. And, to press the point, Kenneth made the corporal's other rescuer a Jew.

The children of America can spot the falsity in the pretensions of their elders. The polls of college students in Southern universities on the issue of admission of Negro students have shown them to be uniformly in favor of integration. Our young people want the full measure of their democratic heritage—not for the sake of minority students—but for themselves, for their own moral and intellectual integration.

31a 1952

Negro (Marjorie McKenzie)

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Analyzes the Campaign Against Segregation on The Nation's Railroads

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THE REFUSAL of the U. S. Supreme Court on Nov. 10, to review the decision of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit in Atlantic Coast Line Railway Company v. Chance appears to round out the law respecting segregation in interstate travel.

Miss McKenzie

Actually, the law in the Chance case was laid down by the Fourth Circuit in Chance v. Lambeth et al, decided in January, 1951. The U. S. Supreme Court denied review in May, 1951. This meant that the case went back to the Federal District Court for a new trial, as ordered by the Court of Appeals.

On the second trial, Lambeth, the train conductor who had caused Mr. Chance's removal from a white coach at Emporia, Va., and his subsequent arrest, was omitted as a party defendant and the contest became one between Mr. Chance and the Atlantic Coast Line.

* * *

IN THE second trial, the District Court followed the 1951 decision of the Court of Appeals. On the second appeal, the Court of Appeals said in a per curiam opinion in July, that the railroad had presented "no question not fully considered and passed upon" in the first appeal.

The Supreme Court's order of Nov. 10, without opinion, confirms this ruling.

Thus, we go back to the January, 1951, opinion of Judge Morris A. Soper to learn what Federal case law now says about the right of a railroad to enforce a regulation requiring white and colored passengers to occupy separate day coaches, when such separation is in accord with the customs and traditions of the territory through which the carrier operates.

Judge Soper held that the regulation was invalid because its enforcement interfered with the uniformity which should characterize interstate carriage from one end of the route to the other, and because its irregular enforcement, at the railroad's convenience, added to the burdens of interstate traffic by increasing the confusion and discomfort of the passengers.

WHY DID we not rejoice at the original decision in Chance v. Lambeth et al in January, 1951? Because a new trial had been granted, a right the railroad exercised fully for the purpose of delay and in the hope that a different result might be reached.

Why has it been necessary to litigate, separately, the right of the Negro traveler to enjoy without segregation each of the services provided by interstate carriers?

It is only in the past eleven years that the Federal courts have been deciding the cases in favor of the non-segregated use of carrier facilities.

In Hall v. De Cuir, decided in 1878, the Supremme Court held invalid as a burden on interstate commerce a Louisiana Reconstruction statute which required interstate carriers to give all passengers equal rights and privileges in all parts of the conveyance without distinction or discrimination on account of race or color.

* * *

THERE FOLLOWED a long series of decisions which upheld the right of a state, under its police power, to separate white and Negro passengers traveling only within the state.

The most infamous of these is, if another tiresome mention of it may be forgiven, Plessy v. Ferguson, decided in 1896.

By 1910, in Chiles v. Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, the Supreme Court was ready to let an interstate carrier accomplish, by regulation and in reverse effect, what it had not permitted the State of Louisiana to control by statute.

Chiles said that Congressional inaction in governing the separation of the races in interstate travel was equivalent to a declaration that a carrier might, by its regulations, separate white and Negro passengers.

* * *

FROM CHILES in 1910 until Mitchell v. United States in 1941, the Negro passenger on Southern trains and buses had no rights anyone was bound to respect.

Even his jim-crow accommodations needed to be only "substantially equal," and this meant that they were usually "filthy and foul-smelling."

The Mitchell case held that the refusal of the carrier, in compliance with its own regulations, to provide Pullman space to an interstate passenger, was a denial of the equality of treatment required by paragraph 1, section 3 of the Interstate Commerce Act.

In 1946, the Supreme Court ruled, in Morgan v. Virginia, that a state statute, which required a motor bus carrier to segregate Negro and white passengers and which permitted the person in charge of the vehicle to move them about as might be necessary according to the space and the number in each group, was unconstitutional as a burden on interstate commerce.

* * *

THIS WAS followed, in 1949, by a little-known case, Whiteside v. Southern Bus Lines, in which the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit found a motor carrier regulation, as applied to an interstate passenger, a burden on interstate commerce.

Because the decision is strict and narrow and contains much unfavorable collateral opinionating, it has not been publicized.

Then, in 1950, in Henderson v. United States, the Supreme Court said that a carrier regulation requiring the segregation of Negro and white passengers in dining cars was a denial of equality of treatment under paragraph 1 of section 3 of the Interstate Commerce Act.

Chance v. Lambeth and Atlantic Coast Line Railway Company v. Chance, which must read together for understanding, say that a carrier regulation requiring segregated coach travel is a burden on interstate travel.

* * *

IT IS INTERESTING to note that the favorable results since 1941 have all been accomplished without the Supreme Court's ever-reaching constitutional questions concerning the legality of segregation per se, although the question has been briefed repeatedly.

Presumably, the technical question remains, but as a practical matter, segregation in interstate railroad or bus travel, in first- or second-class accommodations or services, or the denial of any services to Negroes, are all illegal.

This illegality has been found both in state statutes and carrier regulations and has been based upon interpretations of the basic Federal commerce power and of the Interstate Commerce Act.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Freedmen's Hospital Lifted To Eminence by Devotion of Able Young People on Staff

By MARJORIE McKENZIE

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

RECENTLY I have had occasion to be a frequent visitor at Freedmen's Hospital. Freedmen's as an institution is a relic of the early Reconstruction Era. Though Federally supported, it is housed in a wholly inadequate plant. Often during its long history it has not been held in esteem by the community it serves.

Miss McKenzie

But the Freedmen's of today has risen above the joint adversity of its old structure and its legacy of poor administrations to become a spirited, skilled instrument in the relief of human suffering.

Freedmen's has done its rising on the backs of the devoted young men and women of its staff. For the lack of modern facilities, they substitute honest scientific training and an interest in people that is so obvious and so universally warm-hearted as to be truly striking.

PERHAPS WE could safely say that the new Freedmen's emerged under the leadership of the late Dr. Charles R. Drew.

The example of his scholarship and his selfless giving of himself to the hospital lives on in the men he trained and left behind much too soon. This spirit is evident not only in the Department of Surgery, where Charlie Drew was the man of science, but also in medicine and nursing and administration where his greatness was his humanity and where his tremendous gift for inspiring others was equally felt.

In our striving for first-class citizenship, in our long and bitter battle against segregation, we tend to deride all segregated institutions. This is our "party line," and it is a necessary one. To engage in the sophistry of considering which Negro institutions are worth saving and which are not is to undermine the principle of democratic planning.

* * *

THE GRASP of many Americans—Negro and white—on the principle itself is weak. And, among Negroes, the weakness is frequently expressed in chauvinism for all racial efforts and a consequent lowering of standards that is sometimes too painful to endure.

In fighting for a fair health program in Washington, we have succeeded just since the late war in opening Gallinger Hospital, the local Government hospital, to Negro internes and nurses. Only within the past month have Negro doctors been admitted to the District of Columbia Medical Association.

For the most part, white private hospitals of the city do not accept Negroes as private patients, nor do they permit Negro doctors to attend patients who enter the wards, nor do they let Negro doctors work in their out-patient clinics. There are several small private Negro hospitals where again a patient may not bring in the doctor of his choice.

* * *

IN FEW cities in the world does a private patient, who is a Negro, face such restrictions or a Negro doctor have so narrow a channel for his career.

Freedmen's, then, is in a unique position, and it is rendering unique service, despite the handicaps. Though Freedmen's accepts white patients and welcomes visiting white doctors, basically it serves the Negro community and we have to consider our attitudes and our obligations to it in that light.

Unquestionably, there are not enough hospital facilities for Negroes in Washington. An effort to raise money to build a new hospital for Negroes in northeast Washington has been going on for several years, in the midst of acrid debates over the desirability of sponsoring a new jim-crow institution.

* * *

A MUCH more pertinent question than this argument over a blue-print concerns the future of Freedmen's. We cannot force our way into private white hospitals by lawsuits. We should not continue to deny Freedmen's the community support it deserves. Strangely enough, the Washington Post has taken more of an interest in Freedmen's than we have.

It publishes letters to the editor about Freedmen's need for a new plant regularly. One of the recent letters suggested that along with a new building should go a new name. The letter pointed out that the hospital's patients are not freed men, but free men and proposed that the hospital might suitably be named Howard University Hospital, as is customary with teaching and training centers.

A young resident in surgery, who works from twelve to eighteen hours a day, seven days a week, told me he was certain that Freedmen's would have had new buildings if Charlie Drew had lived. He wasn't on the staff when Dr. Drew was its chief, but he is imbued with the spirit of all of Charlie Drew's "boys."

It is time Washington got behind this team and their colleagues and insisted on their getting something to work with besides their skilled hands and stout hearts.

31a 1952

Negro (Peter Moffett)

On The National Grapevine

By Peter Moffett for ANP

Cleveland marches on. Last week the city witnessed the promotion of its first Negro to the position of lieutenant in the fire department (James A. Gay). At the same time, the Ohio State Nurses Association, Cleveland District, opened its doors to the first Negro nurse to membership (Rose Peebles).

The appointment of Dr. Francis Hammond to that executive position in the National Conference of Christians and Jews came as no surprise to those who know the brilliant Seton Hall professor. Few Negroes, at any level, have worked harder in behalf of brotherhood.

John H. Sears, big wheel among Baptist laymen, is predicting that the goal of donations for the National Baptist Sanitarium - Bath House will be reached in 1952.

With the FBI turning its big guns on it, the KKK is nearing the end of its days. As happens in the case of all such gangsters, the public's patience has at last run out.

When Mrs. Bethune resigned as a director of an insurance company, many of her legions of admirers breathed a sigh of relief. They feel that she has overtaxed her strength with too many activities, as was evidenced by her being hospitalized after her arduous journey to Liberia.

The National Alliance of Postal Employes shows no indication of easing the pressure in its fight t clear its members of what it loudly and staunchly proclaims to be unjust disloyalty accusations. NAPE has added the services of Dean Johnson of Howard University's law school to its already imposing battery of legal minds.

One of America's most beautiful and talented Negro women athletes is Julia Webster of Columbus, Ohio. The glamorous, grey-eyed cashier is particularly a whiz at the game of softball.

The odds are getting shorter on Judge Hobson Reynolds to be the next Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks. The head of the Civil Liberties program of the lodge has a host of supporters in the rank and file of the membership.

Anyway it is viewed, the recent decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission to permit the seating of passengers on its diners in such a manner as to include race segregation is an all-time low in sheer stupidity. All such decisions as these just serve to increase the revenue of the airlines.

It is pretty generally accepted in "official" circles that the decision of President Truman to seek reelection will hinge on who will be the Republican nominee. If it is Taft, he will run; if it is Eisenhower, he will not. He can have the Democratic nomination for the asking, of course, Kefauver et al notwithstanding.

31a 1952

William A. Occomy (Negro)

BUSINESS REVIEW

By WILLIAM A. OCCOMY

Charles Clinton Spaulding

"Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mere men." Proverbs 22:29.

THE LIFE of Charles Clinton Spaulding epitomizes the profound expression of Solomon, "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings."

Surely it took more than a wish, a desire or a flimsy objective to erect the miniature financial empire which the deceased leaves behind him. There was deeply hidden within the consciousness of the man, Charles C. Spaulding, a burning desire and an unquenchable thirst for accomplishment.

THERE WAS little to inspire the deceased to forge ahead in business during his youth. There might have been a few Negro enterprises, largely insignificant though.

He had no prosperous banks, no extensively organized insurance companies, no integrated beauty industry, or noted manufacturing concerns to whet his ambition such as the present generation has.

It is doubtful whether he had much encouragement from his contemporaries. For what had a people just unshackled from the bonds of slavery, without economic security or support, have to offer to the young people of that era?

* * *

SO IN THE midst of apparent barrenness, in the thrall of the confusion of the Reconstruction Days, in the terrorist epoch when the Ku Klux Klan was stalking over the region, quietly and purposefully there was being born in the mind of the late business tycoon, a financial combination which would astound the world.

What the net assets are, how many employes are connected with the Durham enterprises, how many buildings are owned by these companies does not concern us so much as the facts that from evident indigence there sprang wealth, from dry deserts there flowed springs of water, and from a life destined to be mediocre, there emerged a man, "diligent in his business" who has stood before kings.

Emphatically does the scribe of Proverbs declare that the man "diligent in his business" shall not stand before mean men—men who are selfish, envious, greedy, lustful and licentious. These men sneer, they discourage, they set the dragnet for the ambitious youth to check his onward march.

* * *

CHARLES C. SPAULDING did not stand before them or listen to them. He aspired and rose above them: he deafened his ears to their pleas and blinded his eyes to their enticements.

Each life provides a lesson, a truism, an axiom which should guide us and oncoming generations. Let the lesson from the life of the deceased be to us to be diligent in our business so that our work and deeds will receive acclaim from the noblest and the best—from those who hold the highest ideals.

BUSINESS REVIEW

By WILLIAM A. OCCOMY

Unity Mutual Life Insurance Company

THE UNITY Mutual Life Insurance Company under the able leadership of A. W. Williams, president, opened a branch office recently in East St. Louis, Ill.

In determining whether to open a branch, the managers of a concern have to consider many factors, the primary one of which is, will the operation of the branch result in a greater profit to the enterprise? However, there are numerous other ancilliary problems revolving around this one.

Will the branch be located in a building owned by the company, or will the quarters be rented? If leased, what will the rent be and how long will the lease last?

* * *

WHERE WILL the branch be [illegible]? Will the branch be located in a highly congested area, or will it be placed in an outlying district?

Is there a possibility that the volume of business will increase? Some managers become so enthusiastic about expansion that they fail to foresee and weigh the future possibilities of a branch. Obviously an additional unit in a chain can turn out to be as much of a loss as a profit.

Some concerns which maintain marketing research departments conduct extensive investigations before establishing a branch. They gather facts as to the earning power of the people, the per capita wealth, homes owned, rent paid, volume of industrial production, volume of retail sales and the aggregate wages earned.

They also gather population statistics indicating the growth or decline of the population. With these facts before them, they are able to reach a sound decision.

Then finally, in opening a branch the accounting and reporting methods have to be considered. How will the branch accounts be kept and what reports will have to be submitted?

IT IS INDEED fortunate that this company is expanding. Although, new white-collar and industrial jobs are being opened to Negroes, an "iron curtain" still surrounds many or most of them. To create opportunities for our youth so that they may climb to executive posts and fully utilize their managerial talents, it is necessary that new channels and opportunities be made available. East St. Louis offers virgin fields for Negro business.

The Unity Mutual Life Insurance Company is to be commended for seizing this opportunity in opening the branch in East St. Louis.

THE HORIZON

Historian Rogers Deserves Much Better Recognition Than He Is Now Accorded

By P. L. PRATTIS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

FULL CREDIT will probably not be given to our colleague, J. A. Rogers, during his lifetime for his exhaustive labors in the field of Negro history. There is grave room to doubt whether any other Negro of our times has spent more time, effort and thought seeking out the facts concerning the origins, achievements and relationships of Negroid or African peoples.

Mr. Prattis

Furthermore, none of our historians has worked harder and with more deliberate intent to increase the Negro's self-respect. What Mr. Rogers has done has been of inestimable value to Negroes of this and future generations.

It should be noted that Mr. Rogers has spent more than fifty years, in all parts of the world, ferreting out the facts about Negro and African peoples. He has visited, and studied in, all the great libraries and museums of the Western World. He has assembled these facts into a vast encyclopedia of information about the Negro.

* * *

IT SHOULD be noted also that there are some Negroes (and whites) who look with a skeptic's eye at the product of Mr. Roger's labors and question his interpretations and conclusions.

No one of these "regular" historians, this writer doubts, will have put as much time and conscience into delving into the Negro's past as Mr. Rogers has done when the time comes for these others to leave this world.

They will have conducted their studies according to approved methods and they will have earned their degrees by producing work which meets the approval of those scholars whose own product ignores the contribution of black men and women to various civilizations, to say the least.

THIS WRITER has the feeling that a time will come when the "regular" historians, black as well as white, will be forced by curiosity to give more serious thought to the facts which Mr. Rogers has assembled and that in the future Mr. Rogers will be the source of frequent and important documentaries to the work of the "regular" historians.

Very little history is written without prejudice. English historians see both the Revolutionary War and the Civil War from a different point of view from that to which American historians cling.

Most of the history we study is written from the white man's viewpoint. Earlier history was written without too much concern for the color factor. As a matter of fact, color did not become a matter of social or economic consequence until the modern era. Prejudices, where they existed, were against "out" or alien groups and against classes; that is, the displaced victims of wars.

* * *

AS A CONSEQUENCE, there is not too much in the early histories about what blacks did or did not do. The name or nationality of the invidiual was recorded, not his color.

Mr. Rogers' latest book is called "Nature Knows No Color Line." It is a book which no white man would have written, regardless of the authenticity of the facts. It is a book which most Negroes would have refrained from writing because of the fear either that it would not be considered good "degree" material, or no important publisher would handle it.

You've got to play the game if you want to play on this history writing team.

What Mr. Rogers sets out to prove in "Nature Knows No Color Line" is that the relationships between blacks and whites and browns in Europe, Asia and Africa have been on the most intimate basis since the earliest times.

MR. ROGERS develops the fact that the Negro relationship existed in all the countries of Europe and that there were "black" kin in most of the principal families of Europe. Nobody used to think anything about it.

Negroes occupied the highest positions in church and state without anybody batting an eye.

Mr. Rogers has produced the facts and you can't laugh them off. You may accuse him of bad manners for bringing the subject up, but you can't accuse him of untruthfulness nor deny him the credit which goes to the truth-seeker.

* * *

THE FACTS in "Nature Knows No Color Line" will amaze you even while you are distressed by the poor printing job done. But the first-class publishers won't handle Rogers' hot stuff. So he has to work with side-street publishers. Forgive him for that.

But if you want to dig into something a hundred times more embarrassing to our lords and masters than the civil rights issue at the Republican and Democratic conventions, send for a copy of Mr. Rogers book. It costs $5.00. You may write him at 37 Morningside Avenue, New York 26, N. Y.

THE HORIZON

William Warfield's Art Should Give Negroes Extreme Sense of Pride

By P. L. PRATTIS

THIS columnist had planned to write about the national budget this week—but that will have to wait. Every now and then, one runs across something which ought to burst the vest of every race-loving Negro. I have just done that. I think every Negro should know about what I saw and heard, particularly every young Negro who may have some doubt as to the inherent ability of his own people. What I saw and heard should impress upon Negroes that God's gift to our people is still alive and that it is up to us to make the most of it.

Mr. Prattis

I heard a singer. His name is William Warfield. He is a baritone. As I listened to him sing, I could not but think of Keats and his fascination with a Grecian urn. The urn was a work of art, fashioned by early masters, that stirred the depths of this great poet.

In Warfield, composers and lyrists have an artist who challenges the best in them. It seems to me that if I were a composer or a poet, I would write my music and my songs just to see what this great artist would make of them. Therein would come my reward.

* * *

BUT I'M going to turn Mr. Warfield over to someone competent to appraise him, the strict and uncompromising music critic of the Pittsburgh Press. He is Ralph Lewando, an excellent musician himself. Of this new singer, William Warfield, bursting upon the horizon, Mr. Lewando wrote:

William Warfield, greatest baritone of our time, gave the most impressive song recital ever heard in this city last night in the YM and WHA hall.

Great in his art and huge in his stature, Mr. Warfield is the caliber of artist that is the hope of the stagnant vocal recital. For his voice is of the elite. It commands and stirs, plumbs the depths of expression and soars to high eminences of interpretative fervor.

Mr. Warfield knows how to use his grand voice. He is its master in a most complete way. He sings all types of good music and makes you like it. His vocal skill is matched by solid musicianship. And withal, he is modest and serves his muse with devotion and devoutness.

Mr. Warfield offered an imposing program of quality and balance. He opened with Bach's "Kom, Susser Tod" ("Come, Sweet Death"). From the opening note one felt the impact of the artist. Sublime tone and fervent expression unfolded to the large audience the beauty of this piece. And the ensuing Bach, "Mighty Lord and King All Glorious" from the "Christmas Oratorio," was a glowing effort that warmed the heart.

Mr. Warfield's singing of Handel's "Where E'er You Walk" proved him to be a master of the long phrase. His attacks of high notes in soft voice were amazingly precise. And the nobility of Handel's "Dank Sei, Dir Herr" ("Thanks to Thee, O Lord") was the most convincing and distinguished singing of this piece we ever heard.

But Mr. Warfield's wide interpretative powers were further brought to bear in the four Brahms lieder. These were "Die Mainacht" ("The May Night"), "Vergeblishes Standchen" ("Vain Suit"), "O Wusset Ich Doch den Weg Zuruck" ("Oh, That I Knew the Way Back") and "Botschaft" ("Messenger").

Here was lyric singing of lofty quality without affectedness that completely won the audience. Each of these songs is a tone poem in miniature. Their innate meanings Mr. Warfield revealed with alluring style, sung in faultless German.

Valentine's aria from Gounod's "Faust" was sung with vivid expression, and the Massenet "Vision Fugitive" (both sung in French) uncovered the singer's fine dramatic approach to the demands of text and music.

The following set of old English songs were brightly etched in tone and style, and Cellus Dougherty's arrangements of "Five Sea Chanties" were rousing.

The final group comprised

Courier Verse

On a Soldier's Headstone

This then is my epitaph—
A scroll of stone on stone;
Of chiseled, chipped,
Upended marble
Heading green and flowered
Mound of earth
Which is my heritage
Sole remnant of my birth.

That I lie alone and lonely
Amongst the bones of those
Who have already been and left
This place where I repose.
That I have no misgiving
For my departure from life.
Neither sadness stirs nor mirth
occurs
To me now end is come.

What I was and did is nothing
A waste before begun.
What tragedy to breathe a life
Into a mold of dust;
And setting it upon the earth
Propelling into strife
With other dust and ash-formed
shapes
Intent to perpetrate—
The destiny of return
To dust—his fellow molds; his
mates,
Depriving them of breath,
And life, and hope, and will to
live.

No! There is nothing to misgive—
What troubles me is that I will
face
A Deity for judgment,
And may not vindicate my race
For which fate set the pace
And led the way
To this finale of abasement.

ROY HERBERT
Corona, N. Y.

spirituals. The Hall Johnson setting of "City Called Heaven" was a masterpiece of expressional singing. This and Burleigh's "Didn't It Rain" and "Joshua Fit de Battle of Jericho" evoked an ovation. The audience demanded five extras. Finally Mr. Warfield accompanied himself in "Oh, No, John." The audience went wild.

* * *

DEAR FRIENDS and neighbors, if you have been concerned that time should have laid a hand on Roland Hayes and looks forbiddingly at Marian Anderson (as Robeson abdicates), be no longer worried.

The great tradition of the American Negro on the concert stage is going to be carried on. There are perhaps many who will help to keep that tradition alive. But if there may be doubt about any of the others, there can be none about William Warfield. If God spares him to live, the years will fashion him into a legend, greater even than the "John Henry" of whom he sings so expressively.

THE HORIZON

"In Battle For Peace," DuBois' Book, Is His Unspoken Testimony

By P. L. PRATTIS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors)

EIGHTY-FOUR-YEAR-OLD W. E. B. DuBois never got the opportunity to take the witness stand when he and four others were brought to trial on charges of failure to register as agents of a foreign principal. He was to have been the chief witness. But after the Government had rested the case against him and his co-defendants, the judge threw the action out of court. In effect, the court ruled that the Government had no case against DuBois and the others.

Mr. Prattis

The fact that Dr. DuBois was pent up with undelivered testimony is proved by the recent publication of "In Battle for Peace, the Story of My Eighty-third Birthday," by Masses and Mainstream, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. It is the story which Dr. DuBois must have been bursting to tell at the trial.

It is not important here to stress the fact that the Government had no case against Dr. DuBois. The court's action was conclusive enough.

IT IS important, however, to know that any American citizen, in these peculiar times, may become the victim of baseless charges and may be compelled, at great expense, to defend himself against his own Government. The trial, in terms of requited and unrequited services, cost Dr. DuBois and his friends $50,000.

The Government acted against Dr. DuBois and his associates because of their work with the Peace Information Center. The Government wanted to prove that this agency was, in terms of the law, agent for a foreign principal.

The Government's case was based principally upon the testimony of O. John Rogge, a former assistant attorney general. Dr. DuBois writes that the Peace Information Center was born in the home of Rogge and that he (Rogge) was a member of its board.

* * *

ROGGE DELIVERED his erstwhile friends into the hands of the Government at great expense to the taxpayers and the defendants. But Rogge's charges against his friends were so baseless that the judge intervened and freed the defendants.

This book by Dr. DuBois is important reading because it shows the risks any individual may run in these days when he chooses to try to find light in that murky zone between so-called communism and so-called Americanism. It's dangerous to be logical.

However, Dr. DuBois' description of his trial and the events leading up to it are not the most significant part of his latest book. Packed with the greatest meaning is a final chapter, entitled "Interpretation."

IT IS in this chapter that the fearless scholar takes his stand and throws the book at his critics. It is the latest, and perhaps final, position to be taken by this valiant warrior in a long, long life.

Each person who reads the glowing words in this final flaming testimony must decide for himself the measure of the correctness of the position Dr. DuBois takes.

As to the candor of the testimony there can be no doubt. Caution has been booted out as a guest of ill repute and Dr. DuBois has written what he believes to be the truth.

THIS WRITER finds himself at variance with Dr. DuBois for what might be called strategical or tactical reasons. This writer is firmly convinced that the so-called "color" or "race" problem in this country is made more complex by inclusion of the factor of Communist (Russian) association, whether it is right or wrong.

He believes with Dr. DuBois that outside forces, including the Russian Communists, have influenced the course of race relations (for the better) in this country. But he does not believe that American Negro leaders (from the masses or the Talented Tenth) can be effective in this country at this time if the pores of their efforts can be closed off with the oily smear of communism.

There is some further room to question the position taken by Dr. DuBois in the great testimony he has written. He confesses that, at other times in his life, he has been wrong. His forecasts, his predictions, his judgments have not always been borne out by fact or events.

* * *

IN HIS early days he had great faith in his Talented Tenth as a leadership group. When this group deserted him in droves during his late ordeal, he learned that his confidence had been misplaced.

Once he thought the Negro problem could be solved within the orbit of Negro-white relations in this country. Now he says he was wrong.

But he is sure he is on the right track now. This writer doesn't know. He is inclined to doubt that Dr. DuBois is on the right track. But he believes all thoughtful Negroes should read the brilliant DuBois' exposition which can be purchased for a dollar.

THE HORIZON

Over Which the Writer Saw Cong. Dawson Grow From Sapling to Oak

31a Negro

By P. L. PRATTIS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

ONE OF the advantages bestowed upon those fortunate individuals of advancing years is that of seeing a whole life in retrospect—their own and that of others. This writer has reached the point where he can claim to have seen the lives of many men unfold. He has known where they started and how life has worked them over. He has enjoyed seeing them succeed. And because he knew them when, and has known them all through their lives, he has a feeling that he knows them well and truthfully.

Mr. Prattis

One of the men this writer has seen grow from slender sapling to sturdy oak is Congressman William L. Dawson. This has covered a period of more than thirty years. During this period, Congressman Dawson has developed from an eager, loyal disciple or follower into a powerful and practical leader.

Mr. Dawson began his political career as a Republican. His early political teachers in the Republican party were such great men as Oscar DePriest, Louis B. Anderson and Edward H. Wright. These were three of the men who gave Chicago Negroes a sense of their political power a generation ago. They were the men who first made politics pay off in a big way for Negroes in a large Northern city.

• • •

IN THE early Twenties, Mr. Dawson was one of the most ardent supporters of these men. His attributes were youth, forcefulness, courage and clear-sightedness. He was definitely what the late Robert S. Abbott called "a race man." He was for his people, first and foremost. So were the men he followed. That is the reason he gave his allegiance to them. Politically, Dawson never wanted whites to own or control any office or privilege which he believed belonged to Negroes. Dawson was taught by his political elders of the early days that Negroes should always get full pay for their political support.

These older men liked young Dawson because he was strong and dependable. Mr. Dawson is a cripple today because of his early loyalty to DePriest.

For many years, the Republican, Martin Madden, represented Chicago's South Side Negroes in Congress. There were many Negroes who believed one of their own should have this job. Dawson was one who so believed. It took tremendous courage for him to challenge Madden at that time chairman of one of the most powerful committees in Congress. But he did so.

• • •

THAT WAS in 1928. The late Edward H. Wright, implacable enemy of those who sold his people short, lay on his death bed, but before he died, he sent Dawson a check for $1,000 to help him in the battle to oust Madden.

Dawson didn't win, but he had started Negroes thinking in a way which was radical for that day, and they shortly sent Oscar DePriest to Congress. A Negro has represented the First District of Illinois ever since.

All his life, Dawson has been hard-working, practical, courageous and aggressive. He has always wanted to make gains that he could dig his teeth into. He has extracted the utmost he could for his people from situations in which he found himself.

• • •

Congressman Dawson is an eloquent speaker. He proved that some months ago when he delivered a five-minute gem in the House of Representatives. He delivered a classic which will take its place in the annals of our time.

But just making speeches is not his idea of being a Congressman or of being an effective leader. He knows that you must work with other people if you want to get the things they have and which you don't have.

That has been his job in Congress. First, he won respect for himself by virtue of demonstrated competence. He was a man you couldn't fool. Second, he won a place on the team by showing his willingness to work with others. He knew there were some guys on the team he couldn't trust, but he also knew that he couldn't get much done if he couldn't get the team to go along with him. He has won the team over.

Today, he's chairman of one of the most powerful committees in the House, the Committee on Executive Expenditures. Democrats and Republicans, Northerners and Southerners, all white, are on this committee bossed by the gentleman from Illinois. This position gives Dawson open entree to the White House. It makes him a powerful factor in his party. It puts him where he can do good for his people and his country.

He achieved this position because of his ability and his years of service. Another man, even if just as competent and courageous, would lack the necessary seniority. He would have to start at the beginning.

This writer hopes that voters in the First District of Illinois will remember that all of us have a stake in the position held by Congressman Dawson when they go to the polls Nov. 4.

The North Would Do Well to Take Note:

South Carolina's Leaders Are Men of Inspiring Courage

By P. L. PRATTIS
(Courier Executive Editor)

UNQUESTIONABLY, the most inspiring examples, or demonstrations, of the Negro's desire to fight for his full rights NOW are coming from the Southern states. It would seem as though Negro leadership in the North, protected by a more kindly public opinion, comparatively, would be taking the advanced ground and the uncompromising stand. But, actually, Negroes in the South, where the odds against them are greatest, are the ones who are pressing a fight for complete citizenship TODAY, not tomorrow. These Negroes are slamming their fists in the lion's mouth.

Mr. Prattis

Perhaps the most encouraging and inspiring reports come from the State of South Carolina. Throughout the last decade, South Carolina Negroes in leadership positions, have been making known their determination to regain their political power and to use it for their own and the state's advantage.

They couldn't pick out a tougher state in which to operate unless, malbe, they went to Mississippi or Georgia.

Unlike many Northern Negro leaders that one hears about, the Negro's leaders in South Carolina are as unafraid of jails as East Indian leaders. Some of them have been to jail, but the experience has not had the effect of closing their mouths, blinding their eyes to the injustice and deprivation which Negroes suffer all around them, or inducing them to seek a path to compromise.

One of these brave Negroes, the kind the race must have if it is ever to win full citizenship in this country, is John H. McCray, the Negro editor who was thrown into prison because of what he published about a case involving a colored man and a white woman.

For months, life was made very tough for John McCray, but no damage was done to his spirit.

He is out of prison now and he is still publishing his newspaper.

He is still contending that a Negro citizen should have the same rights, privileges and treatment as a white citizen, and Mr. McCray doesn't want to wait for it.

He's down there living with Jimmie Byrnes, the anti-Negro Governor of South Carolina, the guy who tried each year to cut off the appropriation to Howard University when he was in the House of Representatives.

Byrnes has said that he would do away with the public school system in South Carolina rather than see white children and Negro children go to school together.

But just the same, McCray, the Rev. Frank Veal, and scores of other Negro leaders are demanding an immediate end to segregated public schools. They are completely behind the attempt of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to get the United States Supreme Court to outlaw segregation in public school systems.

These men abhor so-called gradualism, and rightly so. They know that gradualism is only the resort of cowards, of so-called leaders who want to remain on friendly terms with hostile whites while begging a few indulgences from them.

They also know that the gradualist, no matter how skillful or learned he may be, is but a present-day replica of Sambo in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the kind of traitorous Negro who wants to stick in with whites and, if he must choose between his own people and whites, will always callously sell his people out.

The gradualist is particularly dangerous because he has somewhat the psychology of a criminal. He knows in his heart that he is trimming where the rights of his people are concerned. As a consequence, when he is caught he is vicious. He is apt to react with murderous intent. He is as unconscionable as a degenerate.

Thank God that the gradualists are not e saddle in South Carolina. Thank God that stalwarts l McCray and Veal are giving the people the courageous, ompromising leadership they need.

As they press forward, they will be able to see a host of Negroes in their wake if they look behind. The gradualists deal with words, but not with people.

Let us thank God also that the gradualists cannot pin the label of Communist on men like McCray and Veal. They would delight to do so. Let a man be forthright in fighting for his people, let him be uncompromising, let him push our enemies to the wall, and all can be lost in the flash of a second, if it can be said of him that once he shared a meal with a Communist. The Communist smear is used by those within and without our race who wish to serve themselves at the expense of the progress of the race. But they can't say McCray and Veal are Commies. Isn't that wonderful?

THE HORIZON

Many of Us Are Deluded About Progress in Race Relations in This Country

By P. L. PRATTIS

SOME folk are deluded about progress in race relations in this country just because they can see a little of it. They are so delighted by any visible or statistical evidence of so-called progress that they jump for it like a little "puppy dog" for a bouncing ball. They don't want to realize the truth: that such progress as there has been can only be compared to the chipping of an iceberg. Each time they see a chip (of progress) fly into the air, they cry, "Whoopee, look at the chunk!"

Mr. Prattis

They remain impervious to the fact that most of the iceberg of discrimination is submerged, is not being chipped and must melt under the cold hostility of our racial climate. Our gradualists squeal over the drip, drip, drip of the massive iceberg.

* * *

WITH THE principle of segregation (racial) fastened on almost the whole of this country and with discrimination in many forms so rife everywhere that no Negro can be sure that he won't be insulted, or denied, wherever he may be, the gradualists tell Negroes they are silly if they don't gloat over an isolated statistic.

Negroes are supposed to be dummies because they protest against wearing a dirty shirt or patched pants. They are supposed to exult that they should have any shirt at all or pants. What are a few soiled spots to beggars? They are nothing to the half-loaf, dirty-shirt gradualists.

The half-loaf gradualist chases rainbows and wears smoked glasses.

But, gentle readers, there IS progress. Chips are flying off the iceberg.

* * *

JUST A couple of weeks ago, a few of us (probably not more than fifty) visited St. Louis, and we were bound to be struck by the signs we saw there.

We (we colored folk) were admitted to the best St. Louis hotels. We were even allowed to eat in the dining rooms. Just think of that. Now all other Americans, even those despicable Communists, have been sleeping and eating in the St. Louis hotels all along. But for us to do so, was something quite different. We're supposed to jump up and kick our heels in glee over something which is a commonplace to everybody else.

It's all right (even desirable) to have a decent place in which to eat and sleep, but it's nothing to salaam about.

The half-loaf gradualist embraces the comforting, but deceptive, theory that "every little bit added to what you've got makes just a little bit more." You'll never crack an iceberg with an ice pick.

* * *

IT WAS indeed pleasant to have the opportunity to stay in St. Louis hotels. One also felt good over the fact that in one hotel, the Statler, Negro and white waiters worked side by side in the dining room. That marked an improvement over the system in some cities (Pittsburgh) where the Hotel and Restaurant Workers union allocates work on a segregated basis.

There is more progress in St. Louis. For the first time since the late great Ira Cooper, a Negro has been appointed lieutenant in the police department.

Also, as the result of Archbishop Ritter's action in opening the Catholic parochial schools to Negroes, the public schools are feeling pressures. The segregated public school system is bound to give in a few years.

* * *

SWIMMING POOLS, public, have also been opened in St. Louis. There was no great fanfare about it. City officials and the courts stood firm and opposition vanished.

Many positive forces working skilfully and ceaselessly are responsible for the progress being made in St. Louis. The Human Relations Council is one agency. The Convention Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce is another. Such Negro leaders as Nathaniel Sweets, Dave Grant, Jordan Chambers, and others, are also pushing everyday. They are not half-loaf gradualists. They are not dirty-shirters. They want the same rations and clothing for themselves and their people everybody else thinks he's entitled to.

We ought to thank the good Lord for Negroes like these in days when the white man is crooking his finger at some Negroes, and they, looking behind them to see if the rest of us are watching, are bowing their heads and bending their knees in obeisance.

* * *

THE REST of us ought to understand these Negroes. We haven't as much to offer them, in any way, as the whites who would seduce them.

As Churchill said, all we can offer is "blood, sweat, tears" and discrimination. The white man offers crumbs from his table and the gradualists paw at them and mince on them as though they were chocolate bon bons soaked in rum.

THE HORIZON

The Big Objective at Highlander Is to Win Democracy in the South

By P. L. PRATTIS

FOR a number of years, rather inspiring reports have been reaching this writer from the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn. The early reports were difficult to believe. One almost had a feeling that this was an enterprise in interracial friendship that it would pay one to be wary about. Any such open attempt to have Americans, irrespective of race, creed, or color, live, study and eat together in the South might be communistic. Its proponents might be Communists or fellow travelers and, of course, should be avoided even though they were doing the right thing.

Mr. Prattis

Perhaps you would like to know something about the sponsors of Highlander Folk School, the kind of people they are.

* * *

THE LATE Dr. John E. Dewey was one. Others are Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of Talladega College; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Clifford J. Durr, Kermit Eby, Clinton S. Golden, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Leon Henderson, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Freda Kirchwey, Mrs. Ernest K. Lindley, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Carey McWilliams, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Jennings Perry, Clarence E. Pickett, Malcolm Ross, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, J. Raymond Walsh, Judge and Mrs. J. Waties Waring and Aubrey Williams.

If you don't know some of the above persons, all you need do is consult "Who's Who in America." Most of them are in the latest volume.

Some of those who have contributed to Highlander are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Senator Herbert Lehman, Dr. Frank Graham, Marshall Field, Mrs. Hugo Black, Dr. Ruth Benedict, Ambassador Chester Bowles, Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Arthur Garfield Hays, Sherwood Eddy and Alan Lomax.

"Who's Who" will also bring you up-to-date on the above persons.

REMEMBER, Highlander Folk School is in Tennessee, at Monteagle. A statement in the most recent report received reads:

"Negroes and whites, men and women, farmers and factory workers, small town folks and big city folks—at HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL, learn to understand each other, to respect and like each other, through living, working and learning together. As leaders, they return home to become fighters against prejudice and discrimination, fervent teachers of democracy in areas where the word too often has lost its true meaning."

The big objective at Highlander is to win democracy in the South. At this oasis of interracial friendship and learning, the word democracy has a practical, vibrant, dynamic meaning. Teachers and students there are not waiting there for discrimination to die; they are working to eliminate it. They say:

"Democracy to Highlander means that membership in the human family entitles all to freedom of thought and religion, to equal rights to a livelihood, education and health; to equal opportunity to take part in the cultural life of the community and to equal access to public services.

"Democracy to Highlander means practice, not preaching. It means each person helping the other—regardless of race, creed, color or occupation—to enjoy a better life. Highlander holds that democracy is inactive unless workers are given a full voice in industry through unions; or farmers are given a voice in the marketplace through co-operatives; or where freedom of thought and discussion is limited; or where democracy is outlawed by legally entrenched discrimination and segregation.

"Because at Highlander democracy isn't just a word, but a way of life, its influences stretch far beyond the boundaries of the school or even the mountain community of Monteagle, Tenn. Its greatest significance lies in the thousands of men and women who have trained at Highlander and who have returned to their home communities, to farms and unions, to teach their fellow-workers and neighbors how to translate the idea of the brotherhood of man into everyday living."

* * *

AS DO ALL such efforts, Highlander needs money. The school is twenty years old. It could not have survived without "outside" financial help. Its continued existence is in the nature of a modern miracle.

The South is destined—and not in the distant future—to break away from the old ways. There are strong forces for freedom at work below the Mason and Dixon line. That is why the old peddlers of racial prejudice are so frantic. Their security is threatened.

Highlander is one of the forces working for freedom. The chances are that you would want to help. If you do, why not write to the school and obtain information about it? If this information convinces you of the need and the service, you can follow up with your check.

THE HORIZON

Integration Works Both Ways, Negroes Must Be Selective

By P. L. PRATTIS

THERE are very few, if any, blessings that you don't have to be on your guard against. The modern telephone gives the housewife an excuse to neglect the housework and gossip over the wire. Nobody would deny that the automobile has been a boon to our twentieth century civilization, yet books could be written on the contribution of the automobile to the decline of our morals. Television has brought grand entertainment into our homes, but—Lord knows what else.

Mr. Prattis

I am compelled to agree with those 'leaders of the race" who quickly seize upon every isolated and insignificant "fact" to prove how good our white folk are to us (and obscure how evilly they treat us) that conditions are getting a little better for us and that so-called integration is on the way, moving in on us with glacier-like speed.

As a man who is proud that he is black and that black men and women can contribute something to the character of this nation if they do not allow themselves to be spoiled, I believe it is appropriate and timely to utter a word of warning about this integration.

* * *

INTEGRATION WILL ultimately tend to bring more and more white people into the homes of Negroes. This word of caution is necessary because Negroes, unlike whites, are not good at being prejudiced and are inclined to be friendly with almost anybody who will be friendly with them.

But regardless of integration (and its positive values), Negroes should not begin permitting all kinds of whites to enter their homes as their social equals.

First among the whites whom we should not invite to dinner are, of course, the Communists. Nobody likes the Communists these days and there is no special reason why Negroes should place their own social status in the balance with the added burden and onus of Communist association. Let the Commies eat in the public restaurants.

SECOND AMONG the whites whom Negroes should keep out of their homes are those who obviously want to be nice to Negroes as a whole—and seem to want to prove it. These are dangerous whites. They are liable to be the type which want to study you, and, later, write a book or magazine piece to prove your exoticism and "difference."

This is not meant to infer that we should not invite nice white people to our homes. We should, but only after their niceness has been proved by the type of interest, concern and helpfulness which is the basis of friendship, regardless of race or color.

There is too great a tendency among Negroes to feel that all educated whites who dress well, carry themselves well and have a certain acceptance in their own society, are men and women of good character. This is a great mistake.

THEREFORE, NEGROES should show some interest in the actual character of the whites they invite into their homes. Bill Tilden, the great tennis player, was well-educated, dressed well and had acceptance among his own, but look what he turned out to be.

No self-respecting Negro would want any Bill Tildens around their daughters — or even their sons.

Negroes should show the same concern about the character of whites permitted to enter their homes as they do about that of Negroes — perhaps more.

As integration advances, Negro parents must have some concern about the young whites who may come home from college with their sons for the vacation periods. There is always a certain amount of susceptibility among daughters, and parents should realize that these young white college boys might not be "unreluctant" to

m Graves, here with his family, nd important) French post . . . e Secretary of Defense, looking onnel counselor for the AMC in h our Collins George who is now route to New York and his flight ister Catherine Smith and Jack- ee's Stanley Roberts and Hugo s Smith sworn in as tipstaff last history here.

anned to bring Branch Rickey eer at Kaufmann's. It should be inter social season . . . Send a op at Milton Hospital, Milton, cely Elois VanDerhoop Page of Alaska Capt and Mrs. Hugh

cast a wishful eye upon their daughters.

* * *

IF THAT'S the way the parents want it, okay. But they should make up their minds.

Of course, Negroes should also realize that integration is a principle which works two ways in practice. They ought not to bring into their homes types of white people into whose homes they would not like to enter. It goes without saying that they should draw the line on some homes, even those in swank sections.

THE HORIZON

Colored Americans Should Remember Patterson, Ickes As Friends of the Race

By P. L. PRATTIS

THIS writer deplores the tendency of some few Negroes to interpret changes (for the better) in race relations in the United States in terms of a voluntary increase of good-will among our white fellow-citizens. This interpretation tends to exclude the trend of world events and world attitudes as a positive force which Americans cannot ignore.

Mr. Prattis

It also gives too much credit to the average white American who, so far as we are concerned, is either indifferent or hostile, except when appealed to on the basis of imputed magnanimity.

Sometimes, if you flatter this white man, the dividends are huge.

But when I exclude the average white Joe Doak, or Pegler or Winchell, as influences in the improvement of race relations, I do not mean to infer that there are not some whites, full of conscience, sturdy of character, and strong like the unbending oak, who challenge the malign disposition of their fellows and bring about practical changes of great value.

* * *

TWO SUCH men, to whom I wish to pay tribute (and whom all Negroes should remember and revere) have recently died. They were Robert P. Patterson, former Secretary of War, and Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior.

There would be no way for most Negroes to know how well Mr. Patterson served the cause of interracial amity unless they were told. He was not a man given much to working out in the open, to making speeches, or writing articles. He was a quiet, hard-working man of firm, granite-like convictions. No person could talk with him without going away with the feeling that Mr. Patterson possessed unassailable integrity. He just looked honest and strong.

It was through Robert P. Patterson, then Undersecretary of War, that Judge William H. Hastie and Truman K. Gibson Jr., as civilian aides in the office of the Secretary of War, first found a way to bring influence to bear on the status of the Negro in the United States Army.

IT IS true that the status of the Negro was not radically altered (and that Judge Hastie resigned in disgust), but it was not on account of Judge Patterson. It might be said that the only reason Hastie stayed as long as he did was because Judge Patterson offered him his only hope. He was the only man on the topmost echelon who was willing to listen, and to act within the limits of his authority. The first steps toward breaking dow segregation in the Army were taken with the advice, encouragement and solid support of Judge Patterson.

He would have been embarrassed to receive acclaim for what he did. He only did what he thought was right and he was not concerned about those who disagreed.

The late Harold Ickes must be considered in relation to the second Mrs. Woodrow Wilson. It was she, a Virginian, it is reputed, who went to Washington and persuaded her husband to use his influence to set up a rigid official segregation system in Washington.

* * *

THIS MARKED the blackest period in race relations in the history of Washington. One result of it was a race riot. The system which was given impetus and sanction by Wilson lasted throughout succeeding administrations—lasted, in fact, until the administration of Roosevelt.

But it was not Roosevelt who struck the decisive blows against segregation and the low estate of Negroes in the Capital. It was a hitherto unknown lawyer from Chicago, Harold Ickes, who reversed the trend set in motion by the Wilsons.

Ickes was the first to offer Negroes jobs on the basis of their merit. It was through Ickes that the qualifications of such men as Robert S. Weaver and William H. Hastie came to be recognized. The Department of the Interior became a training ground for Negroes with talent.

* * *

BUT ICKES did more. He smashed the system of separate eating places for Negroes, separate rest rooms, and all the other symbols of segregation and discrimination. The Department of the Interior became the one bright totally unsegregated Government building in Washington.

It was Ickes who offered Marian Anderson the mall for a concert after she had been rejected by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

It was Ickes who acted to open up Government recreation facilities to Negroes.

Not only did he set a pattern himself. The seeds of his spirit were planted in his associates and assistants so that, long after he had left the Interior Department, the example set by him remained (and remains) an active influence.

All honor should be paid to men like Ickes and Patterson. If Washington is a better city now than it was twenty years ago, it is because such men stood strong against the tide until it turned. This required conscience, character and courage.

THE HORIZON

If We Are to Be Free, The Southern Negro Must Free Us With His Vote

By P. L. PRATTIS

IT BEGINS to look like our brethren of the South are going to have to come to the rescue of the rest of us. Political maneuvering among the whites this year, Republican and Democratic, is such that the interests of Negroes seemed destined to be crushed, regardless. Nobody seems willing to touch civil rights in a real, genuine fashion but Truman, and the mob is ganging up on Truman. This year may deal us out a national administration which has won its place by sacrificing civil rights. That would constitute a serious threat to the status of Negroes as citizens.

Mr. Prattis

The white political South, of course, has fought civil rights in the Congress. It has used the filibuster to block any approach to civil rights legislation. In this diabolical effort, it has been aided by some elements of the Republican party.

* * *

THESE ELEMENTS in the Republican party are determined to oust Truman. In order to do so, they are willing to go along with the Southern Democrats who oppose Truman, not as a Democrat, but as an advocate of civil rights.

The Republicans who oppose Truman as a Democrat seek the support of the Southern Democrats by turning their backs on civil rights.

The Southern Democrats, by lining up behind such a smooth charlatan as Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, hope to get into a political position where, if they can't name their own man, they can dictate the kind of a man chosen for the Presidency.

These Southern Democrats, it ought to be known (especially by Negroes), are skating on perilously thin ice. In every Southern state they represent a marked minority of the number of possible voters, even white voters. They don't represent the Negro voters.

IF THE masses of Negroes in the South could begin to sense the power of their political potential, they would jerk themselves awake from the deadening lethargy which benumbs some of them and come out fighting.

The Southern Negro today, in many states, has the opportunity to vote. Too few of them have taken advantage of this opportunity despite energetic leadership in some cities and states.

The power of the Negro vote in the South will depend upon the size of that vote and its effective organization and utilization.

If the masses of Negroes in the South will follow good leadership, go to the polls and vote, they can throw out of the Senate such men as Russell, George of Georgia, Ellender of Louisiana, McClelland of Arkansas, and their enemies in the House of Representatives.

THESE MEN are elected by minorities. Negroes should qualify for the Democratic primaries, go to the polls and use their weight against the incumbents.

When these Southern politicians learn that the vote of the Southern Negro has become a substantial influence to be used against them, or to defeat them, they're going to discover a new way of looking at the entire program of civil rights.

But as long as they are kept in office by a small segment of white voters, with no threat from the Negroes at all, they will ignore the interests of Negroes.

They have the temerity to denote the regulations requiring segregation as LAWS. They are not laws because they are regulations which were passed without obtaining the consent of those persons most affected.

Negroes did not vote in any instance to segregate themselves. Segregation was forced on them. What's legal about that?

* * *

DURING THE last two decades the vote of the Northern Negro has meant much to the progress of the race so far as lifting its citizenship status is concerned.

But in the next decade, the influence for good must come from the South, from the Southern Negro voter. There's where our worst enemy is entrenched. The Northern Negro can't reach him. But the Southern Negro can.

A couple more million Negro votes in the South can help to cleanse the soul of America and remove from Washington forever the slimy bums who have been standing in the way of progress for years.

If we are to be free, the Southern Negro must free us with his vote.

THE HORIZON

The Upsurge of Violence In Florida Demands That Negroes Use Their Franchise

By P. L. PRATTIS

ALTHOUGH the evil intent of the rascals who committed a criminal offense by using bombs to intimidate Negro voters in Jacksonville, Fla., two weeks ago, cannot be minimized, there is good reason to believe (Florida Negroes being the redoubtable sort they are) the bombs will produce an abundant harvest of Negro votes in the future. Florida Negroes don't scare easily. A. Philip Randolph was born in Florida. Scores of other Florida Negroes have proven their mettle within and without the state.

Mr. Prattis

On the day, May 27, that a bomb was thrown on the roof of the Walker Business College and another left on the porch of David H. Dwight, president of the Democratic Alliance, MORE Negroes voted than had before, on May 6.

The chances are that the bombs will serve notice on Negroes that certain criminal whites are willing to use bombs to dissuade them from taking advantage of something very valuable, the voting franchise. The Negro reaction will be that if whites will go to such extremes to keep them from voting, they likewise ought to go to extremes to cast their ballots.

* * *

THIS WRITER is confident those bombs will help Mr. Dwight and his Democratic Alliance. He hopes that thousands and thousands of Negroes will line up with the alliance and that they will become a decisive factor in the Democratic primaries in Jacksonville and in Florida.

However, the fact cannot be overlooked that there were and are whites in Florida who are evil and criminal enough to use bombs to keep Negro citizens from exercising their franchise rights.

Race relations in Florida have been particularly marked by violence. Violence employed against Negroes in Florida during the past year has been used all over the world to the shame and embarrassment of the United States.

* * *

SO FAR, the perpetrators of these criminal acts have gone unpunished. Whites yield to the impulse to use criminal force against Negroes because they think they can get away with it. They do get away with it.

For this reason, Florida Negroes are challenged to do more than to be courageous in the face of acts of intimidation. It is not quite enough to respond by registering and voting. Florida Negroes must help to track down the persons guilty of acts of intimidation and expose them.

They must do even more. After they have found out who they are, they must insist on their being punished.

* * *

EVERY OFFICIAL responsible for enforcement of law, from the Governor on down, in Florida, should be required to use his office to punish the criminals who are making and scattering bombs.

The vote is a device for forcing public officials to do their duty. Public officials are public servants, of the Negro public as well as the white public.

If the officials of the communities in which these crimes have happened refuse to act, the growing Negro vote, through its leadership, should now serve notice on these officials, that they are marked. And Negroes should use their votes to kick them out of office.

There should not be any compromise of any kind. The fight for full citizenship for Negroes applies to Florida Negroes as well as to New York Negroes.

* * *

THEREFORE, FLORIDA Negroes should make stern use of their votes to win the same protection as white citizens of Florida and to see that whites who try to rob them of their rights, through criminal means, are sent to jail—to stay.

There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of fair, friendly and liberal whites in Florida. But they are not in the majority and they are not in control. The mean whites far outnumber the good whites, particularly when to their number are added the tongue-in-cheek whites.

Both prudence and patriotism dictate that we work closely with the whites who are our true friends and try to increase their number.

* * *

BUT SELF-PRESERVATION and self-respect demand that we carry the fight to the rascals who serve the Communist cause all over the world by murdering Harry Moores and exploding bombs to try to deprive us of our rights.

The best punishment for these whites, whether in Florida or elsewhere, would be to herd them up, stuff them into a cattle ship and send them off to Moscow.

In the meantime, this writer prays that Mr. Dwight will carry on his drive to increase Negro strength in the Democratic party to be used against the Negro's enemies in the party.

"The thinking Negro refuses to accept the idea or even the theory that race prejudice is natural and inevitable, that it is inherent in the child, either white or black. He insists that it is acquired and cultivated, and that the greatest single aid to its cultivation is segregation."—R. R. MOTON.

31a 1952 Negro(P.L. Prattis)

THE HORIZON

Negroes Still Earn Only Th... As Much as Average White Family Despite Other Gains

By P. L. PRATTIS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THE NEGRO behind the eight ball who doesn't exist in the minds of some persons, Negro and white, who want to look at the Negro's status in the United States through rose-colored glasses, has just been disclosed to public view.

Mr. Prattis

This view may be seen in the report of the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations which, under the chairmanship of Senator Hubert Humphrey, sought to discover the relative economic and social status of Negroes between 1940 and 1950 and to compare that with the status of whites.

The study was made at the subcommittee's request by the Bureau of Labor Statistics under the direction of Harold Goldstein, assistant chief of the Division of Manpower and Employment Statistics. The study dealt with real, live Negroes, not with ghost Negroes.

The subcommittee learned that between 1940 and 1950 there had been improvement in the Negro's social and economic status (as almost any fool knows and is prepared to admit), but it also learned anew that the Negro is still on the bottom rung of the economic and social ladder and that he is so far behind the white American that the two groups can scarcely be compared.

* * *

FOR EXAMPLE, the 1950 census figures showed that the Negro wage and salary worker earned an average of about $1,300, or 52 per cent of the $2,560 average for the white worker in the same year. The 1939 average for the Negro worker was about $400 or less than 40 per cent of the white average.

In ten years, the average Negro worker had gained twelve points on the average white worker. If the same rate of progress could be maintained, the Negro might be expected to close the remaining forty-eight-point gap, forty or fifty years from now. Who's gonna be around to enjoy that? Why should human beings who are expected to shoulder equal citizenship responsibilities gloat over the fact that they have progressed to the point where they now make HALF as much as the other fellow?

So far as family income (covering the period 1945-50) is concerned, Negroes actually slipped back. In 1945, the average Negro family income was $1,538, or nearly 57 per cent of the $2,718 of white families. But in 1950, the average Negro family income was only $1,860, or 54 per cent of the average income of $3,445 among white families.

Thus on the basis of family income, Negroes have lost three points and the white man is not only still in the lead, but seems destined to stay there.

* * *

THE REPORT brought out that although the unemployment rate has dropped more sharply among Negroes than among whites, the average rate among Negroes since 1947 has been 50 per cent above that of whites.

Negroes are shown to have made "appreciable gains" up the occupational ladder since 1940, but "in comparison with white workers are still predominantly employed in the lower-paying and less-skilled occupations."

Of course, as a result of the foregoing figures, it was brought out that death rates among Negroes are still greater than among white and that the life expectancy of Negroes is shorter than that of whites.

For my part, I don't see how any Negro who thinks he is equal to other human beings can be satisfied with a status which permits his people only one-half the average earning power of the other citizens of the country.

* * *

IT DOESN'T impress me to point out a successful Negro here and there. I read stories of how Ben Fairless of United States Steel and Charles E. Wilson of General Motors rose to the top. I also know that a Negro in Chicago named Fuller is a good businessman. He started from the bottom.

Don't tell me that Fuller's success shows how far a Negro can go if he is smart and works hard. If Fuller's skin were white, he might go just as far as a Fairless or a Wilson. But as long as he's black and the attitude toward Negroes remains what it is, Fuller can only be a Negro success. The same was true of Spaulding and is true of hundreds of other Negroes.

We are still living and working behind the "big house." That's where we have all our fun and misery. We have a few Sunday clothes, that's all. And most of us don't have Sunday clothes.

Until the wall of segregation is blasted out of existence, the Negro is going to remain behind the eight ball and measure up, on the average, to just about 50 per cent of what the average white man is. Maybe a 50 per cent man is a ghost, come to think of it.

THE HORIZON

American Negro Writers Face Vexing Problems

By P. L. PRATTIS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

PERHAPS the most vexing problem for the American Negro writer is the "weight" which he should give in his writings to the conditions under which his own people are forced to live in American society. If he is a gifted writer, he may be charged with callousness and indifference if he fails to use his pen to remedy the plight of his people. But if he concerns himself too much with racial prejudice and proscription as it affects his people, his art, or the creative delineation of humanity in its broader aspects, may suffer. What to do?

Mr. Prattis

The Negro writer also faces a dilemma because even if he is tempted to deal with the race problem, he may not be able to see it as a problem apart from that of American society as a whole. When he seeks to determine values, he may assay the factors in the problem of the Negro in terms of the factors of the whole society and come up with the conclusion that the Negro should accommodate himself to the forces which prevail in the larger society.

THIS TENDENCY to think in terms of the larger society and a Negro accommodation to it has accounted for a difference in Negro thinking for as far back as we can trace. J. Saunders Redding, the thoughtful Hampton writer, has just about made it the theme of his study of Negro writers entitled, "To Make a Poet Black."

This writer has found it interesting to follow Mr. Redding as he traces the struggle which Negro writers have had with themselves in relation to the race problem and as he discovers them as members of either the "accommodation" school of thought or of what might be simply described as the pro-Negro school of thought.

The first two writers treated by Mr. Redding were "accommodationists." They are Jupiter Hammon and Phyllis Wheatley. Hammon was the first of these and he wrote both poetry and prose which was acceptable for that day. He was something of a preacher. He knew that slavery was wrong, but he was as much concerned about the slave doing the right thing as he was about the master doing wrong.

OR, TO put it more plainly: he wanted the slaves to be good slaves even though he might have believed the institution of slavery to be wrong. "Goodness," so far as he was concerned, meant obedience to the master class.

Mr. Redding has quoted from Hammon's "An Address to the Negroes in the State of New York." The quotation follows:

"Respecting obedience to masters. Now whether it is right and lawful in the sight of God, for them to make slaves of us or not, I am certain that while we are slaves, it is our duty to obey our masters in all their lawful commands, and mind them . . . As we depend upon our masters for what we eat and drink and wear, we cannot be happy unless we obey them."

Hammon was born around 1720. The address from which the above is quoted was published in 1787 and ran into three editions. For more than forty years he had written in a similar vein, principally in poetry.

Miss Wheatley's viewpoint was somewhat similar. Although she was a slave, destined to die from starvation and cold, she made no consistent and strong attack on the system of slavery.

* * *

EVER SINCE the time of Hammon and Wheatley, there have been some Negroes who have followed their course of trying to make the best of a bad situation.

One line from the above quotation from Hammon sounds fearfully like some of our speakers and writers to-day: "As we depend upon our masters for what we eat and drink and wear, we cannot be happy unless we obey them."

This is the theory of Uncle Tomism. But the foregoing discloses that Uncle Tom was actually not the author of the theory. It existed long before him and it prevails though he has been long dead.

The theory implies the necessity for conforming. It rather accepts our condition as inevitable and immutable and warns us that happiness can only be found in conformance.

Maybe it is this which has enabled us to survive (as contrasted with the Indian) in the white man's society. Chattel slavery was abolished after 244 years. Maybe that was soon enough. We have endured eighty-nine years of second-class citizenship with first-class citizenship nowhere on the horizon. Maybe we shouldn't squawk. Maybe, as Hammon implied, we should just go along and "mind" the dominant group and await its pleasure. That way lies happiness, he says. But I don't think so.

THE HORIZON

Simple Tales of Race Heroes And Achievements Desired; Hughes' New Book an Exampl

By P. L. PRATTIS

I HAVE a vague recollection of learning to read, years and years ago. Those were the early days, around the turn of the century. I started out on what were then known as dime novels and wild West stories. I ate them up. Later, a year or so later, when I was eleven, I began to go in for heavier stuff and I would spend hours in the small library which was then located, I believe, at Eighteenth and Tasker Streets in South Philadelphia. I'd hate to tell you some of the stuff I tackled then.

Mr. Prattis

But the best remembered reading, or books, of my boyhood were the simply-worded tales about history's great heroes. If anybody had spun a yarn around some interesting incident in the life of Alexander the Great, Caesar, Darius, or any of the mighty men of far-off days, I was bound to go for it.

It is now nearly fifty years since I read a story about Alexander and his horse, Bucephalas. I shall never forget that horse and that story.

Perhaps it is because of sentiment grounded in such history lore that I have long wished that some of our writers would turn their talents to writing stories in simple language about incidents in the lives of great black men and women of the past.

* * *

I DON'T mean biographies. We have them. But some of them are much too ponderous for youngsters. There's too much in them for a boy or girl to carry. That's even true of the excellent biographies which have been written by Shirley Graham.

But, to take an example, I believe there are a hundred incidents in the life of Frederick Douglass about which separate simple stories could be written. These incidents, in story form, I believe would whet the appetites of our youngsters for real biography when they grow older.

Furthermore, such stories, not being too long, could be published cheaply and they would be within the financial reach of youngsters who now waste their nickels and dimes on so-called comic books.

Langston Hughes has recently made a step in the direction I am pointing out. His most recent book is "The First Book of Negroes." It is published by Franklin Watts, Inc., 699 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y. It sells for $1.75. It is beautifully illustrated with pictures in color which were drawn by Ursula Koering.

MR. HUGHES' book has what I believe to be a proper length for children, just sixty-eight pages. The type is large, the kind you would find in a third or fourth grade reader. The language is simple, yet, even with simple language, Mr. Hughes frequently creates a sense of beauty, particularly in describing nature.

In these sixty-eight pages, with words and pictures, Mr. Hughes has picked up incidents out of the lives of American Negroes from the earliest times. These incidents establish the fact that Negroes had a part in the discovery of America, in its exploration and in its building.

He even gives his young readers a glimpse of the glories of their forebears in Africa and of such great kingdoms as Mandingo, Ghana and Songhay.

The story of Estavanico, the Spanish-speaking Negro who opened up Arizona and New Mexico, is told convincingly and in such fashion as to inspire youngsters, even of these days, to daring action.

* * *

ONLY A few pages are given to Estavanico because Mr. Hughes wants to give the boy, Terry, for whom he is writing, a sort of sweeping view of the Negro in this and other countries and of some of their heroes.

He, therefore, reaches for incidents from the lives of Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and for candid camera close-ups of such modern Negroes as Ralph Bunche, Jackie Robinson, "Satchel" Paige, Jesse Owens, Althea Gibson, Mary McLeod Bethune, George Washington Carver, and many others.

I am sure that any boy or girl who reads the bits which Mr. Hughes has typed about these race heroes will want to know more. They will get from "The First Book of American Negroes" a sense of their own importance and the importance of their people. They'll feel proud.

And they'll learn to love the great and beautiful land which America is. For, although Mr. Hughes reminds that Negroes have been, and are, the victims of injustice and out-moded ways of thinking, he shows that America wants to live up to its ideals of justice and equality. While deftly pointing out the evil of jim crow, he shows that Lovejoy was willing to give his life fighting against the debasement of men, even though they were black. In such sacrifice, there is hope.

THE HORIZON

Bishop Bell's 'Acorn Planted In Harlem' Continues to Grow as a Strong Oak Tree

By P. L. PRATTIS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

GREAT oaks from little acorns do grow. In other, earlier days, days which have grown hazy in the mists of time, William Yancey Bell, the wise, but indulgent Bishop of that diocese of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church which includes New York, planted a seed, an acorn, in a crannied Harlem wall, little suspecting that the roots would eventually seek sustenance in the soil below and grow into a tree that would give shade and spiritual comfort to thousands of Harlemites who, day by day, little suspect that miracles do happen among them.

Mr. Prattis

In those old days, which recollection paints in golden hues, there was a humming center in Harlem and a sort of shrine, where aspiring and talented young men and women sought the favor of thespian gods. These were the days when the Lafayette Theatre was in its prime and the Lafayette Players were trying to give substance to the belief that a theatre of and by Negroes could add significantly to the life and ambitions of Negroes.

Some of the greatest names in the entertainment world were at various times bright-lighted from the marquee of the Lafayette Theatre.

* * *

THIS THEATRE was "the thing" in those days, except for some smart restaurants, bars and gaming emporiums which were its next-door and around-the-block neighbors.

Upstairs, next door to this theatre, almost in a corner loft, Bishop Bell planted his seed—a small mission for the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. To this day, the platform which served as a pulpit in the small room remains, and the dusty old lectern upon which the Word of God rested.

The Williams Institutional CME Church which Bishop Bell thus founded outgrew its original quarters and eventually was moved away, the roots reaching for more favorable topsoil. As has been the case with so many Negro congregations, this one, in the course of time, found a home in a former Jewish synagogue. There, it continued to grow and confront circumstance.

* * *

ONE CIRCUMSTANCE proved too much. The City of New York planned a huge housing development for the benefit of Harlem's crammed-in thousands and the spot chosen included that where Bishop Bell's child had grown into a lusty man. The tree had to be transplanted; the man had to find a new home.

Strange indeed it is that the tree, now grown sturdy, should have been taken back to the soil of the seed's early germination. But it was.

If you were to visit Harlem these days, you would observe a curious spectacle. The Lafayette Theatre has been dead for years and many have been the visitors to Harlem during the past two decades who have wondered if that silent edifice would every hum with life again.

* * *

TODAY, IT is humming. Its face has been lifted and skilled craftsmen of various trades are busy transforming the former home of the Negro theatre into a house of God. In a few short months, the Lafayette Theatre will have become the Williams Institutional CME Church, the Rev. L. S. White, pastor.

The little mission started by Bishop Bell has by now taken over, purchased, the entire east side block of Seventh Avenue between 131st and 132nd Street. This includes huge properties (a dance hall, supermarket, lodge halls, NAACP office, Sunday school rooms, bowling alley space, etc.) on either side of the church itself. The little mission has become big business.

This has been a vast business undertaking. The miracle is that it has succeeded. The resurrection, so to speak, of this block has been a challenging task involving hundreds of thousands of dollars. But the feat has been performed and the congregation's leaders, and the Bishop, see a clear way ahead. The roots of the tree are in fertile soil.

* * *

WHAT HAS happened is, of course, partly due to the vision, wisdom and patient planning of Bishop Bell. But he couldn't do all. There came a time when he needed help. He sent for an old friend, a "country preacher," who was then pastoring in California. "Come to this Macedonia and help me," Bishop Bell coaxed. The Rev. Mr. White came—to help his friend.

The two men have worked together, in the Master's name, to perform this miracle. White, a man with a Jovian sense of humor, sharp and shrewd, attracts friends — and cooperation—with the unerring and steady persistence of the recurrence of a fact in nature. His good humor saves him from the big head and his modesty wins the support necessary for the job he sets himself.

If you would see an acorn grown to oak, you must visit this resurrected city block upon the occasion of your next trip to New York.

ROGERS SAYS:

U. S. No Better Than Russia in Passport Ban

Courier Sat. 1-19-52

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

SOUTH AFRICA, one of the "free" world, will not give passports to four African natives to tell the grievances of their people to the United Nations. Russia of the "enslaved" world, practically bans foreign travel of her people lest some of them, like the Africans, tell of injustices in Russia. At the 1952 Olympics in Finland, Russian athletes will be virtually prisoners. Russia will not permit them to live in the Olympic village with those from other lands.

Mr. Rogers

They will be flown daily from Leningrad, 200 miles away, and back.

The United States, of the super "free" world will not give Robeson a passport lest he tell what's going on against Negroes here. William L. Patterson in Paris is having similar trouble with the State Department. I wonder what Socrates who lived 2,400 years ago and who said, "I am not a Greek or an Athenian but a citizen of the whole world," would have thought of nations who whether "slave" or "free" act like this. And at a time when we have "a family of nations."

Robeson and Patterson are much more curbed than were fighters against injustice during slavery. Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, John S. Rock and others were permitted freely to go to Europe and rouse sentiment against slavery even though the pro-slavery element, North and South, were in power. In fact, the State Department in barring Robeson, is more autocratic than the British of 1776 because American colonists were permitted to go to Europe and tell of injustices here. When Ben Franklin and two other commissioners went to present their cause to the French in 1776 and stir them up against England they were not prevented from sailing.

* * *

UNDER THE czars, Russians were freer to travel than under communism. Under them, Russian athletes weren't so protected from "evil." Similarly, under the British and under slavery, Americans were freer to travel than now. And there was little or no denying of visas to certain foreigners (the object like that of Communist Russia) being to protect Americans from what foreigners think. In fighting communism we are gradually adopting some of what we object to most in it. I could cite more than a few instances. The danger is real.

Even as those American colonists and abolitionists who aired their grievances in Europe in the long run did a service to America, so precisely will it be in the case of Robeson and Patterson. Communist attacks on injustice to Negroes has undoubtedly been a greater corrective than the soft-spoken, often apologetic protests of preachers, politicians and friends of Negroes. Many now alive will recall when there were as many as 231 recorded lynchings a year, or an average of more than four a week. As late as 1919 (when there were eighty-three), lynchings and massacres of Negroes were taken pretty much for granted. Today a single lynching or the bombing of a Negro home (which during 1920 used to occur in Chicago almost weekly) makes State Department officials shiver because they know it's being broadcast over the world and embarrassing them.

* * *

THUS WHEN Vishinsky gets up in the United Nations and laughs cynically at the United States because of artocities here, he's being a benefactor in disguise. Anyone who points out another's faults and thereby stirs him to correct them, ev if he's an open enemy, is a factor in the long run.

And a most important fact to remember is that the Communists don't have to manufacture anything. Take "I Charge Genocide" of which Patterson is editor, and which he went to Paris to present to the UN (of which the USA is a member). It tells what really happened. Of course, it presents only the bad but when were petitions otherwise? The Declaration of Independence hadn't a good word for the British though the British weren't wholly bad.

The sub-title of Patterson's petition is, "The Crime of Government Against the Negro People." Is this true? If we consider government as something abstract, like the Constitution, it isn't true. But government is a reality of flesh and blood. And it's never any better than the people who make it up. Now many of those in it profit directly from jim crow: and many others, though opposed, fear to act, which makes them equally guilty. I'd say the subtitle comes pretty near being true.

Silencing Robeson and Patterson lacks logic, too. It not only increases their prestige at home but it gives more weight to stories about Negro treatment published abroad.

ROGERS SAYS:

McCarran Immigration Bill Will Operate Against Quota For Negro Peoples Harshly

By J. A. ROGERS

Courier 31a Negro

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

FOR THE past forty years attempts have been made to limit Negro immigration to the United States. About 1914 a bill to do so was defeated through protests by Booker T. Washington, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and others. In 1924, another bill succeeded greatly. Most foreign Negroes come from the West Indies, chiefly British, and by putting them on the British quota, the number permitted in was small.

Mr. Rogers

Besides, the amount of money, or security, demanded of each immigrant was increased from $30 to $1,500 and sometimes $3,000. On the other hand, white immigrants have to guarantee only about $500. West Indians have contributed greatly to America. It was one of them who founded the Negro press 125 years ago.

About two years ago, another bill aimed principally at West Indians was defeated largely through American Negro protest. Now an even more vicious one has been introduced by Senator McCarran of Nevada.

Sat 2-23-52

THIS WOULD limit the number of West Indians to around 600 annually. It would also affect Africans from the British, French and Portuguese colonies in Africa.

The McCarran bill, we are told, is to liberalize immigration. It would permit a small number of Asians to come in. But it is most discriminatory against those who happen to be subjects of European powers, in this case England, France and Holland.

As I said, most of the incoming Negroes are British. They not only speak the language, but seem better able to furnish the money guarantee demanded. Here's where these latter would be hit most now. England does not use its full quota, so by arrangement, British West Indians were permitted to use a part of it.

* * *

SOME 2,000 could thus come in annually, but under the proposed law this help from the unused English quota would be barred and the total number from all the colonies would be only around 600 or 700.

Now the number of Negroes who migrate to the United States from the New World and Africa is infinitesimal compared with the number of whites. In addition 300,000 displaced persons, all of them white, have been brought in, some on U. S. transports, part of the cost of which is furnished by the Negro taxpayer.

There are, no doubt, some American Negroes to whom a further barring of West Indians would be good news. But if such stop to think they'll see that it's a blow aimed at them, too. For several decades now the Negro has been a tenth of the population but with Negro immigration practically cut off and whites continuing to flow in, how long will we maintain even our small ratio?

* * *

WHILE WHITES are increasing through both birthrate and immigration, the Negro must do so through birthrate. And his infant mortality is greater than that of the white. Thus with the Negro percentage cut down, such prestige as he has acquired politically and otherwise will be even more swamped by the ever-increasing white one.

As a result, the Negro finds more and more of the jobs he once held passing to the whites. And the situation is already bad, as shown by a recent Urban League survey. Negro women, it says, are more and more being discriminated against in factories.

"In the South and Southwest where new aircraft plants are being erected and activated, discriminatory practices have all but excluded Negro workers," it says. In two Texas plants of 5,000 workers there was only one Negro, and in an Ohio plant of 6,000 only nine. It's clear that President Truman's order re war contracts is being disregarded.

* * *

TO OPPOSE the McCarran bill Congressman Powell called a meeting and seven of us went to Washington where we saw Senators Lodge, Lehman and Kefauver, the State Department and other officials. Of the seven of us, five are citizens.

Now here's what happened to us passing through Maryland. We stopped at a White Tower place for a cup of coffee. The waitress said the law says we mustn't drink it in there. I told her and those there just what I thought of such a law and we walked out. Now one of us was a veteran of World War II and one of the whites there could have been a German against whom this veteran fought. But the former is white. More reason for opposing the McCarran bill.

Please give your support today and write the secretary of the committee: Richard B. Moore, 141 West 125th Street, New York City, or Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Washington, D. C.

ROGERS SAYS:

Most Negroes of The New World Are Mentally White

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

TO CONTINUE from last week: The Negro is "the Forgotten Man" in American history. We read much of what the English, Irish, Germans and Swedes have done to make this nation what it is. But the Negroes were here eighty years before even the English. In the early sixteenth century they came with the Spaniards (who were much more mixed with Negro than is believed) and were with them for the next century the pioneers in a wild, savage land peopled by primitive Indians, some of whom were cannibals.

Mr. Rogers

They blazed the trail as far north as Virginia; northwest to Kansas and west to California. Four of them, one, a Negro, Estevanico, were the first to cross America from ocean to ocean in one of the greatest of all sagas of travel. Later Estevanico blazed the trail to the Midwest by discovering Arizona and New Mexico. And in later explorations by the English and the French, Negroes were there too.

WHY IS the Negro the forgotten man? Answer: the slave master. To make contented beasts of burden, he kept Negroes from thinking. The only history permitted them was biblical. And the people in it, the Jews, were described as white, a la European paintings.

God, too, like the master, was white. In short, the slave was made white inside and this white inside, like his master's, despised his black outside. Negroes were the sons of Ham cursed forever in the Bible.

Emancipation brought freer education, but the slave psychology with 250 years behind it, remained. There are two ways of holding down a man: one is to do so by main force; the other is to catch him young and so train him that he fights against himself and his in your favor.

Now eighty-seven years after freedom this mental slavery is still very much alive. Most Negroes of the New World are mentally white.

* * *

I COULD write a book in proof. Here are a few cases. I have a friend, Freddie Thomas of Albany Medical College, N. Y., very brilliant, who has done more research on the Negro in medicine from ancient times to the present, including African medicine, than anyone I know of. He tells me that when he was a high school student at Norfolk, Va., his history teacher (I omit her name), actually resented the "Your History" feature and did her best to discourage her pupils from reading it. It showed up her omniscience, he said, and that was her defense.

ANOTHER ENTHUSIAST of Negro history, who devotes much time and money to spreading it, is O. W. Allen of Greystone Park, N. J. He tells me of the scepticism he meets especially from young Negroes going to "white" schools. One of them when advised by her mother to read the history feature said it was "all imagination." On her mother's urging she did read it and is today an enthusiast on Negro history, he said. Harlem booksellers tell me, too, of know-it-all young Negroes who decry my researches.

It's not only white professors who don't like such research. There are Negro ones who don't relish it, either. Their field is American Negro history and they want it confined to that. And just as one fly can spoil a whole pot of soup so one error in your book kills it for them.

The late Benjamin Brawley, historian, and professor at Shaw U. told me as much. He hadn't spoken well of "From Superman to Man," for which the late Hubert Harrison ridiculed him. Seven years later after I had spoken at Shaw, Brawley greeted me most cordially, took me to his home and said, "If I were writing about your book now I'd say quite differently. It's really a great book and the students like it."

* * *

I HAVE met other Negroes who resent being taken off the beaten track in history. About 1930, when I was sending back to the Courier stories of great Negroes in European history, a Negro student in Germany, now a professor in a Negro college, wrote the Courier that I was talking all nonsense.

Some Negro preachers have been offended, too, because I told of the black Christs and Virgin Marys I saw in Europe. What did it matter that I gave immense documentation in proof from such writers as Anatole France, Romain Rolland, and Georges Sand, as well as a photograph of one of the most gorgeous of these Negro Madonnas? Well, the slave masters had told their ancestors that Christ and God were Caucasians, and that was that.

But the greatest fun I've had is with Beethoven. I save that for next week.

ROGERS SAYS:

The Ruling of Dixie Courts on School Bias Is Purile, Without Reason

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THOMAS HUXLEY, great English scientist, said as regards honest conduct and straight thinking, "There can no more be two kinds of right than there can be two kinds of straight lines."

That is, one can't be wrong and right at the same time. If one must take sides on, say, an issue involving the rights of a minority and he sides against those rights because his own interests are involved, then he isn't following the single straight line. His only excuse in that case could be ignorance.

Mr. Rogers

Figure out from this the ruling of three Federal judges, Armstead Dobie, Sterling Hutcheson and Albert V. Bryan of Virginia, on the jim-crow schools of that state. Three others in South Carolina ruled the same recently. Now did these judges follow the single straight line of right, or were they opportunists, that is, were they serving the politicians to whom they were not "personally obnoxious" and through whom they got their jobs? Or were their decisions based on ignorance?

* * *

LET'S CONSIDER ignorance. No reputable ethnologist supports the race theory today. In fact, it was always in disrepute. The early Christian Church barred it and sometimes punished with death those who preached it. Lucilio Vanani was burned alive for it in 1619 and Giordano Bruno, who had it among his teachings, met the same fate in 1591.

Later, as the result of scientific research, Buffon, great French naturalist, wrote about 1750, "There are in nature only individuals. Races, orders, classes exist only in imagination." And Lamarck said a little later, "Classifications are artificial. Nature has created neither classes, nor orders, nor families, nor races, nor permanent species, but only individuals."

The stand of those who follow the straight line of truth today is that of T. R. Garth who says that "race" is "an artificial notion, a myth."

"RACE" WAS taught in the American colonies as a pretext for enslaving black bodies so they could grow cotton, sugar and tobacco. But no sooner had the blacks come in than they began to disappear into the whites by intermixture. Result, there is an enormous amount of Negro "blood" in native Southern whites, especially those of Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana. Did these Federal "justices," when they talked of "the two races," know of this? Or had they been entirely enclosed from it in some sort of cellophane all their lives?

But even if they were, have they been wearing blinders so that they couldn't see about them Negroes so white that some white people are almost as white as these Negroes? In short, are they just Simple Simons? Or flunkeys of an exploitation order based on the ridiculous and exploded myth of "race"?

Take your pick. But this is the same type of judge which, under Hitler, handed down similar decisions in the case of Jews.

* * *

THESE JUDGES say jim crow "rests neither upon prejudice nor caprice nor on any measureless foundation. Rather, the proof is it declares one of the ways of life in Virginia." Well, cannibalism and prostitution in temples were once a way of life. So was incest in Britain.

A man cohabited with his mother and his sisters—a custom that died hard. Today in Islamic lands, polygamy is a way of life. Women are degraded and some men have monopolized so many of them that, with not enough to go around, homosexuality is a way of life for many men. Slavery, too, was a way of life in the South for centuries.

It would be easy to find judges of 1700 and 1800 dishing out the same line of talk as Dobie, Hutcheson and Bryan, Federal judges in 1952. It is the most crooked line we have had from the bench, even of the South, in a long time. In fact, it's worse than crooked. It's so infantile, so rotten, it stinks.

I HAVE LONG suggested that jim crow should be fought on ethnological grounds. Let the South prove that there are two races of American citizens there; let it define "race."

In the meantime, what are those of us of darker complexion who are being urged to support the so-called free world to think. The Communists of the "slave" world flatly say "race" is a myth and will have none of it, while the "free" world, particularly South Africa, Australia and the Southern states, practice it as a reality.

ROGERS SAYS:

If White History Was Truthful There'd Be Little Need to Write Negro History as Such

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

TO CONTINUE from last week: One method used to keep Negro historians "in their place" is ridicule. Let one say this or that great person hitherto believed to be 101 per cent white had some Negro "blood" and the historian is charged with claiming that all great people were Negro. And some Negroes with a white complex are quite quick to make that charge, too.

Mr. Rogers

My friend, the late Arthur Schomburg, a master in research, was very sensitive about that, and would often concede that such and such a person who might have some Negro strain, had none. He was quite pleased when I agreed with him that Empress Josephine was all white.

After his death, however, I ran across a passage in the "Memoires of Mme. de Remusat," bosom friend of the Empress, where she tells how very dark Josephine looked among the ladies of Napoleon's court and that to cover up her dark skin, Josephine used much white and red paint, at which art, says de Remusat, Josephine was "expert."

JOSEPHINE, MOREOVER, was a West Indian. There're very few West Indians, then and now, who have not some Negro admixture.

Schomburg also did not want to accept that Beethoven was of Negro ancestry, and I was told that he used to say that I was wrong in saying that. Well, one day while he and I were in the Harlem library, of which he was curator, Dr. Otto Neurath of Vienna, Austria, head of the Mundaneum there, came in.

In the course of conversation I gave Dr. Neurath a copy of my illustrated pamphlet, "World's Greatest Men of African Descent." Seeing a portrait of Beethoven in it, he said that not only Beethoven was of Negro ancestry, but that Goethe, greatest of all German writers, was, too. He promised to send me Goethe's ancestry in proof and did.

AFTER DR. NEURATH had left, and while browsing among the books that the library had acquired from Schomburg, I picked up "Race and Civilization" by Frederick Hertz, noted German anthropologist, and on pages 123 and 178 was mention of Beethoven's "Negroid traits" and of his "dark" skin and "flat, thick nose." Schomburg marked the spot but never to my knowledge ever referred to Beethoven's ancestry, fearing, I suppose, ridicule.

Since then I have given large documentation on Beethoven's ancestry. Among the eminent white writers who mention his Negro strain are Brunold Springer, A. W. Thayer, and Rudolf Rocker, while Fanny G. del Rio, who was in love with him, says flatly in her book, "An Unrequited Love" (dedicated to Queen Victoria), p. 60, that he looked like a "mulatto." Rocker not only mentions a Negro strain in Beethoven but includes Goethe and Martin Luther.

What really "saved" me, however, from the ridicule of Negro smart-alecks was an article in the New York Times, July 1, 1940, "Negroid Blood in Hitler's 'Aryans,'" in which one of those mentioned as of Negro ancestry is Beethoven.

* * *

ANOTHER OBJECTION made by certain "smart" young Negroes studying in white colleges, and who want to prove how liberal they are, is: Why should you accentuate some small Negro strain in a white person? That doesn't deserve an answer, but I'll say why not ask those states, like Virginia, which says that if you have "one drop," however tiny, you're a Negro.

Why not also ask the U. S. Government which, through the Bureau of the Census, rules the same?

The common American belief is that if you have that "one drop," it throws you on the other side of the line and stamps you as inferior. Now what happens when you prove that certain white idols also belong, according to white dogma, on the other side of the line?

* * *

AMERICANS WORSHIP royalty, especially British. What happens when you cite authorities, eminent white ones, that these super-choice families had Negroes on several branches of their family-tree?

Another charge made by certain young Negroes, especially of the radical economic variety, is that any Negro history is "chauvinistic" (blatantly boastful). Well, have not Jews, Catholics, Irish, and other white minorities their histories telling of their contributions in the making of America? If it's not chauvinistic in their case, why should it be in the case of Negroes who are only attempting to contradict the lies invented about them? Were Negroes given justice in popular histories there'd be no need for Negro histories.

As for the certain young Negroes referred to, I usually ignore them. It's clear they are the new Uncle Toms, who have inherited the tactics and traditions of the slavemasters of the 1800's.

ROGERS SAYS:

American Negroes Could Learn Something From Their 'Race' in Africa

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

TO CONTINUE from last week: The Negro church, like the Negro press, was born out of protest. Had there been no jim crow neither would have come into being. And if at any time color injustice had ceased, neither might still be alive. Is it not clear, therefore, that both still serve best that which called them into being?

Mr. Rogers

There was a time when the chief function of Christianity was to prepare people for death. After they had been safely tucked under the sod, life glorious life, would then begin. That's what I was taught as a child. Time that I should have used to fit myself for some calling was spent in worrying about hell and of roasting there forevermore. Some nights I woke up from dreams in which I felt Satan's fire already hot on me.

BUT THE emphasis today is on life—health, better housing, more justice for one's fellowman. I know now that if there's a hereafter and if I do what's right the "after-life" will automatically come out right like a sum in which all the right figures are used. American Negroes could learn something from their "race" in Africa. They don't worry about death, which is sure in any case. Most of them are Islam, which is not as gloomy or as pessimistic as Christianity.

In the Courier's Forum of Public Opinion (March 1) some thought that Negro ministers are ignoring the fight for civil rights. I think "ignoring" too strong a word. Some, it is true, don't do enough, but I've seen in my time some who were real fighters. I recall especially one I met while touring the South in the 1920's. His church that Sunday morning was packed with many standing. When I asked him how he did it, he said "I mix some race with my religion." He asked me to speak instead of himself that morning but wishing to see his technique, I declined. And I'm glad I did as I learned more how to hold an audience.

HE MADE his congregation feel that they counted for something not only in "heaven" but on earth. In short, he gave them an incentive, not to look forward to death, but to life. He told them what they had done to help make America what it is and that they should never be content with an iota less than full citizenship. Later, he lamented that when he was coming along Negro history was considered a fiction. Now he kept himself informed on it as he found great inspiration in it.

Prof. Ralph Felton was quoted in the Courier symposium as saying that "more Negro churches are decreasing in membership than are increasing." Well, there's a sure cure for that: Greater emphasis on civil rights, the predominant and evergrowing thought in the minds of Negroes. Is there anything in that to which Christ would object? Surely fighting for the right is compatible with Christianity.

In any case churches that emphasize civil rights seem to be getting along nicely. I could cite quite a few. Recently I was guest speaker for the annual breakfast of the Ebenezer Brotherhood of Boston. The Rev. W. S. Ravenell, the pastor, told how a few years ago he organized the brotherhood with a few members. Today it numbers hundreds and its members are live wires. Boston has perhaps more civil rights than any other city and the brotherhood has helped much in the fight for them.

* * *

IN THE Courier symposium one person was quoted as saying, "So many (preachers) do not understand the necessity to teach their people to live on earth . . . they spend much time preparing to live after death." Of course, this kind of teaching calls for little or no mental effort. It is largely word-spinning. The opposite calls for reading and keeping in touch with life as it goes on about us and isn't so easy.

In the Courier (March 15) the Rev. Caleb E. Queen of the Ministers Alliance of Pittsburgh says the Courier survey was unjust. It could be. However, I think the accusation will do good. We all, no matter how well we think we are doing, need criticism, even unjust criticism to jog us out of complacency. All of us, white or black, who are engaged in social betterment, have some of the Jack Horner in us! "What a good boy am I." St. Paul said, "Yet show I unto you a more excellent way." I think the criticism of Courier readers will help effect this.

ROGERS

Negro Press Has a Stake In the Issue of 'Free Speech' and Beauharnais Names Cannot Hurt Us

Courier

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier.—The Editors.)

I'M HAPPY to see that some leading Negro newspapers oppose the Supreme Court ruling on Joseph Beauharnais, white race-monger. The obvious expectancy is that they would favor it. Beauharnais had been attacking Negroes in speeches and in print, and was convicted under an Illinois law against "false and malicious defamation of racial and religious groups."

Mr. Rogers

Perhaps the justices who upheld the conviction meant well but their ruling is one of the worst attacks yet made on free speech. It could prove a boomerang; it could hurt minorities that attack injustices. Far safer it is to let crackpots like Beauharnais get it off their chests.

We have had his type since ancient Egypt and the likelihood is we'll have it as long as the world lasts. And such do serve a purpose. But it takes intelligence to see it.

* * *

THE ENGLISH, riper in wisdom, have Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square where one may get up and cuss out the King, or yell for the fall of the empire. Ah, but you can't do that in their colonies, say West Africa. Why? Because there they feel insecure.

Is government in the United States feeling a like insecurity? I've watched Americans lose more and still more of the freedom guaranteed by the Constitution. To wit, the Smith Act. And their right to travel. The State Department now rules who may and who may not get a passport.

But just as a healthy human body will fight off harmful germs so a government, free from corrupt officials and in which everyone gets justice in the courts, need have no fear from groups who confine their activities to talk.

* * *

LET THE Fascists, Communists, jim crowers and others who differ from the majority, be free to talk. Voltaire said, "I disapprove of what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

It's only with this can any land remain free.

These dissidents are bitter, but beneficial, medicine. For my part I've learned more from those who disagree with me than from those who agree. The former cause me to think. The situation being what it is, attacks on Negroes have on the whole, been a spur.

* * *

IF MY researches, for instance, have been of service, then but for the nasty things said by Thomas Dixon, R. W. Shufeldt, W. B. Smith and others, I'm sure I wouldn't have been stirred to undertake them. In fact, I think that some jabs now like theirs would help awake us from the lethargy into which so many have fallen.

Let Negroes arm themselves with knowledge, then instead of being angry at screwballs like Beauharnais and Rankin, they'll enjoy a good laugh at them. Ridicule is the mightiest of all weapons.

Voltaire said, "My prayer is a very short one: 'Oh Lord, make my enemies ridiculous.' It has been answered." Ours are being answered, too.

ROGERS SAYS:

Negroes, Content With Crumbs, Considered Ripe by Some White for Exploitation

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

SOME very hard things were said about Negro leaders in a recent Courier Opinion Poll, such as, "Most of them are very insincere. The selfish and the Uncle Toms have taken charge," and "most of them are just trying to make a fast buck."

Mr. Rogers

Another was, "We have no leaders who have captured the imagination of the Negro masses." The question here is: Is it possible for any one leader to do this? The imagination of any people is captured by their interests. In what are Negroes most interested?

First, sports, especially prize-fighting; second, light, jazzy entertainment; third, religion; fourth (along way after) civil rights, and last, education. Thus for a leader to capture such imagination he'd have to be a combination champion prizefighter, crack baseball player, jazz musician, preacher, fighter for civil rights, and educator. But there ain't no "sich" animal.

PEOPLE USUALLY get the kind of leader they deserve. Such leader must echo their aspirations, prejudices and mannerisms.

If he has any doubts, or he sees life as it is, he'd better keep them to himself. Thus some of the most successful preachers are men of the world, even atheists and crooks. But to their followers they show another face. I often wonder whether any well-informed man, who is thoroughly honest with himself and others could be a leader. Incidentally, I've no aspirations that way. I've already had enough in leading myself.

The first desire of every self-respecting human being is for his natural rights, to see that he is not exploited. I doubt whether this is true of even 10 per cent of Negroes, and as for those who do something about it, it's less than one-half of these. How then would it be possible for any Negro leader in civil rights to capture any sort of imagination?

DURING SLAVERY some as Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth did capture the imagination, but the majority of Negroes having now reached second-class citizenship are like one who runs for a bus and catches it.

The bus is full, but he's so glad for having caught it, it never occurs to him that a seat is his by right. In short the average Negro is too thankful for small mercies, for crumbs.

In spite of all the prejudices the ambitious Negro in America can go places, and the chances are getting better. In my old Pullman days, when things were very much tougher, I saw porters, who were studying medicine, law, engineering, with their textbooks after a day's hard work.

Later I met some of them as college professors, doctors, and so on. One with whom I worked became the leading Negro doctor in the Army with the rank of colonel. And today with a forty-hour week there's still more time for self-improvement.

* * *

THE WHITE immigrant in the United States usually shoots far ahead of the average Negro.

And it isn't entirely due to color. Some immigrants who made millions had a very tough time. But after the day's work, they didn't flop in an easy-chair and turn on the radio, or take a spin in a Cadillac for which they were up to their neck in debt. Two or three of these immigrants who have been here less than thirty years can individually buy up our 100 richest Negroes.

It's because most Negroes are so content with little that certain whites feel that such were born to be exploited as flies were made to be eaten by spiders.

WHITE WOMEN began to come in greater numbers and the white men, better to exploit

Malan, the rights of the Cape and Natal colored have disappeared and injustice to the blacks much increased.

The fourth element in this South African hell-brew is the East Indian. As was said, he was first brought in as a slave; later, he came on his own as a merchant, which business made him disliked by both colored and black. A few months ago, the blacks rioted against the Indian shopkeepers and killed many.

ROGERS SAYS:

South African Hell-Brew Is One Mess Uncle Sam Would Be Wise to Avoid

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

LAST week I told of South Africa's white-white problem. Something now of the white-mulatto-black-Indian one.

The white-mulatto-black problem there originated much the same as the color problem in nearly every other colonial land. White men adventuring into darkmen's lands in search of wealth, and in the total absence of white women, mate with black women. Children by them are set in a caste above the natives. Other white men coming in

mate with the mulatto girls and types of Negroes: Hottentots, the lighter offspring that results is set in a caste above the first mixed-bloods. and Bantus. With no women, they mated with to establish a "pure" white caste, into which those with little evidence of Negro ancestry and then a "pure" white caste is established. Into this white caste those who show little or nothing of the native stock are taken in. Now we have three castes — white, colored, black — each in opposition to the other.

Mr. Rogers

AMONG THE colonies that followed this pattern are Haiti, Venezuela, Brazil, Mexico, Jamaica, Louisiana and Australia. One exception was Sierra Leone, Africa, where the fathers were black and the mothers white English women.

When the Dutch arrived in South Africa they found three

You may gather from this that the older the South African family the more certain it can family, under

31a 1952

J.A. Rogers (Negro)

ROGERS SAYS:

Negro History Week Here Again; Explains Why It Is Important

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

NEGRO History Week is here again. Let me try to tell why Negro history is so important to the group and why for centuries millions of words have been written and spoken to prove that the black man has no history; that he never did anything worth while until he was dragged in chains to Jamestown, and nothing much since. The literature on the alleged inherent inferiority of Negroes is enormous. The seed sown by the slaveholders grew into so mighty a tree that even though pure fiction it is still accepted as real by millions. Those who would tell the truth are still on the defensive even on the part of many they're trying to help.

Mr. Rogers

History is to the human race what memory is to the individual; that is, history is a lengthening of memory. Just as when we have to solve a problem the further back we can go in recalling past experiences the better it is, so it is in the progress of humanity. Those who preceded us, by leaving records, enable us to carry on from where they left off. The atom bomb, for instance, started in Greece over 2,500 years ago. Building in stone is an inheritance of Egypt of 6,000 years ago.

* * *

SO IMPORTANT is this leaving of records of the past that it isn't too much to say a human instinct is second only in social importance to procreation. How else would man even in his most primitive state begin leaving records by which today we can learn something of man's earliest life? In "Your History" from time to time, we have reproduced drawings on rocks, bones, ivory, the work of Negro artists in Europe and Africa of over 50,000 years ago? Yes, without history man would be about just where the chimpanzee, animal nearest him, now is.

Peoples without written records have (and do need) their history, too. Take the Pigmies of the Belgian Congo. They are experts in the use of poison. They dip their arrows into it, shoot them through a blow-gun at a deer, thereby crippling it and bringing it down. Knowledge of brewing those poisons has come down through centuries from father to son. But suppose there was no one to pass it on. The Pigmies would have to start experimenting again as did their ancestors of long, long ago. Many, many arts have been lost.

* * *

AND ALL these primtiive peoples, too, have traditions and stories of those of their number who distinguished themselves, which they pass on to the next generation for inspiration just as we do Plutarch's Lives, or the deeds of Washington, Lincoln, or Crispus Attucks.

Power distilled from history is immeasurably more effective than any combination of brute force. An atom bomb into which is compressed thousands of years of the history of physics can wipe out a city of millions. And a puny man can control an elephant a hundred times stronger than himself, thanks to information that has been traveling to him since Hannibal of Carthage.

Knowledge is power. And all knowledge has an historical base. Thus, you'll understand why the slavemaster not only painted the past of the black man so horribly, but made it a crime to teach him to read. White women who taught slaves to read even the Bible went to prison.

* * *

EVEN SO enlightened a thinker as Thomas Jefferson joined the chorus. "Never yet," he said, "could I find a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never saw an elementary trait of painting or sculpture." That is, Jefferson used his own ignorance as a criterion, as positive proof.

What did it matter that Chateaubriand, his contemporary, praised Negro art; or that Benin, Nigeria, Timbuctoo, were producing far finer art than the Americans of Jefferson's time? Furthermore, when Africans here had to toil in the fields from "can't see to can't see," or from before sunrise to after sunset, what time had they for fine literature, art and science? However, their genius could not be entirely suppressed. It found an outlet in music, which many critics call the only real American music.

Today, there are no laws forbidding Negroes to read. And there's plenty of their history available. But, there are methods, subtle methods, of keeping them from it, which work quite as effectively as those of the slave-master, perhaps even more so. Something additional on them next week.

ROGERS SAYS:

The African Paradise Of 'Pirate' Whites Is About to Explode

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this

LATEST of the danger spots creaed by whie imperialism to erupt is Kenya Colony, which borders Ethiopia on the north. The Mau Mau, a secret native society, estimated at 200,000, has taken a blood oath to kill the 3,000 whites and the natives who favor them.

Mr. Rogers

They recently killed one of the leading chiefs, Waruhiu, on the streets in broad daylight, and their oldest chief, Nderi. Some fifty whites have also been killed and homes, farms, pastures and grazing lands set afire. The exclusive Nyeri Polo Clubhouse was burned to the ground. Britain has sent troops and a warship to the scene.

Nowhere else in Africa, including South Africa, have the whites been so voracious as in Kenya. Grabbing all the best lands of the natives, they made virtual slaves of the latter. In Kenya, these whites found a paradise. Its uplands is one of the most desirable regions on earth, majestic, beautiful with the snow-capped peaks of Kenya and Kilimanjaro.

THEY FEEL there's no other spot on earth to compare. Kenya possesses them and they speak of it with "unashamed tenderness" and "open avowals of affection." They call it "A White Man's Country."

These whites are different from those of almost every other colony, past or present. They come chiefly from Britain's upper crust. As Negley Farson says in "Behind God's Back," Kenya has "the greatest proportion of ex-soldiers, generals, colonels, majors, of any country in the world. It contains a goodly number of names that are in Burke's Peerage—and some quite terrific specimens in the flesh. And it's probably the only country in the world without a public opinion on the question of "unmarried love." In addition, it is a stamping ground for rich and aristocratic visitors from Europe and America.

* * *

THE WHITES don't give a damn for the Home Government. They usually ride roughshod over it. They come, says Farson "from a social stratum which is not awed by British politicians; they are aristocrats, themselves." And a vast percentage of the remainder are military men, who are "realists" and "men of action."

In 1923, when the Home Government in a White Paper ruled that "the interests of the African natives must be paramount" to those of the immigrant, the whites resented it and plotted to kidnap the British Governor. In 1950, when John Dugdale, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, went there in his tour of Africa, they treated him so badly he left in disgust.

When he protested against an official affair from which even the highest natives were barred, he was told, "If you would eat with Africans, we'd sooner eat with pigs." He told me in London on his return, "The settlers of Kenya have views diametrically opposed to those of His Majesty's Government."

BE IT NOTED that this revolt of the Kikiyus (which is non-Communist) has been simmering since World War I, under such leaders as Thuku and Jomo Kenyatta. In 1922, when hundreds of them gathered unarmed before the Governor's residence with a petition for better treatment, they were fired on and many killed.

All meetings and native labor unions were banned, leaving no alternative but to go underground. The Mau Maus began their secret assassinations chiefly in the rural districts and as they gained strength they came to the towns.

In 1947, one well-supported body, the East African Association, came into the open with six demands, namely "self-government by Africans for Africans," with a guarantee for the protection of all racial minorities; that "more land be made available both in the Crown Lands and in the highlands for settlement of Africans"; that they should have a voice in the Government; that, native children should be given free compulsory education like white ones; that "all humiliating rules and regulations should be abolished immediately," and that there be "equal pay for equal work," and substantial improving in housing.

* * *

IT SENT a memorandum of this to the Home Government, which recommended certain reforms (see Padmore, G., "Africa: Britain's Third Empire," p. 233) which the whites immediately denounced as an "insult" to Europeans and "a threat to white supremacy."

In short, the Kenya natives have received provocation enough. The Mau Maus are doing precisely what whites, or any other group, racial or national, did when any stranger came in and sat on their necks. And why should Britain now protect pirates who defied her?

ROGERS

'Class Lines' May Develop Here Among Negroes, Just as In Cuba and Haiti

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Courier.—The Editors.)

THE OTHER DAY I listened to a spirited debate as to whether progress was being made against injustice to Negroes in America. The consensus was "no."

The execution of the "Martinsville Seven," the judicial murder of Willie McGee, and the recent acquittal of a drunken white ex-policeman by a Westchester (New York) jury for the cold-blooded slaying of two Negroes whose only offense was that they were being served in a white tavern, were cited as proof. It was also held that such injustices may happen anywhere at any time.

Mr. Rogers

LOOKED AT thus it's impossible to see progress. But there is some even though like the mills of the gods it's slower than molasses in January.

Well, such progress as there is is almost imperceptible as that. In fact, the very progress made, since it sharpens the sensitiveness to injustice, makes many feel there's no progress.

Too much pessimism hamstrings progress in any line. I recall how in 1911 when I was South for the first time I went innocently to a ticket window to ask when a train would be leaving. I had chosen that window because it was the only one where the line was moving.

WHEN MY time came the clerk cussed me out and sent me to the jim-crow line which looked almost a mile long. That was forty-one years ago and Carl Rowan who made a 6,000 mile trip through the South in 1951 tells how he was refused purchase of a newspaper in a white waiting room.

In 1949, too, in Richmond, Va., the porter took my bag into a filthy little, crammed jim-crow waiting room at the railroad station. But there's a brighter side.

WORLD WAR I brought considerable progress. Negroes distinguished themselves on the home front and on the battlefields. White newspapers now praised them and when riots against them swept the nation, even in Washington, D. C., the thinking white people of the nation were aroused. And have been so since.

Today, I wish many Negroes I know were as sensitive about racial injustice as some whites, including Southerners, I know.

Recently when Dennis Bell, only living Negro winner of the Medal of Honor, was refused his hotel reservation in Oklahoma City, his white fellow-members of the Legion of Valor protested angrily; and a few weeks ago the Psychological Association announced it would hold no more conventions in Washington, D. C., because of discrimination against its Negro members.

* * *

Such pessimism I have on the race question is not so much on whites as on Negroes. It's easier to get the average white to see the light than to get the average Negro stirred to the point where he will do something about his rights as a citizen, a taxpayer, and a human being.

* * *

WHAT IS THE percentage of Negroes who give any support at all to such organizations as the NAACP which has done so much for them? I doubt whether more than 20 per cent think about rights even vaguely, and about two per cent who do anything at all about them.

Probably there are not over a hundred who are actively engaged in the fight. And what would happen if most of these should suddenly be silenced in one way or another? Know this: rights won can be lost.

There are white societies fighting to reduce Negroes to as near to slavery as possible. Bunches of them turned up at the Chicago conventions.

* * *

THESE "do nothing" Negroes are lucky. Everywhere else in the world (except South Africa until recently) Negroes who are somebody and who have something are set off from the so-called lower class which is left free to be exploited by upper-crust whites and Negroes.

But color in the United States lumps pander and college professor together, and the latter in fighting for his rights automatically helps the pander to get his.

But some day class lines might develop here and these unthinking Negroes will be just where "lower-class" blacks are in Cuba, Haiti, the British West Indies and elsewhere.

31a 1952

J.A. ROGERS (NEGRO)

ROGERS SAYS:

Research Disproves Theory That Blacks Contributed Little

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

I SAID last week that the UN is getting out a history of mankind from the earliest times and that I fear the Negro will not be done justice in it even though some of the 1,000 scholars working on it are impartial because so firmly has the doctrine of slavery been established that most reputable historians still parrot the statement that the Negro never did anything.

Mr. Rogers

As an instance I cited Prof. A. J. Toynbee, a fine liberal, who in his six-volume work, "A Study of History" (1934-39) said the Negro was "the only one of the primary races which has not made a creative contribution to our twenty-one civilizations . . . The Black Race has not helped create any civilization." Now Toynbee's word carries great weight. He's often called the world's greatest living historian.

Yet there are numerous facts to disprove him. For instance, in 1916, Sir Arthur Evans in his address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, telling of the part the Negro had played in early European culture said, "We must never lose sight of the fact that a Negroid element in the broadest sense of the term" was important in its early "artistic culture." (Vol. 86, p. 15.)

* * *

OVER THE years, however, I have been collecting these facts which are scattered in many thousands of ancient or little known books and pictures and have now woven them into a continued story which tells what European civilization owes to the Negro. The story goes through Greece and Rome to our times. There are the Moors who invaded Europe in 711 A.D. and were its intellectual and scientific leaders for the next six centuries. And who were the Moors? Those of that time who saw them say they were jet-black with only their "teeth and the whites of the eyes" showing any white.

So great was the prestige of the Moors that they appear by thousands in the family crests of European aristocracy. Thousands of such white families have names which signify their Negro ancestry. And they range from Sicily to Scandinavia and Finland, some Negroes with crowns in the crests of even German cardinals. Cities have them, too. One Austrian town has St. Peter of Catholic fame as an intensely black man holding the keys of heaven and hell. I have reproduced in this book over 200 coats-of-arms with these Negroes. As regards British royalty, one portrait is that of Charlotte Sophia, Queen of England, and grandmother of Queen Victoria. It shows her even more Negroid than that given in my "Sex and Race." Another set of four portraits shows the descent of a cousin of George VI from a Negro ex-slave raised to the nobility by Peter the Great of Russia, great-grandfather of Pushkin.

DUE TO the ignorance and general disbelief on the Negro's past, I've told where all is found. Hundreds of pictures, some very rare, give added proof. I think I can say that never before has research of this kind been done by anyone. To illustrate its rarity, some years ago a professor of Greek and Latin told me that he and his colleagues were searching for proof of Negroes with the Romans in Britain. Well, I eventually found it and in the Notitia Dignitatum, a Latin work of 400 A.D. I have given the page where it is.

I call this new book "Nature Knows No Color Line." Subtitle: "Negro Ancestry in the White Race." The American whites are included since they are not only of European descent but much Negro "blood" has passed into them here for over three hundred years. Four chapters deal with the United States.

LIKE MY other books I've done everything on it myself, work usually done by a staff of at least eight. Again, nearly all Negro authors are subsidized by white people and white publishers. No scholarship or other philanthropy has entered at any time into my work. It has been entirely independent. Of course, there is no money in it. But independence is sweeter than cash to me.

In the past I had a printer who gave me credit. I paid when books were sold. But he's out of business now and I had to deposit cash with the new one. The book will be ready Jan. 31 and the balance must be paid, therefore I am doing what even many big firms do—asking advance orders. The price of the book is $5 but to paid advance orders it is $4 until Jan. 31. Please write me care the Courier, 2091 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The United Nations historians will be informed of this book.

ROGERS SAYS:

Historian-Researcher Gives Short Passages On Several Good Books

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

SEVERAL books have come to me for mention. All are worthwhile, but since this newspaper has a book review section any extended mention of them would be an overlapping. Here, however, is a brief notice of them:

"Rock Bottom" by Ed Earl Conrad (Doubleday & Co., N. Y., $3.75). I read this novel of 320 pages almost at one sitting so gripping is the material, so easy the style. The heroine, Leeha Whitfield, born on a Mississippi plantation, and who later moved to "the lost slave world," the Muck, in Florida, sees or encounters all the evils possible to her race in the South.

Mr. Rogers

Later in Harlem and New York, she encounters all the evils possible there, too, it seems.

ANYONE WELL read on the race question will not deny that the evils and horrors Mr. Conrad describes have happened. The only one new to me was that in Florida where two trees — paragrav trees — are bent down and one each tied to a Negro's leg, and then let loose to fly up and "split him up and down the middle."

As an essay "Rock Bottom" is credible, but as a novel it strains the imagination. Leeha is too central a figure. Mr. Conrad, who has written several other good books on the Negro, permits, I think, his great hatred of injustice to disturb his artistic balance.

Harlem isn't as bad as Leeha experienced it. The book will certainly be grabbed by enemies of America, Communists and non-Communists. But that's the price we'll have to pay as long as this evil is permitted to exist.

"THE KOREAN MESS," by James S. Stemons (Chapman and Grimes, Boston, $2.50). A very able and readable discussion of the Korean War. The blunderings of our State Department are hit hard. The author rightly points out that the Chinese regard the Americans and others as intruders in Asia, and that the best thing for us is to pull out and let the Asians run their affairs as they had been doing long before Europe and America were heard of.

"The Negro in Hollywood Films" by V. J. Jerome (Masses and Mainstream, N. Y., 25c). Recent movies on the race question like "Pinky," "Lost Boundaries," "No Way Out," "Home of the Brave" are compared with earlier ones, and the question asked, "Does this new film cycle signify a real advance in Hollywood's treatment of the Negro?

It cannot be disputed that in a formal sense these films seem to leave behind the traditional Hollywood cliche. "But," says the author, "they are far from being as revolutionary as they will strike most." It merely means that "the advancing movement of the Negro people," together with their white friends have "forced a new tactical concession from the enemy."

* * *

"THE SURGEON'S QUEST" by Lucille Vello (William-Frederick Press, N. Y., $3). A poignant, gripping love story, in a flowing style. The characters are white, except a dark-skinned East Indian doctor who marries and lives happily with a white American girl, despite protests. Mrs. Vello attacks and ridicules color prejudice very neatly.

"The Clock of Destiny," Vol. 2, by C. M. Bey (2633 East Fifty-first Street, Cleveland, Ohio. $3). Written especially for "Initiated Masons and Eastern Stars—Third, Thirty-second and Thirty-third Degrees." Work deals principally with Moorish, Babylonian and other Eastern lore and astrological signs.

"Liberia, Land of Promise." A fine and comprehensive work in commemoration of the centenary of that republic. Published by the Bureau of Information, Department of State, Monrovia.

* * *

UP-TO-DATE information on its agriculture, education, health and sanitation, mineral resources, finances, etc. Finely illustrated with scenes of its early history, its present officials and industries.

"Dakar, French West Africa," sent with the compliments of the Cultural Counselor of the French Embassy, New York. A really superb work on that Senegalese city, with very fine pictures of the life of the people of both "races."

Africans are seen at work in chemical laboratories; doctors and internes in hospitals, and as officials in the Grand Council of French West Africa seated with whites, all of whom are working out a common destiny.

ROGERS SAYS:

Of Course Mr. Truman Was For Us; But We're Not Voting for HIM This Time

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

MR. TRUMAN, as I have said, is the most outspoken of all the Presidents for civil rights to Negroes. He has set the pace for all who follow him. I heard him say in Harlem, "You people know that if there is one thing I have fought for as President of the United States it has been the protection of the God-given rights of every citizen." To that I say amen and amen!

Mr. Rogers

But it's one thing to fight for a cause and quite another to win it. Mr. Truman, despite his nearly eight years, has won very, very little. And he knows in his heart that the great obstacle has been the Southern wing of his party, all of whose states already have laws against civil rights.

THEY ARE Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia, all Democratic.

Before any civil rights are possible in these sixteen states, you'll have to kill their jim-crow laws. And what think you of the near possibility of that?

Senators and Congressmen from these states thus dare not speak for civil rights unless they wish to commit political suicide. It's therefore clear why Senator Sparkman of Alabama announced that he is against civil rights, always has been, ever will be and that "we, Southern Democrats—21 of us—are banded together and pledged to use every parliamentary device possible to defeat civil rights legislation."

* * *

AND THE politicians from these sixteen states wield often greater power than those from the other thirty-two. Thanks to poll-tax and other voting restrictions they are able to return to Congress year after year and because of seniority head most of those powerful committees which run the nation. Stevenson spoke of the "murderers row" that would be on these committees if the Republicans won. What of the "murderers" row against civil rights for Negroes sitting here since 1933?

Now Truman knows all this. But in his Harlem address he placed all the blame on the Republicans. They "are the opponents of civil rights," he said. Not a word of blame for his own party, though it had the majority in both the Eighty-first and Eighty-second Congress.

"I sent," he said, "a good FEPC bill" to Congress, but the Republicans killed it. On that occasion, Feb. 21, 1950, there were 249 Democrats present and 168 Republicans. If his party was for it why didn't it kill the substitute, the "toothless" McConnell Amendment, especially since it had the backing of forty-three Republicans? His party in the Senate also defeated twice closure that would prevent the bill being talked to death.

THE CRUX of the whole thing is this: Southern Democrats hate Truman for his civil rights stand. Certain Republicans hate him for other things and even though they may not be against civil rights, will vote with the Southerners to get their support on other measures.

In short, what Mr. Truman said in Harlem, was, some of it, politics at its most untruthful. The New York Times, one of his strongest FEPC supporters, rightly said, "An honest regard for the facts is to be expected from the President of the United States even in the heat of a political campaign, but unfortunately the incumbent is so anxious to defend his own record that he stoops to distortion to accomplish his purposes.

"He reached a low point during his whistle-stop tour when he spoke to a Harlem audience about the issue of civil rights."

* * *

BUT TO heck with it. These ignorant folk don't deserve the truth. Why, and many of them wouldn't want it anyhow.

Mr. Truman's distortions stand out even more when you consider state FEPC's. Of the eleven states with it, seven were Republican—New Jersey, New York, Wisconsin, Indiana, Connecticut, Oregon, Colorado. The other four were more or less Republican. Of the seven with effective enforcement, five were Republican at the time of passage. Does this prove that all Republicans are against FEPC?

The extreme political bias of Mr. Truman does Negroes no good. It alienates them from friends in the other party, and makes for ingratitude. Good Republicans working with good Northern Democrats have done much. And Negroes, divided as they are and dependent on white folk, need all the friends they can get irrespective of party.

* * *

THAT NEGRO who thinks that voting Democratic will bring civil rights is in a fool's paradise. Should the Democrats sweep in or the vote be evenly divided it will be the same old story. Should the Republicans sweep in there is chance of a little civil rights. They do not come from jim-crow states where keeping Negroes down is such a vital issue.

And in any case we aren't voting for Truman now.

By George S. Schuyler 31a

Views and Reviews

More About the Communists' Jim-Crow Branch in Harlem

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

School days! School days! Dear old Marxist rule days,
Spying and lying and all the tricks
Taught by the best of the Bolshevicks;
We'll teach you how to agitate,
To overthrow and liquidate,
Blow up a bridge or grab a state . . .
At Harlem's new Communist school.

Courier p. 17

AS FIRST reported here some weeks back, owing to outcroppings of "white chauvinism" at the Jefferson School of Social Science on the edge of New York's Greenwich Village, the Stalinists of the metropolis decided to open a colored branch in Harlem. There was no need of making the white comrades downtown uncomfortable sitting in classrooms alongside the colored American and Puerto Rican brethren. It's hard enough to hold anybody in the party these days, what with an increasing number of the Kremlin boys and girls feasting and snoozing at the expense of the U. S. taxpayers in sundry Federal stirs. Indeed, the career of the party members is becoming increasingly stirring—if you get what I mean. So, since the comrades have always believed in self-determination for the Black Belt, why not a jim-crow branch of the Jefferson School where the colored folk would feel at home? This would be agreeable to the white students downtown, too.

Mr. Schuyler

Pittsburgh Post Gaz. Sat. 3-29-52

SO NOW, DEAR PIONEERS, the Frederick Douglass Educational Center (how the poor man would turn in his grave!) subtitled "Harlem's New School for Liberation" and located at 124 West 124th Street, opened its first term on March 17. Undoubtedly there was rejoicing in every Red cell, including those in the Federal penitentiary. Singularly enough, this momentous event went unnoticed by a tiny minority of 99 and 98/100 per cent of Harlem's oppressed and persecuted population. Up to press time there was no stampede of eager students from the legitimate day and night schools dotting Harlem to the yawning classrooms of the Douglass Educational Center.

* * *

IN ALL FAIRNESS, however, it must be admitted that no more distinguished faculty was ever tracked by the FBI or had its passports snatched. Prominent among the instructors are Dr. Doxey A. Wilkerson, that staunch patriot who left Howard University to become a Communist organizer; Dr. Alpheus Hunton, who just returned from a seminar in the Federal pen; Lloyd Brown, the class-angling "novelist" who has won wide acclaim in the columns of the Daily Worker, and several others not so well known outside Cominform circles. One notes the absence of Paul Robeson, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Langston Hughes, but eventually chairs will be found for them as the enrollment grows from zero to fifteen. I plan to enroll myself because it might prove useful to know how to copy a top secret Government document.

* * *

AMONG THE MANY excellent courses offered are "The History of the Negro People," "Science of Society," "The Negro Question," "El Problema Del Pueble Negro," designed to "send" the Puerto Ricans; "African Liberation Movements," "Public Speaking for Progressives" (read agitators), "The Puerto Rican Question" (according to Stalin, no doubt) and "Culture of the Negro People."

These are just "some" of the courses. Undoubtedly there will be other classes in "How to Subvert Your Sunday School," "The Theory and Practice of Sabotage," "How to Woo Amorous Prospects," "The Inside Dope on Wrecking a Union," "How to Circulate Lies" and "How to Preach Democracy Without Practicing It." There will probably be a large library of works printed by the State Publishing House in Moscow.

So friends, if you're visiting New York this summer, why not enroll and brush up on your arson? Or learn how to tell a Communist party member from an FBI agent?

Views and Reviews

With $15 Billion Annual Income Negroes Should Do All Right

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

AN OCCASIONAL turn around the country is refreshing, instructive and sometimes sobering. In the past six weeks I have been to Grand Rapids, Chicago, Jefferson City, Kansas City, San Francisco, Baltimore, Albany, N. Y., and Columbus and Atlanta, Ga. Only brief pauses, it is true, but long enough to gather some impressions.

Mr. Schuyler

The brightness, the cleanliness, the airiness, the cosmopolitanism of San Francisco and Oakland were refreshing. Anything smacking of a fenced-off Negro ghetto was not apparent to the casual observer. In 'Frisco this was true even in 1913 when I first saw it and Negroes were about one-tenth of their present number. Oakland had a much larger colored community, but residences then as now were scattered. Next to New York City this remains my favorite metropolitan area.

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I WAS STRUCK by the modernistic office of the Trans-Bay Federal Savings and Loan Association of San Francisco at 1738 Post Street, and its efficient staff. More impressive is the story behind it. Wartime colored migration placed a premium on housing and our folks had difficulty in financing purchases; mortgage rates being unusually high. Prominent colored men of 'Frisco and Oakland decided their 150,000 people could do something about it without rattling the tin cup. They applied for a charter to do business as a Federal savings and loan association, raised $157,000 from a minimum of 150 people in thirty days. By March 19, 1952, they had assets totaling $2,151,197.63.

Savings accounts came from individuals, lodges, social groups, churches and businesses; from whites, Orientals and Latin-Americans as well. More than 1,000 people have been assisted to purchase and improve property, and many homes have been saved. Starting with two employes, the association now has five, all graduates of local colleges and universities.

Pat. 5-10-52

Why cannot colored people everywhere do this, instead of staging futile mass meetings and crying for help? There can be no real equality without economic organization and power. With $15 billion annually in our hands, we don't need to beg.

* * *

IN CHICAGO THERE were fruitful conversations with distinguished Atty. C. Francis Stradford and Willard S. Townsend, UTSEA international president, and shorter talks with others. How colored folk have spread out in the Windy City! What a far cry from fifteen years ago, residentially, commercially and industrially! As elsewhere on earth all problems have not been solved, but a lot of able people are working on them. Everywhere we have the opportunity to have much more than we have.

Most entertaining and stimulating were two days spent with the classes in creative literature and journalism at Morgan State College, discussing writing and the world with students and professors, meeting old friends like Bill Gibson (former Afro managing editor, now journalism instructor) and J. Welfred Holmes of the English department. What well-trained minds these youngsters have! What searching questions!

* * *

SIMILARLY REWARDING were the two days at Lincoln University's (Mo.) fourth annual Interscholastic Press Workshop held by the famous School of Journalism headed by Dean A. S. Pride. Here there were fine talks by distinguished journalists and keen questions by the students on every phase of the craft. How well equipped many of them are to serve creditably in this increasingly exacting field! Here, after thirty years in the profession, I got my first citation of merit. Usually I get condemnation rather than commendation. Even a hippopotamus-hided veteran appreciates little commendation.

Pittsburgh Courier

Views and Reviews

Intellectuals, Huggers of Red Cliches, Ignore the Kremlin Label

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THERE IS a tremendous need for greater objectivity, knowledge and logic among those who influence colored American opinion.

There is also a need for less gullibility among them and a more diligent cultivation of scepticism and common sense. There is far too much sentimentality and emotionalism bordering at times on hysteria among men and women who, by education and position, should be calm and deliberate in their judgments.

Mr. Schuyler

It is positively alarming to recall that there has not been a Communist front, campaign or cliche which many of these "intellectuals" have not hugged to their breasts over a period of a quarter century. Worse, they have used their influence to snare colored masses, fortunately to little avail. Those writers among them have to a surprising extent mouthed the Red party line in its infinite changes, thinking and claiming they were advancing the cause of the colored people in their struggle toward full equality in American society.

They were either unaware of, or indifferent to the established fact that these policies and propaganda were manufactured in Moscow.

THERE HAS not been a single one of these Communist fronts or campaigns that was necessary, and not one that did not confuse the issue. How many of our people fell for the International Labor Defense conduct of the Scottsboro case?

And yet will anybody argue that the NAACP could not have conducted this case more sincerely and successfully, as it did the case of the Arkansas sharecroppers a decade before?

Why did so many of these "leaders" flock to and swear by the National Negro Congress, an established Communist front which was actually concocted in the New York County Committee of the Communist party for the express purpose of undermining and destroying the NAACP?

Have any of the scores of fronts done anything more (or as much) for the advancement of Negroes toward full citizenship than the NAACP, the Urban League or any of a dozen other long-organized colored and interracial groups?

Why then did so many of our "intellectuals" flock to them, permit their names to adorn the Red letterheads and grace platforms at dinners and mass meetings?

Why do they sing the praises of the Russian dictatorship and attempt to equate conditions within the Soviet slave pen with those here?

* * *

NOW, SOME of them are becoming understandably touchy and do not want anybody to mention the fact that they were "fellow-traveling."

They call this "hysteria," "playing the white man's game" and "selling out the Negro's struggle." No one is deceived by these cuttlefish tactics. These people are hurt by revelation of their past sins and they now wish to turn the sword upon their accusers by crying up the masses against them in traditional, demagogic, "stop thief" fashion. They are flogging a phantom.

Everybody not in a padded cell knows that American colored people do not enjoy the same social and economic privileges and opportunities as American white people.

All colored people in their various ways contend against this condition, whether by fighting nefarious efforts to circumscribe their people, by working to make their people more capable of availing themselves of opportunities as they come, or by cooperating with white people of sincere good-will (not those under foreign orders to create dissension). There is not ONE road but MANY to the Promised Land.

EVERYBODY ALSO knows that as a result of numerous factors, active and passive, Negroes in this American civilization are better off in every way than those elsewhere, and their status is improving daily.

Nevertheless, some of our "leaders" minimize or deny this obvious fact and are bitter against those who mention it. They glory in publicizing the fact that four Negro homes are bombed in far separated places (and I agree that it should denounced and the culprits jailed) but they are offended if someone points out that in the same period colored people purchased 4,000 homes which were NOT bombed!

Moreover, they have a fashion of implying that such atrocities happen only in the United States—as if color, race, class and caste prejudice, discrimination and segregation were confined to this country! That, of course, is the Red line—the Reds who murdered more defenseless Polish officers in one day in the Katyn Wood than there have been lynchings in the U. S. A. since 1886!

Our national history being what it is, how can anybody of sound mind expect a minority group to fight for equality without suffering some casualties? Only the ignorant and spineless expect none. The ultimate object of all struggle is victory. To constantly yammer about the casualties and not shout about the real victories is the worst sort of defeatism.

The WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

President Truman will probably run again, what with the apparent mediocrity of all the Democratic backfield runners now campaigning for nomination. Look for a "draft" at Chicago. With all that patronage at stake, the Democrat bosses figure they shouldn't select a boy to do a man's work!

CICERO'S police chief and two cops slapped with total fines of $2,500 should increase their vigilance. That they are still on the force suggests that Cicero is unrepentent.

Washington-Carver Memorial half dollars now being sold (at $2) in 2,500 U. S. banks, with proceeds going to "oppose spread of communism among Negroes." Smart fellow, that S. J. Phillips! . . . By the way, do you own one?

* * *

ATLANTA'S Horace T. Ward has filed suit to enter University of Georgia Law School. Talmadge shouts he'll use "every resource of the state government" to prevent the "catastrophe" and will sell the school first. Anybody want to buy a going university?

* * *

Queer folks in the State Department. Two were fired on charges last year and 117 beat the heat by resigning. Is this what's wrong with our foreign policy? Incidentally, twenty-six were fired on loyalty charges. Page Senator McCarthy!

KEFAUVER says he'll back whatever the Democrat platform says on FEPC, but is personally opposed to compulsory aspects. That washes him up with the colored brethren.

* * *

Puerto Rico's commonwealth status was stymied by the Senate last week when it voted to bar any amendment to the recently adopted constitution without U. S. Congressional approval. This amendment came from South Carolina Olin D. Johnston, whose millionaire contractor friend, L. D. Long, is sore because he hasn't been able to duck $1,000,000 in back taxes owed the Puerto Rican government.

* * *

COMMUNISTS, charged S. B. Hoffman, AFL Upholsterers Union president, last week, still control the expelled CIO unions. He wants legislation making it unlawful to bargain with such unions. It may be passed, too.

* * *

China's "People's" Republic experiencing the inevitable disillusionment. After murdering a million citizens while "reorganizing" the country, Reds have now between one and two millions in slavery. Chinese now hollering :"Come back, my Chiang to me, to me!"

* * *

VIRGIN HEIFERS at Michigan State College have been made to give milk after treatment with sex hormones. Old stuff! West African medical wizards have been making wet nurses out of virgins and post-menapause women for ages. Read "Native African Medicine" by Dr. Harley (Harvard University Press) and see what wonders these "backward" people perform!

31a 1952

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER (NEGRO)

Views and Reviews

Why Is It That Negroes Are Not More Successful in Business?

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

WHETHER or not all the world be akin, there is certainly a similarity between the problems of the colored gentry here and elsewhere on this mortal coil. For example, in mid-July I was sitting on the veranda of a prosperous colored business man in Port au Prince, Haiti, and he was bemoaning the inroads being made in the business world there by ubiquitous Syrians. This man who has built up a prosperous business worth a half-million dollars and employs scores of Negroes at better-than-usual wages spoke apprehensively about the structure going up right next door, financed by a Syrian, which would soon be in competition with him. He was not too sure that the unthinking Negroes would not flock to the new place although his is certainly up-to-date in every way and has long served the public well.

Mr. Schuyler

Courier Sat. 8-9-52

I LEARNED elsewhere during my stay in the black republic that many colored business men have more difficulty in getting bank loans of $20,000 than some white merchants do in getting loans three or four times as great, although their resources are identical. It seems that certain deals go down between key officials (colored, of course) and certain white business men which redound to the advantage of both, but at the expense of some colored merchants. The Syrians will pool resources to help one another float a deal and put a Negro competitor out of business while colored folk have not yet reached that point of cooperation. In Haiti, as elsewhere, many of the best Negro minds prefer more dicty pursuits than business—such as medicine, education, dentistry, politics, etc.

THESE CONVERSATIONS supplemented by my observations in Port au Prince and Cap Haitien, brought to mind what I had seen and heard in other parts of Latin America where the colored brethren is in the majority or is a very large minority. In northern Brazil where the colored are thick there is scarcely any business owned by them. A Negro behind a counter in Belem, Recife or Bahia is a rarity. In Cayenne, French Guiana; in Paramaribo, Surinam, and in Georgetown, British Guiana, it is the same. Chinese, Indonesians, Portuguese, Syrians and, here and there, some Jews, are the sellers and the Negroes the buyers. In British Guiana the Indians who came in as illiterate, debased indentured serfs to work on the plantations the freed Negroes had abandoned, have now acquired the farms, much of the business and are rapidly becoming a challenge to the political power of the Negroes, many of whom are in hock to Hindu loan sharks.

Nor is it much different in Trinidad where thoughtful Negroes view with apprehension the growing economic, financial and political power of the Indians (East, that is). The same may be said of St. Lucia, Martinique, Guadeloupe and St. Kitts, and increasingly so of the Virgin Islands, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. Negro-owned businesses worthy of the name are also a rarity in Cuba. Wherever they do exist they are up against the competition of organized groups that do not intermarry as a rule nor associate socially, and they are slowly losing out.

* * *

WHY IS IT THAT the colored brother is not more successful in business and why is he loath or incapable of using the methods of his competitors? It cannot be ascribed to ignorance or illiteracy because the whites, Chinese, Indians or Indonesians who are supplanting him are usually less educated and often have been free a shorter period. How does one explain that in Liberia where there are scarcely 1,000 whites, the number of Negro-owned businesses is negligible? And in South and East Africa it is the Indian and the Arab who are the middle men.

Has the Negro, as Carter G. Woodson charged, been miseducated away from the fundamentals to survival in this civilization? Certainly the lamentable lack of business enterprise and acumen in these forty-eight states among our folk would seem to lend some credence to Woodson's thesis.

In the metropolitan district of New York City there are over one million Negroes and they have less business than the small local colony of Greeks. The same might be said of almost every sizeable Negro community in the country, and yet where are the obstacles to entering business? I know of some flourishing Negro-owned businesses in small deep South towns notable for lack of civil rights, and yet they have large white patronage. If a few, why not more? If in Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina, why not in Michigan, Connecticut and New Jersey? If impoverished, ignorant, underprivileged Chinese, Indians and Italians can do it by cooperating, why not native colored folk who have had the advantage of American education and culture? Why was Booker T. Washington reviled for urging the obvious? One just wonders about these things. The Port au Prince merchant did.

Views and Reviews

If You Haven't Heard of Alpha Gamma Chi, You Will!

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

HAVE you heard about Alpha Gamma Chi? If you haven't, the chances are that you soon will because it is a truly revolutionary organization. If successful, it may do more than almost any group in this country to increase racial amity, understanding and cooperation.

Alpha Gamma Chi is an interracial sorority founded by E. Robert Palmer, a white man, of Loveland, Col., and his capable wife. It is sponsored by a number of prominent people like Gail T. Ireland, former Attorney General of Colorado; W. Miller Barbour, executive secretary of the Denver Urban League; Mrs. Howard G. Colwell, past president of the American Baptist Convention; Mrs. Edith S. Sampson, and Wythe Williams, founder and past president of the Overseas Press Club.

Mr. Schuyler

Chapters have been organized in Denver, Chicago, Cheyenne, Indianapolis, Terre Haute and New York City. Its official publication is The Bell, published in Loveland, Col., in the Home State Bank Building.

* * *

JUST ANYBODY cannot join because membership is attainable by invitation only and the acceptance of the pledge by the national organization. Admittance to full membership is through initiation by ritual.

The stated aim of the sorority "is to kindle and forever maintain the principles and ideals of true democracy. We believe that to accomplish this, a true spirit of friendship, understanding and sisterly love between young women of America, regardless of race, creed or color, must be established. If this is obtained, every other purpose will be fulfilled as a matter of course. All that is needed is an earnest and sincere desire on the part of each and every member to keep this objective in mind and thus keep Alpha Gamma Chi the fine uplifting organization it was conceived to be by its founders. Then, the secondary purpose of this great sisterhood, the social and cultural development of its members, will be realized."

Courier Sat. 1-12-52

THE FACT that Alpha Gamma Chi is interracial does not make it revolutionary. There are many such organizations already.

What does make it revolutionary is that it is aimed directly at bringing colored and white women together for social and cultural association in a sisterhood of like-minded ladies concerned with fostering interracial friendship and patriotic ideals.

Recently I sat in on the organizing meeting of the New York chapter held in famed Town Hall Club, as an observer. When the speaking and inducting were concluded, there were twenty new members, ten white and ten colored, sworn in by the

veteran journalist, Mrs. Katherine Leeds, 935 Boulevard East, Weehawken, N. J. This charter membership consisted of brilliant, prominent women of the Greater New York community. Its truly interracial character was in accordance with the dreams of the founders and sponsors.

* * *

Now just imagine what will happen when there are interracial chapters in fifty or 100 or 500 communities from coast to coast composed of white and colored women of similar character and prominence!

It seems to me that the potentialities of this organization are immense. These women, colored and white, will be meeting regularly on a social, sisterly level. Their influence in their respective communities and circles can scarcely help but be wide and deep. They will not be simply talking about freedom and democracy, but living it. They will constitute in each community a new kind of Fifth Column—a group quietly working to destroy bigotry, prejudice, meanness, misunderstanding, racial clannishness and the sinister forces of subversion and treason, now eating out the vitals of America.

It is gratifying to learn that Alpha Gamma Chi is growing. I hope that interracially-minded women of the right sort in every community will get together to form chapters. Mr. Palmer has expressed his and Mrs. Palmer's eagerness to receive inquiries.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Our Negro College Kitchen Might Well Copy the Whites' . . . on Food

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

A MONTH ago, Williams College announced that it had added a hotel manager to its staff as part of an anti-inflation campaign to serve its students with high-quality food at low prices in the college dining halls. An arrangement has been made also to help improve purchases and preparation of food in the independent dining rooms of the fraternities.

Mr. Schuyler

Here is something I hope will be widely copied in our colored colleges where the fare is, with a few exceptions, notably bad, and often worse than levee camp victuals. After gandering and sampling the chow at some of these institutions of learning, one does not wonder that whenever a student gets an extra dollar, he's off to the nearest restaurant to get a good meal—for a change.

How it is that so many of these youths manage to retain their good looks on such sorry sustenance is a mystery. It is equally strange that institutions teaching home economics, food chemistry and allied subjects seemingly cannot practice it in feeding their charges.

* * *

ON SEVERAL occasions I have gently opened this subject to some of the less touchy kitchen overseers in our educational institutions, and have been told that they are giving the students what they want and are accustomed to eating. If this is true, then there is something radically wrong with food selection and preparation in the average Negro home.

I have been led to believe that most of these students are as averse to green salads as a Moslem is to pork, and disdain any bread but white bread; that unless meat is fried, baked or boiled excessively, they are dissatisfied; that most of them would rather have a bottle of soda water than a glass of milk; that they would be distressed without such hog fare as hominy, hopping john, slimy greens, corn bread, fat pork and those remarkable indigestion-makers, hot biscuits.

Well, this could be true, and I'm not too sure that it isn't; but it seems to me that just as the colleges seek to develop better minds and to impart new knowledge, so they have a responsibility to teach their young charges higher standards of food preparation and appreciation than most of them brought from home.

Brief sojourns in many of the dining rooms and cafeterias have convinced me that this is not the case. If pedigreed stock were fed as unscientifically as our children, no prizes would ever be won. I have seen public school lunches, by the way, that warranted a jail sentence, and one wonders how lunches at home could possibly be worse. There is something depressing about watching people who can afford better and have the finest facilities for preparing nutritious, tasty and attractive meals, eating as badly as Caribbean peasants.

SO IF it be true that we are an imitative people (and I haven't seen very much evidence of it!), I hope our colleges will follow the example of Williams and give our youths a break. If they plead poverty, then a New Deal in nutrition could be launched by hiring some expert on a co-operative basis to travel from college to college setting the kitchens and dining rooms in order.

This might necessitate sending some of the alleged chefs back to hod-carrying or lumbering and some of the supervisors back to day's work, but the students would look better, feel better and learn faster. After all, there is a direct connection between poor nutrition and poor marks. Also, more bad looks, malformations and poor skin are due to improper feeding than to heredity.

All the salves, ointments and lotions in the drug store cannot do what properly selected and prepared food can do. This is a scientific fact, easily verifiable, and not just a matter of opinion.

It costs no more to eat well than to eat badly. Much of the good food we do buy is ruined in preparation so that it has no nutritional value at all. No laws compel us to sentence our youth to such provender.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborne Makes a Really Sound Move

LAST week at a luncheon-conference given for colored editors and advertising executives at the spacious offices of Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborne in midtown Manhattan, the ace advertising firm's bosses introduced its first Negro staff man, Clarence Holte. Of course those present needed no personal introduction to Mr. Holte because all had known him for years as a representative of the great Lever Brothers Corporation, but the occasion was a great event because being given a staff job by B.B.D.&O. is entering the advertising Valhalla. This great agency with its 1,412 people in offices in eleven cities from coast to coast is top flight, dealing as it does with the mightiest corporations in America.

Mr. Schuyler

B. B. D. & O. SCREENED many applicants for the position and picked whom they regarded as the most qualified for the job they wanted done. It took its time in making the selection and in hiring a Negro it was not motivated by any suddenly acquired affection for the colored folks. This firm is dealing primarily in dollars and cents, and not sentiment. It is in business to make a profit—which, after all, is the soundest reason for being in business—otherwise one is running a charity.

A year ago this firm conducted some retail store tests in connection with sales promotion, and this brought home to the marketing and merchandising department that it was missing the boat on Negro consumers. After pondering this illuminating fact, it was decided to bring in a man who knew the retail sales field who would remedy matters. Surveys had shown the increased economic well-being of the American Negro, his tastes and his buying habits. If more corporations selling things could be shown the rewards to be garnered from exploiting this field, that would mean more accounts for B. B. D. & O.

THE MORE THOROUGHLY the colored consumer field was developed, the more money the advertisers would spend in developing it. This would mean more Negro sales representatives hired and more advertising in newspapers and magazines catering to the colored public which would then have more revenue with which to serve better their readers and to hire more young men and women in various departments in order to do it. Also it would mean more Negro talent on radio and television.

While this advertising agency operates through thirteen departments organized vertically, it regards the Negro market as so important that Mr. Holte's office will work horizontally through all departments to acquaint them with better means of developing the colored field by serving it and pleasing it. He will, of course, attend all conferences and conventions the nation over having to do with this field, and send regular newsletters to all company executives informing them of latest facts and observations with relation to it.

* * *

THERE ARE MANY capable colored men and women in the advertising, marketing and merchandising fields like Mr. Holte, but since they are not professional race hustlers, rarely make public statements or grace banquet tables, the Negro public seldom reads of them or sees their pictures. However, I do not think it is exaggerating to say that they have more solid accomplishments to their credit in advancing the status of the Negro than all the chauvinists and ballyhooers put together.

By their work in this field, dealing with and changing the minds of the people who own and run America, they have brought about a quiet revolution. While Negro press headlines have scared the public with frequent atrocity tales about the "underprivileged" and "oppressed" Negroes, the advertising gentry have produced convincing facts and figures about group progress that have so tremendously impressed those with goods to sell that a really new day has dawned without a lot of people realizing it.

* * *

THESE MERCHANDISING and advertising executives, and the corporation managers and directors they represent do not live in a vacuum. They function as citizens, socially, politically, economically and culturally; but the impressions they quire about colored people in the course business influence their opinions and tions otherwise.

A man with a large Negro market his high-class product is not easy prey for propaganda about Aframerican barbarism or impoverishment. One who has successfully financed numerous fine colored homes without loss is unwilling to credit the tales about colored deterioration of property or the fables about thriftlessness. More and more through the sales and advertising men the news has circulated that colored people are like other people of respective station, and class by class are to be cultivated in the same manner for similar results.

Isn't that, after all, what we are after?

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Away With Racial Masochists — Those Who Revel in Our Sufferings! . . .

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THERE is a species of masochistic Aframerican who glories in recounting over and over the ills, real and imagined, that he and his people suffer while crying down (almost deploring) the good he and they enjoy. This type is as mentally unhealthy as his psychological counterpart who delights in being maltreated by lover or mistress, but misconstrues kindness as weakness, and seeks out another partner who will cruelly wield the whip.

Mr. Schuyler

They love to represent colored people's position everywhere as dire and by implication incapable of being solved or even ameliorated save by changes which they know will not occur in the near future, thus, incidentally, making all struggle seem hopeless.

They constantly harp on the gains that have NOT been made and are wroth when it is maintained that some gains have. As an old student of military psychology, I know that one of the surest ways for a commander to insure defeat is to tell his men what losses of lives and ground there have been without mentioning the victories. The normal thing is for commanders to minimize the losses and exaggerate the gains; which is psychologically sound if a war is to be prosecuted to a victorious conclusion. Men do not sustain the will to fight on tales of disaster.

* * *

ANOTHER EXAMPLE of this racial masochism is the constant repetition of the lie that American colored people are more supine in face of injustice and persecution than anybody the world over. Paradoxically these misleaders call upon these same "cowardly" Negroes to fight like Trojans! However, when somebody points out that

these "cowardly" Negroes, through their struggle and sacrifice, have made substantial gains here and there (as every honest person knows they have), that person is denounced as "appeaser"! Consider how Mrs. Sampson has been maligned!

It requires far more courage to live, work, save and school one's children in a racially hostile environment than it does to shout belligerently from behind a desk in the safety of a liberal community.

Personally I am extremely proud of the colored people who in the face of hostility have stood fast, acquired homes, property and farms, and achieved in three or four generations a standard of well-being envied even by white neighbors, let alone the whites abroad. This viewpoint, I know, is unpopular with the racial masochists.

* * *

IT WAS ONCE the contention of Ku Klux foolosophers (in support of their view that the colored folk were doomed to disaster in this civilization), that only a few of them could rise. Some black Kluxers have taken up this cry which every informed and traveled Aframerican knows to be nonsense. You don't have to be familiar with Department of Labor statistics to know the facts of group well-being, you only have to look around.

It is implied and often asserted by these racial masochists that practically all of their people with good incomes derive them from the segregated economy. This is a deliberate lie; deliberately intended, it seems, to discourage those hopeful of racial adjustment. How many people do YOU know who are earning $60 or $75 weekly and NOT working for Negro businesses or institutions? There are thousands here in New York, and in many other communities all of us can name.

THE RACIAL masochists have assiduously cultivated the dangerous doctrine of suspicion and hatred of white people as such (which accords with the Communists' drivel about "genocide," and the 1928 ukase of the Comintern), and whose ultimate result would be extermination. Without interracial cooperation, understanding, patience plus a lot of courage and some expert legal pressure, there is no good future for race relations.

It is dangerously dishonest to preach racial enmity while pretending to want to eliminate it; to talk belligerently about "keeping up the fight" with little regard for the logistics and psychology involved; to imply that the status of all Negroes everywhere in the country is the same (the old stereotype beloved by Negrophobists), and to seek to rouse the rabble against counsels of sanity.

Responsible white people have been discrediting their racial demagogues. It is high time we did the same.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

'Thinkers' Make the Error of Overstressing a Certain Tactic

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

LAUGHABLE are the efforts of some of our "thinkers" to confuse the clear issue of miseducating the colored public with Red propaganda, by raising the spurious one of supposedly evil "gradualism," the "right" of certain individuals to appear on public platforms, the "right" to take mass votes on whether or not certain people should have U. S. passports and the "right" to ballyhoo Moscow's "peace" propaganda.

Mr. Schuyler

No national can travel these days without a passport or proof of U. S. citizenship and no government will permit its nationals to use its facilities to speed its own liquidation. Assuming one has a "right" to a passport, which is a great convenience and necessity traveling abroad one also has an obligation to act like a loyal national and not like an alien agent.

Under the circumstances why should any responsible leader stampede his followers into opposing this policy?

* * *

THE SECRETARY of State (who has great sources of information all over the world) has asserted that the Stockholm Peace Appeal is Communist propaganda directed from the Kremlin.

Everybody who knew anything already knew that; and only dupes or rogues signed this petition designed to spiritually undermine those opposing the Russian drive for world conquest and universal slavery. Why have not responsible leaders warned their followers to have nothing to do with it?

In the recent discussion about the lamentable affair at the AMEZ Brooklyn convention, much has been made of the "right" of a notorious "fellow traveler" to speak from the same platform with a patriot.

This was not a matter of "right" but of taste. Would any sensible person invite a cardinal to speak on the same platform with a Communist, or a Negro leader to grace the same platform with a Kluxer?

Unless conducting a debate, it is simply bad form to arrange such conflicting personalities.

THE GRADUALISM gimmick is the phoniest in the book. It is now being tossed at some people who have had the unbridled "effrontery" to say that American Negroes are adjustable, resourceful, industrious, ambitious and thrifty; and that with the cooperation of countless white Americans (and despite the opposition of others) they have made tremendous progress educationally, economically, socially and culturally in U. S. civilization.

This is true, of course, but nowadays you're a traitor if you say so. Instead, you're supposed to wail exclusively over your adversities and misfortunes, thus exhibiting your "courage" and "militancy."

What is gradualism? It is a philosophy and strategy of progressively ameliorating various social evils by accepted legal and educational means. It means contending for equal teachers' salaries and educational facilities, equal justice before the law, and an end to discrimination and segregation in life and labor.

Its alternative is extremism: that is, (a) declaring war on white people, (b) moving off or being moved off into a separate black state, or (c) emigration.

* * *

EXCEPT FOR the Communists and the handful of emigrationists, all other Negroes are gradualists. Have you heard or read of any of our spokesmen advocating or urging anything else?

The Communist-proposed separate Negro state was not backed by a single representative Negro because they all believe in gradualism as a strategy. They differ only as to tactics but are one in their ultimate aim. Some would use the tactic of litigation, others stress education, still others urge industrial and commercial training, while others urge mass demonstrations.

All these tactics have their place and time, and we need them all.

What we don't need and cannot afford is a strategy with any foreign connections

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tion was based on a study published by the United Transport Service Employees, CIO, would not publish and distribute a booklet containing the gross untruths alleged by the legal representative of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and accordingly quoted freely from the UTSEA study which seemed to warrant the charged as "Conceived All such statements are herewith re- iniquitous mire of tracted and retracted if and where used by me.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

the issue of May 3, 1952, I referred to the Railway Clerks as a "racket," stated that "it discriminates not just against Negro workers, philosophy of white supremacy." State- ments made in Views and Reviews of May 3, 1952, were based on similar allegations contained in the column which refers in closing to "the un-American activities of the labor union and its officers are hereby retracted and withdrawn and apology is offered them for any pain or injury result- I assumed that a responsible organiza-

IN MY Views and Reviews column in

the error of overstressing a certain tactic. We must avoid that.

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We are all gradualists but some make

or which can be construed as opposed to the interests of this nation. That would be suicidal.

The column in question

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Views and Reviews

Criticism Must Be Factual, Logical, Pertinent

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THE NOTION that it is easy to criticize is a fallacy that recurs with distressing frequency in my correspondence. To the contrary any worthwhile and impressive criticism must be penetrating, factual, logical and pertinent, and that is far from easy. It requires background knowledge and keeping abreast of current events, which in turn calls for much reading and digestion of the facts, and that takes time. It means arranging and marshalling this material in an effective manner, and that takes skill. It necessitates speaking frankly and pointedly, regardless of who is offended, and that takes courage, especially when those offended are powerful or close. What is there easy about that?

Mr. Schuyler

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THE DIFFERENCE between criticism and propaganda is the difference between objectivity and bias. While all critics have a point of view (and any who haven't are unworthy of the name), those who are worth their salt try to present a pro-and-con balance sheet of facts and impressions in order to be the more convincing. They cannot be effective critics unless they are convincing ones. If they are self-respecting critics, they disdain relying on cliches, canards and name-calling in place of reason and facts. They do not make wild charges. They do not bring in extraneous, derogatory material in an appeal to prejudice. They avoid personalities like the plague. They appeal to the mind rather than the emotions.

PERSONALLY I spend a great deal of my time reading books and current newspapers and periodicals in order to keep abreast of developments in the fields in which I am most interested and upon which I customarily comment. I try to talk with people who know. I avoid subjects about which I know little or nothing, out of respect for my readers and myself.

Since I have never addressed myself to ignoramuses, I refues to write down to the readers as if they were morons. I assume that they are intelligent and reasonable folk capable of following logical argument and being convinced by it.

* * *

IF I refer to somebody as being a fellow traveler or Red, it is not to cast an epithet but simply to state a fact which can be substantiated. Having been a student of the Communist conspiracy against civilization for thirty-odd years, I know whereof I speak and usually have the documentation at my elbow as I write.

If in tracing the amazing and disconcerting ramifications of this world-wide plot, I call attention to the fact that this or that person is wittingly or unwittingly connected with a "front" organization which follows a Red pattern and technique, I am not being personal. I may like the individual. If he is an "innocent" he will be grateful. If he is not, he will naturally be offended.

Many prominent Negroes who through the years have been sucked into organizations doing the Kremlin's bidding, have been offended at me because of such exposure. Characteristically they hit back below the belt, but I do not reply similarly because I consider the source and respect my readers.

I AM pained that the critics of this critic present no evidence, as I do, but merely seek to split the ears of groundlings with absurd smears. A recent controversy is a case in point. I presented definite evidence indicating a pattern of conduct over a period of many months which stimulated certain reasonable conclusions. My critics denied and denounced these conclusions but did not attempt to dispute the facts (they could not) on which the conclusions were based. Every development since has strengthened those conclusions, but how many of these critics were honest enough to concede that I was correct?

It was not easy to make that criticism. Had popularity been my goal, I would have jumped on the bandwagon like others did, to their discredit. But for many years, without posing as a race champion, I have sought to keep Negroes informed so they will not be so gullible, so easily taken in by demogogic appeals to racial chauvinism and self-pity. I am anxious to have our people think clearly, and this cannot be done without informed criticism. It is not easy and it is not popular, but I think it is proper and the only way to any fundamental progress.

Views and Reviews

The Longshoreman's Racket Isn't What It Used to Be

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

SHED a tear, folks, for the rugged Negro longshoremen of the Port of New York which does a $7 billion annual business. There are between 35,000 and 45,000 longshoremen working or trying to get work, and about 10,000 are Negroes. Included in the union are also 3,000 checkers, 3,000 manning the tugboats, and an undetermined number of clerks and carpenters.

Mr. Schuyler

The longshoremen earn about $50 weekly, but about half of them can earn only about $30. Although union membership is required, there is no security and practically no rights. It is easy for anybody, even ship jumpers, to get jobs by paying for working cards.

The ILA nationally has about 60 per cent Negro membership, and outside New York, especially going south along the Atlantic Seaboard, they do fairly well, because Negroes more or less dominate the locals. But in New York, where Negroes are in the minority, they fare ill and thus the great port is the real test of democracy. Actually, the ILA (International Longshoremen's Association) management feels that there are sufficient white men to do the work, and policy seems to be directed toward eliminating Negroes entirely.

MOST OF THE 10,000 Negro longshoremen, it is true, belong to "white" locals, and on the surface this looks like democracy, but that is pretty much of a fraud. Joseph Ryan, the international president who has held his job for twenty-seven years (and now has it for life!) has promised ever since he assumed office to have some Negroes represented on the shaping of port policy, but that's just a joke, son. The last promise was made to them in 1949, but it was just another in the long line of promises.

In the "white" locals where democracy is supposed to obtain, Negro members are intimidated and the last to get jobs in the shape-up (daily selection of workers). Actually the union seems to be run like a racket with a sort of free-for-all situation in which favoritism is rampant.

Negroes are shaped up by Negro stooges of the stevedores (employers) whether or not they belong to the union, so long as they pay off, while whites must have some sort of union working card, even if (as often happens) they have to buy it from the boss goon. Naturally there are no Negroes in international headquarters where all of the officials are appointed (not elected) by Ryan and can be tossed out on his whim.

* * *

THERE IS ONE Negro local in this ILA racket, No. 968, with a Negro president, Cleophis Jacobs. Originally it was mixed, but the whites gradually moved out, so now it is 99 per cent colored. The Negro members pay their dues, but they still have to pay the "bite" in order to work. Headquarters permits men to work in competition to this all-Negro union, in an obvious effort to kill it. Local 968 understandably feels that the parent (?) body wants to ruin it.

Every local is supposed to supervise a certain area, settling all grievances and being consulted on all matters affecting its

area; but there is not even one pier where No. 968 has such control. Understandably the local, which once had a large membership, is now reduced to 500, and is declining. It is the only local so discriminated against. Obviously its elimination seems inevitable.

Dat. 2-23-52.

IRONICALLY, NEGRO longshoremen got a better break in New York when they were unorganized than they do today. Some thirty-five years ago they had a monopoly of the Ward Line docks. They were hard-working, competent and loyal, and when ports elsewhere were struck, ships were diverted to the Ward Line docks. Alarmed by this Negro monopoly over lucrative work, the ILA decided to organize them as a local of the union. The Negroes have been discriminated against ever since. They rightly feel that it was a disadvantage to join the union.

The docks are dominated by some of the most vicious racketeers in the nation, some of them cited by the Kefauver Committee. Vandalism, man-handling, stealing, general thuggery and killings are common. Invariably the Negro longshoreman is low man on the totem pole. There not being enough work to go around, he gets the least of all, despite his union membership. The last to be chosen in the shape-up, he is lucky to get any work at all, since he has no protection, even in the all-Negro No. 968.

Recently a committee of the local wrote to Governor Dewey complaining of the flagrant discrimination, and the Governor referred the matter to the State Committee Against Discrimination. What will happen now is anybody's guess, but considering that big racketeers not only control the union and the docks, but the city government as well, it is probably that nothing will come out of it but a big whitewash—unless New York Negroes rise up determined to see that these longshoremen get a break. Here's hoping that Cleophis Jacobs, president of No. 968, has luck in his efforts. He'll need it!

The
WORLD
TODAY
Courier
By George S. Schuyler
P. 1

Virginia's jim-crow school system underwent its first legal attack last week in Richmond's Federal Court. A favorable decision would revolutionize the South, but don't expect it.

Pittsburgh Courier

JUDGE WARING, retired Federal jurist who did so much to advance your cause, has moved from Charleston, S. C. to New York City. The vicious ostracism to which he and Mrs. Waring were subjected was more than mortals could bear. Let us never forget their sacrifice.

Dat. 3-8-52

In Indianapolis twenty-three white Protestant churches said they would bar colored visitors from services. That's not surprising. Worthy of commendation, on the other hand, is the fact that thirty-two white churches said they would not bar them. Some day the others will come around.

Courier

FATHER JOHN LaFARGE, militant, 72-year-old Jesuit priest, was feted at a testimonial dinner in New York last week by 750 persons of all faiths. As editor of the weekly America and a life-long enemy of intolerance and social injustice, he has been one of our best friends.

Sat. 3-8-52

John D. Rockefeller Jr. chairs the National Council of the United Negro College Fund for 1952, which raises funds to support thirty-two of your colleges. If he and other wealthy men are willing to give time and money to this effort, what about you?

Pittsburgh Courier

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A BESSEMER, ALA. mob, led by two officials of the CIO's United Steel Workers, viciously attacked with clubs and revolvers a colored and two white officials of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union in a plant election dispute. The colored man was vice president of the local NAACP. Of course this will not be called a lynching, but "labor trouble" and no pious pronouncement need be expected from Phil Murray, an NAACP board member!

* * *

From the Belgian Congo comes news that liberal groups there are fighting "against racial discrimination . . . and against the lack of any public education whatever either for whites or for natives." Oh, yes, Belgium is one of the democracies!

WORLD
TODAY
Courier
P. 1 3a
By George S. Schuyler
Dat. 7-12-52

SOUTHERN Negro voter increasing, according NAACP delegates at Oklahoma City conference, with 97,000 registered in North Carolina, 50,000 in Alabama (with 50,000 more expected) and no effective barriers to Negro voters in Georgia. Equally encouraging news from elsewhere in Dixie. Current problem is to get our folks to qualify.

Pittsburgh Courier

DAN KIMBALL, Navy Secretary, shocks NAACP by defending extreme racial segregation at Southern naval bases. President Truman is asked to repudiate him, but will he?

* * *

J. Waties Waring, former Federal judge, and Walter White battling over strategy. Odd to hear Walter accused of "gradualism and playing footsie with Democrats (which is scarcely news). The doughty judge may prove a tough opponent.

* * *

NEW YORK'S FEPC strengthened by new power to enforce anti-discrimination laws, as of July 1, is already showing results. Soon open bias will be abolished in that state. Other states please note.

* * *

Housing bias still hitting Negroes, says Dr. Robert C. Weaver, writing in the June-July Crisis. Trend is toward extension and perpetuation of residential segregation, he says, despite Truman's assertions about civil rights' miracles under his administration.

* * *

THE REV. James R. Robinson, noted Harlem pastor, returning from round-the-world trip, tells NACAP delegates, "I would that the democracies could be half as creative and convincing as the Communists are in Asia." Creative of what and convincing to whom? Ask the million Chinese murdered by the Reds and the two million in slave camps. The Rev. Mr. Robinson better take a second look. How easily the Reds fascinate our travelers!

* * *

United Nations asking Soviet Union and its satellites to answer complaints against brutal bondage of more people than during days of chattel slavery. Of course the helpless UN, loaded with Socialists and Communists, will do nothing about it. Was there ever a more ineffectual body?

* * *

SENATOR Joe MacCarthy chuckling with satisfaction over Senate indictment of Lattimore as perjurer and Red proponent. These charges surprise only the gullible and willful.

Ancient history, also, is Walter White's charges that Southern GOP delegates are being bought. When haven't they been? Democrats, too, for that matter.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

The People, Not the Talmadges, Will Rule the South of Tomorrow

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

IN mid-February the American Information Association sponsored an Americanism seminar at the Ralston Hotel, Columbus Ga. Active in its organization was the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Georgia, and present were sixty-four conferees; business executives, industrialists, clergymen and community leaders from various parts of Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee. All were white. Inclement weather prevented the appearance as observer of S. J. Phillips of the Carver - Washington Americanism Commission which acts for the George Washington Carver National Monument Foundation and the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial half dollar. Thus, I was the only Negro to attend the sessions throughout, although Walter R. Bennett Jr., secretary of the Ninth Street branch YMCA, did join me for the first session, Friday afternoon, Feb. 15.

Mr. Schuyler

WHEN I APPROACHED the tall, modern Ralston Hotel, I was far from unmindful of the fact that I was in West Georgia, a stone's throw from the Alabama line, and I speculated as to what my reception might be. The reception at the airport (where a message awaited me) would have satisfied the most hypersensitive Negro. There was no "colored" waiting room, but there were separate "rest rooms" for "The Brethren." I rode into town in a "white" taxicab.

Inside the Ralston I went to the registration desk and lined up with the others. Negro bellhops smiled recognition. None rushed up as in the old days saying, "You can't go there." Among the roomful of people there fell no thundering silence, as was once the case when a Negro entered the lobby of a Southern hostelry. Understandably there were curious glances.

PAUL K. McKENNEY JR., of the Swift Manufacturing Company of Columbus Ga., the contact man, and a big wheel in the seminar, was courteous and accommodating. As an observer I could sit in the section set aside for the public. I could not attend the Friday dinner and Saturday breakfast and luncheon for delegates. During the "free time" between the addresses soft drinks were served in the adjoining room. I was asked twice during the two days if I cared for any, but declined since I seldom imbibe soft drinks. I sat with the others, observing and taking notes, and nobody screamed with horror over this violation of Georgia law.

* *

FRAN WAS surprised by the high calibre of the addresses, their visual accompaniment (which I commend to NAACP lecturers) and the penetrating questions and discussion. Titles of the addresses were: "Socialism by Default," "Communism Is Not Far Away," "Moral Decay of Our Times," "Let the People Know," "Wanted Ten Million Heroes," "Your Money Is What You Make It," "The Power of Your Vote," "Our Economic System," "Your Organizational Structure and Functions," and "Reaching the Grass Roots."

Here was no demagoguery, but logical, sometimes eloquent, and always convincing presentations bristling with facts and statistics on problems confronting America today. The whole was extraordinarily enlightening and encouraging, and I wished that intelligent audiences all over the nation might hear it.

EXTREMELY IMPRESSIVE were the talks of Harllee Branch Jr., president of the Georgia Power Company of Atlanta, on socialism; Dr. Allen D. Albert Jr., of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation of Marietta, Ga., on the nature and techniques of communism, and its effort to divide the people on racial and labor grounds, and his emphasis that "democracy means providing for others other than ourselves" and "Must live democracy. Fight for it in city, state and nation"; the very excellent paper of Jack Keim of Shannon Hosiery Mills of Columbus on the evils of deficit financing, and the masterly presentation of Frank Steinbruegge of the National Manufacturers Association of Atlanta on the why and wherefore of the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar since 1939, and the graphic illustration of the probability of its decline from its present 54 cents to 10 cents. It was illuminating to hear James Brennan of the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company of Columbus tell of the efforts made by the local Junior Chamber of Commerce to get out a bigger vote, especially its distribution of election day tags, "I Have Voted. Have You?" Incidentally, these were issued to every Columbus voter, white and colored.

* * *

HERE WERE ASSEMBLED the dynamic, intelligent, informed white leaders of the New South; not the South of the fictionists and propagandists, but the South of today. One felt that their influence would loom more and more important in the days to come, and that would be all to the good, not only politically but racially.

The constant emphasis on democracy and the perpetuation of the free play of economic forces which is the very essence of capitalism cannot help but ultimately redound to the advantage of everybody in the South regardless of color. These people will rule the South of tomorrow not the demagogic politicians like Herman Talmadge.

The WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

MANY whites are determined to destroy color bias. At Middletown, Conn., Delta Upsilon Fraternity of Wesleyan University initiated a Negro member last week despite possibilities of being ousted from the national order. This revolt of white students all over the country is one of the most hopeful signs in America.

GOVERNOR STEVENSON of Illinois blasted bias and bigotry in a New York speech last week saying "a democracy qualified by color will win no hearts in Africa and Asia." He can say that again!

Paul Robeson and twenty-nine other Stalinists last week lost their suit against Westchester County (N. Y.) and two veterans organizations growing out of the Peekskill riot case. This was notable as the first armed conflict instigated in the U. S. by Moscow minions. How could they win?

were Communist party members as late as 1948. Meeting secretly they discussed use of the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist front. Unfortunately several Negro lawyers in several parts of the country are members of that subversive group.

* * *

William Patterson, veteran Kremlinite head of the Civil Rights Congress, returned to the U. S. last week and promptly had his passport lifted by Uncle Sam. Evidently the Administration is waking up. It will be interesting to see whether Dr. DuBois and Paul Robeson will get the travel permits they have requested. Let's hope not!

VIRGIN ISLANDERS anxiously awaiting decision of House sub-committee recently there to probe home rule question. They want return of the $6,000,000 collected as internal revenue taxes on 648,000 gallons of rum sent to the Mainland each year. The $64,000,000 so far paid exceeds the sum spent on the islands.

* * *

Tunisians revolting against French don't think they are so liberal. A score of natives have been slain and dozens wounded in disturbances recently. All the Tunisians (and the Algerians, Moroccans and West Africans) want is freedom, but the "tolerant" French can't see it. They soon

ly in others. A Red revolt in Nepal last week was almost

PANDIT NEHRU of India is successful, while Red-controlshivering in his boots despite led Tibetan airfields fringe Ithe climate. Communists have dia's northern borders. Could won three states in the current be he'll soon be a D.P.) elections and gained startling

By George S. Schuyler 3/a negro

Views and Reviews

Colored Restaurants Falling More and More Below Standard

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

IN THE words of the more prehensile clergy, "Let us pray!"

These three little words might also with justice be hung over the doorway of almost every alleged restaurant in Aframerica, along with a subsidiary phrase, "Indigestion, here we come!"

Indeed, the Senegambian seeking a properly prepared, properly balanced and properly served meal away from home is as lost as a Communist in a cathedral. This is the more puzzling because our brethren are supposed to be "natural-born" cooks who leap literally from the cradle arrayed in a chef's coat and cap, and waving a basting spoon in one hand and a sprig of parsley in the other. They are also, I might add, alleged to be "natural-born" servants who arrive on this mortal coil endowed with more grace, deference, attentiveness and courtesy than a Japanese or British headwaiter. Whoever started that rumor should be sentenced to eat in Negro restaurants forever.

Mr. Schuyler

RECKLESSLY ASSUMING that there is a civilized minority of colored Americans whose tastes in these culinary matters are the best, where can they go to gratify them? And the echo answers, "Where?" One's painful observations in community after community pass in review, and it is most difficult to remember a single restaurant at whose mention the eyes brighten and the heart skips a beat. They are as rare as a Kluxer in Paradise.

If I have been in one colored community in the U. S. A., I have been in at least 300. Regardless of geography they are all alike in one respect—it is impossible to dine with distinction. Something is always lacking to mar the occasion. If by some miracle the dinner is properly prepared, it is served by some slattern or ignoramus who should be sentenced to eating hogmaw and chitterlings until Norman Thomas becomes President. Rather than compulsory military service, what this country needs is compulsory **personal** service. Whatever talents in that direction once existed seem to have disappeared in the past thirty years.

There is a rudeness, ineptitude, familiarity, incompetence and gall about the average waiter and waitress I have observed which must be seen to be believed. Nevertheless they not only expect but virtually demand to be tipped!

* * *

CHINA IS brought cold, food is served uncovered, fresh linen is becoming rarer, no wine is presented or suggestions made, and once the food is brought one has to send out a searching party for the waiter if any further service is desired. It is naive to expect a water or wine glass to be replenished by anyone but one's self.

Part of a fine dinner, of course, is the decor surrounding one. With few exceptions it is garish, clashing and generally in execrable taste; without the appurtenances and refinements so conducive to the proper enjoyment of a meal. We must pass over with appropriate haste any mention of the awful monotony of the crude and ordinary fare which is usually no better than that fed at Negro colleges or church suppers.

The crowning infamy, of course, is the juke box with its monotonous and usually inappropriate selection of canned jazz blaring into one's ears and discouraging conversation without which no dinner is really a dinner. The unimaginative proprietors imagine, of course, that all their patrons' musical tastes are similar. Is there in all Aframerica a dining room with a string orchestra playing real music, foreign or domestic?

THE SADDENING thought is that after thirty years of unprecedented progress it is less possible to dine with distinction today in Aframerica than it was in 1920 and thereabouts. I can recall colored restaurants with fine linen, potted palms, soft "live" music, trained and deferential waiters in surroundings encouraging to culture and romance. There were not many but there were some. Where are they now?

Nor, it must be admitted in all candor, are there very many white places that live up to the old standards. I hear constant complaints from people of taste in "the other group" on this score. It seems that there has been a general letdown in these as in other things. As humanity is more and more reduced to a common denominator, there is less and less real Society (with the capital "S") to arbitrate good manners. There are more people with bank accounts but less with breeding. Those of taste in the colored group are least fortunate of all since there is almost no place for them to go.

Some graduate student looking for a thesis might well explore this phenomenon. In the meantime, if anyone discovers a colored restaurant measuring up to the standards of civilized people, let the glad tidings ring out.

The WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

Charlotte Bass, V-P candidate of the Progressive (?) party, urging her fellow colored members to boycott both Democratic and Republican parties. Representative Powell gives the same advice. Politics makes strange bedfellows.

GOV. TOM DEWEY has endorsed the Congress-approved Carver-Washington Memorial half dollars now being sold at a premium at all banks with proceeds going to Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial to help improve your economic lot. Have you bought one?

Josephine Baker having solved the race problem in the USA and spearheaded an anti-discrimination drive in Mexico, is now in Brazil telling the colored folk what to do to be saved. When will she devote her talents to uplifting the downtrodden black in Africa and the police-clubbed Africans in Paris?

* * *

INDIA'S PRESIDENT, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, turning back 40 per cent of his salary to the treasury to show the way to government economy. An excellent idea which you may be sure will NOT be adopted in the USA. Hoover was the only President not to collect his salary. Roosevelt and Truman boosted their income.

* * *

Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys, white South African anthropologist, claims Negroes superior to whites because African hearts have better blood supply; that whites' bones are like animals while Negroes' bones are lighter and stronger and their skulls thinner and stronger, indicating a higher type. If true, there's no need to worry about the future.

* * *

CHURCHILL'S failure to invite Prime Minister Nkrumah to forthcoming imperial conference burns the blacks in Africa and England. Behind Churchill's snub is probably the objection of white prime ministers of Australia, Canada, Northern Ireland and New Zealand. Only India and Ceylon would probably be for Nkrumah.

* * *

Associated Press survey of Negro political opinion in Dixie makes certain loud-mouthed "leaders" look ridiculous. Seems neither Sparkman nor the empty civil rights plank (lauded by W. White) will affect loyalty of dark Democrats. Southern Negroes are first concerned with improving their lot in cities and counties, and must work with the controlling machines. That's political realism.

31a 1952

Negro(George S. Schuyler)

Views and Reviews

Our Farmers Have Something Solid and Worthwhile

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

BACK IN MID-MAY the Farmers Home Administration sponsored its fifth annual Farm Family Achievement Day exercises at Fort Valley (Ga.) State College when forty-seven Georgia families were honored for outstanding progress in farming, crop and livestock production, and better living at home programs.

Mr. Schuyler

The full account of the proceedings and the basis of the awards, coming from my good friend, L. Herbert Henegan, a Department of Agriculture information specialist, is most hopeful and inspiring, and makes ridiculous much of the propaganda about the "exploitation" of rural Southern Negroes.

Half of the farmers honored had paid in full for their farms twenty-five to thirty years ahead of schedule, made their land more productive through better farming practices, and paid off their indebtedness while modernizing their homes. Since I get much other information about Negro rural life from other areas, I can assure readers that the Georgia experience is not at all unique. Similar stories come from every state.

Here is a man and wife who were sharecroppers for twenty-four years, and when he died in 1942, she and their two sons continued to run their farm and paid for it within eleven years. They doubled yields of cotton, tripled yields of small grains and quadrupled production of corn in the last ten years, while maintaining a year-around garden, producing more meat and canning 100 quarts of fruits and vegetables for each member of the family.

Here is another Negro farmer who increased the net worth of his farm six times since 1941 by using cover crops and terraces. On each acre he produces an average of a bale of cotton, three-fourths of a ton of peanuts and sixty bushels of corn. In addition to his pasture for livestock he has a year-around garden and a fine orchard.

* * *

Here is a man who bought his farm in 1940 and paid in full for it in 1951, increasing his net worth the while from $700 to $12,000. His cotton yield rose from 200 to 530 pounds per acre. his tobacco from 1,000 to 1,400 pounds per acre, and his corn from ten to forty-five bushels per acre, besides raising livestock, maintaining a garden and modernizing his home.

Consider this Louisville, Ga., farmer who bought his farm in 1938 and paid for it in 1951. In that period his net worth rose from $1,285 to $13,680, he boosted his cotton production from 200 to 400 pounds per acre, added hogs, poultry, eggs, fruit, pecans and grapes to his income-producing enterprises, has an adequate meat supply and grows his own vegetables.

* * *

Here is a fellow in Ailey, Ga., who was a farm tenant for twenty-five years. He purchased his farm in 1942 and paid for it in 1951. His net worth has gone up from $1,539 to $8,500, his cotton from 200 to 400 pounds, his corn from ten to thirty bushels and peanuts from 750 to 1,500 pounds per acre. Along with this he has fenced his farm, added two rooms and a porch to his home, built a barn and poultry house, planted shrubbery, bought a gas stove, living room suite and electric refrigerator, and raises all the vegetables, meat, milk and chickens his family needs, along with canning ample food for winter.

* * *

Another man in Uvalda, Ga., paid for his farm in exactly ten years. Starting with $877, he is now worth $12,125. Has four children in high school and has made so many improvements on his farm that the change is miraculous, i.e., new home, shrubbery, smoke house, poultry house, fence, concrete walk, gas stove, electric refrigerator, etc., etc.

* * *

This is a side of Negro progress scarcely ever mentioned in our newspapers engrossed with lengthy accounts of real and alleged atrocities which, of course, should be reported, but in proper perspective and balanced with other news. It is a disservice to the colored people not to do so, but it is not as sensational as the Martinsville Seven or the sad fate of Willie McGee as headline material.

These Negro farmers have something solid and worth while, and almost all of them above the mental age of ten possessed of thrift, industry and confidence have flourished in the past decade (and many before that), else how do you account for their 207,000 farms averaging seventy-eight acres)? They have fully utilized the Government programs and credit to get themselves a real stake in America.

Others, disliking the South, could have done the same thing in the North and West, but decided in favor of the "high life" of the cities.

One wonders what stake they have now that they didn't have in 1940!

Views and Reviews

'Lydia Bailey" Premiere Wonderful in Haiti, But, Ah! That Joseph and Innocence!

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

THANKS to Innocence and Joseph, I successfully completed the arduous journey to the famous Citadel atop a rugged mountain peak in northern Haiti on the memorable afternoon of May 5. I had seen the famed fortress of King Christophe from the window of a Haitian Army plane back in October, 1949, but now I saw it in the rough—and I do mean rough.

Mr. Schuyler

As I say, the success of that tough journey was due to Innocence and Joseph. Innocence was a gray, patient, sure-footed burro who negotiated the narrow, rocky trail amid the tropical downpour. Joseph was the little, rachitic, barefoot, black guide who alternately pushed, pulled and switched the burro over the more difficult places shouting "Innocence!" whenever the burro balked.

Sat. 5-17-52

THE MEMORABLE journey started auspiciously in Army planes, with most of the party of fifty-odd American correspondents, public relations men and the two principals of "Lydia Bailey" (Anne Francis and William Marshall) making the flight. At Cap Haitian we switched to automobiles for the trip to the ruins of San Souci palace at Milot. There we mounted the saddled burros and started up to the Citadel on the summit. The party started off gaily but that spirit soon petered out.

One quarter of the way we stopped at a hut for refreshments, and many, including myself, would have given up there. But we kept on. Up and around, up and around, through the jungle, over the rocks, through the mud, drenched by the downpour. And then, after painful ages, the incredible fortress loomed up, wreathed in clouds and mist. We dismounted sore and ungainly below the lofty battlements, aided by our attendants, and limped spraddle-legged through the vast portal, into the dim gun galleries where rested immense old cannon weighing a ton apiece with piles of of cannon balls piled up for action that never came.

* * *

THE DELUGE continued. We entered a great domed chamber with a fireplace. Long tables groaned with sandwiches, cans of beer and bottles of the famed Barbancourt rum, the best on earth. The view from the crenellated battlements is magnificent.

The descent was worse than the ascent, but the sure-footed little Innocence, prodded, pushed, switched and sworn-at by Joseph, negotiated all of the difficulties with aplomb. An admirable beast, indeed, and the equally admirable Joseph. Together they saved my neck!

How welcome were the soft-cushioned cars from Milot going back to Cap Haitian!

Sore as a boil, I resolved, then and there, never to visit the Citadel again—until the Haitians build a jeep road or buy a helicopter! But the Citadel is a spectacle everybody should see and explore. To think that 200,000 black men labored to complete this fortress, goaded on by the black king; and that thousands died completing the last defense position of free black men in the unsettled and hostile world of 125 years ago. Those huge cannon, those immense stone, those giant arches and buttresses—how did they finish this architectural phenomenon, one of the great wonders of the world?

* * *

THAT WAS only part of the program designed for the huge party that flew to Haiti on May 3 for next day's premiere of the great Technicolor saga of the Haitian Revolution, "Lydia Bailey." No people on earth know better how to entertain than the Haitians. Younger men than Schuyler could scarce survive it—and I'm still recovering.

When the motors of the Clipper "Lydia Bailey" stopped turning, there were the Boy and Girl Scouts drawn up in an honor guard while the band played and flags flapped. Officials were everywhere. Arrangements for baggage and customs perfect, but no more so than the rum cocktails in the colorful lounge. Then the long caravan of cars to the reception at the Hotel de Ville (City Hall, to you!). Speeches of welcome by Mayor Nelaton Camille. Refreshments, of course.

Then to the five beautiful hotels perched on hills in the Petionville suburb. Then to dinner at the El Rancho Hotel with tables surrounding the swimming pool. Refreshment. Gorgeous food. Voodoo dancing. Following that to the Cabane Choucoune, famed Petionville night club built like a giant African straw-thatched hut, to dance until past midnight, when more rugged souls did the remaining night clubs and tried their luck at roulette or craps.

* * *

SUNDAY SAW the Presidential reception at the Palace, with speeches, swank, snacks in colorful variety and the inevitable champagne. We all were made honorary citizens of Haiti. Thence to the mountains for lunch at Le Refuge. A big parade of cars and floats preceded the premiere in the lovely Theatre des Casernes Dessalines, and after the picture there was dancing until three at the Presidential Palace. Everything strictly formal and the ladies very beautiful in their creations. The President took the first dance with beautiful Anne Francis, and Schuyler was close behind him. What gorgeous girls Haiti produces! How quickly one learns to do the meringue with them!

How fine the reception at the U. S. Embassy en route to the plane!

But the memory that lasts longest will be that rugged association with Innocence and Joseph for the four hours up to the Citadel and back. I am just beginning to sit down without wincing. I can still hear Joseph plying his switch and shouting "Innocence! Innocence!"

Views and Reviews

Scarcity of Negro Workers in Beer Industry Blamed on Biased Unions

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

LAST week I dwelt upon the amazing philanthropy of American Negroes who have less than 500 of the nearly 83,000 jobs in the brewing industry and yet spend $500 million annually for beer, as revealed by the Urban League survey of the industry made recently by J. Harvey Kerns. Although busily engaged as the country's greatest beer guzzlers in creating jobs for which they are not eligible, Negroes get less than a tiny fraction of the $292,000,000 paid in wages by the industry, and, surprisingly enough, there is little protest from them about this gross discrimination.

Mr. Schuyler

Writes Mr. Kerns: "Several representatives of breweries stated that they would not object to hiring Negro workers for production jobs if a way could be found to get around the union contract, or if the union would become more democratic in referring Negroes for such jobs."

He points out that "the unions are a controlling factor in employment . . . A variety of designs were reported by Negroes showing how they are not approved for temporary employment by the unions." Only in Milwaukee has the local Brewery Workers Union cooperated in placing qualified Negroes as production workers, and there only twenty-five out of 8,000 workers have been hired.

Elsewhere the colored brother is like the bear—nowhere. Mr. Kerns observes (The Negro in the Brewing Industry. National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 50c) "the fruitless efforts of Negroes to join the brewery workers' unions have caused resentment of Negroes toward the unions." He adds: "The white workers acquired a vested interest in the over-all employment which was difficult to remove."

About 90 per cent of the brewery workers' local unions are affiliated with the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers of America, CIO, whose constitution bars discrimination because of race, creed or color, which is a laugh. Union officials in several metropolitan centers admitted to Mr. Kerns that "there is not only discrimination, but a rather hostile attitude toward any efforts designed to integrate Negroes into the unions." A St. Louis union boss said: "Our members feel theirs is a union for whites; they have organized and built up the beer industry, so why should they accept Negro members."

A New York union official stated: "It would be difficult for a new worker to be admitted to either of the seven unions which compose the joint board."

When a Detroit brewery hired a Negro "the union threatened to strike unless he was discharged." He resigned "because of pressure and threats by union members." As to the Taft-Hartley Law, Kern declares that "new ways have been found by many of the unions to circumvent the intent of the law."

* * *

In brief, even if and when brewery officials are willing to hire Negroes in production (where most—64,000 of the 83,000 —are employed) the unions prevent it. They have a closed white shop and intend to keep it.

Boycotting any one beer is a waste of time because most of the companies (and the unions) practice the same discrimination. Why switch from Budweiser to Jax or Hamm's when all are ruthlessly jim crow? Why jump from National to Black Forest Ale when both have lily-white job policies? What is the difference between Stroh and Griesedieck so far as Negro employment is concerned?

Clearly Negroes must adopt a more drastic strategy. Since white-owned breweries will employ only a token handful of Negroes even under most favorable circumstances, what about a Negro-owned national brewery? We had to do just that in the case of insurance companies, newspapers, churches, beauty parlors, barber shops, so why not in the case of beer?

All that is needed is to organize the capital. Expert brewmasters can be hired easily because there are many unemployed. There are also vacant breweries to be bought for a song. We have numerous Negroes trained in sales and distribution. There are ninety-four cities with 10,000 or more Negroes supplying concentrated markets. Thirteen cities have over 100,000 Negro inhabitants. The Negro press, reaching 3,000,000 weekly, is available for advertising. We already spend $500 million yearly for beer.

Such an enterprise would almost automatically provide hundreds of production jobs alone, to say nothing of administrative, distributive and clerical work. The workers could set up their own union as the Pullman porters and red caps did, and could affiliate, if necessary, with the various international unions, CIO and AFL in the industry, or remain independent.

Since Negroes are not going to stop drinking beer, give them a chance to switch their patronage to an enterprise that would give Negroes a chance to earn a living. A boycott has limited effectiveness because we really have little choice, there being so little difference between the best and the worst of the present companies. We can only take this $500 million business away from them by competition, and the sooner, the better. Are we big and ready enough to do it?

31a 1952

Negro (George S. Schuyler)

The 'Phantom' American Negro

George S. Schuyler, Associate Editor, The Pittsburgh Courier (A Negro Newspaper of National Circulation). In The Freeman Magazine

WHERE [illegible] our citizens travel abroad, the [illegible]izzed about the "oppressed" and "persecuted" American Negro they are talking about. [illegible]e Negro they are talking about is a phantom.

A Negro [illegible]n attending a summer seminar [illegible] last year was puzzled when his European fellow students gave him their places in the cafeteria line and counter girls handed him two helpings instead of one. He discovered to his surprise that they really believed American Negroes were half starved and were simply anxious that he return home well fed.

How does it happen that this phantom American Negro has so captivated the foreign mind? In the first place foreign minds are made very receptive by envy of American prosperity and power. Then, they have been exposed to a long campaign of propaganda in newspapers, magazines, movies and books which has presented a fantastically biased picture of American race relations.

ACTUALLY, the progressive improvement of interracial relations in the United States is the most flattering of the many examples of the superiority of the free American civilization over the soul shackling reactionism of totalitarian regimes.

In 1865 over 90% of American Negroes were illiterate. Today there is almost no illiteracy among them. The educational systems that eliminated their illiteracy were voted and maintained by white controleld municipalities, counties and states.

There were not more than a score of Negro college graduates when the Civil War ended. Today over 7,000 are graduated each year and over 650,000 have attended college. At present there are more than 80,000 attending college (1,000 in Dixie white schools).

In 1900, Negroes owned only 17% of the nonfarm homes in which they dwelt Despite "violent persecution," by 1947 they owned 34%. In 1940 city dwelling Negroes (presumably slum dwellers), owned 500,000 homes with a median value of $6,377. Altogether American Negroes own nearly 800,000 homes, or proportionately about the same number as white people. In the last few years Negroes have themselves financed, planned and erected 25,000 new housing units. Tihs is quite an achievement for a "terrorized" populace.

MORE than 1,250,000 United States Negroes are members of labor unions with the same protection, privileges, security and seniority as white workers, depending upon capability and length of service. Of the score of unions that still barred Negro workers in 1945, six have lowered the bars in the last four years. Today many predominantly white unions have Negro officers, even in the South.

Segregation in the armed services has been rapidly broken down since 1944. It has been eliminated in the Navy and the Air Force, and is gradually being ousted from the Army. Twenty years ago the prospect of any such change seemed very remote, and high officers denied that it was possible. Today training schools for all services are fully integrated racially, and there are thousands of Negro commissioned officers.

A FURTHER commentary on the freedom of the Negro is his 200 newspapers with their own printing plants and combined circulation of 3,000,000. Not a single one has been suppressed, South or North, although they are unsparing in their criticism of racial proscription.

Here, then, is the real Negro in American society, not the phantom Negro of the anti-American propagandists, native and foreign. Admittedly we have a long way to go before we reach Utopia and all Americans in truth become brothers and sisters. But considering all of the factors involved, the facts of human nature and the brief span of years since most Negroes were property and men shed their blood over whether they should be admitted to the national family, where can the record be equalled?

Views and Reviews

New Half Dollar Memorializing B. T. Washington and Dr. George Carver

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

DR. S. J. PHILLIPS, president of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial, Booker Washington Birthplace, Virginia, begins the new year with another fundamental contribution to real Americanism.

Mr. Schuyler

Having been instrumental in establishing a shrine at the birthplace of one of America's outstanding sons, Booker T. Washington, in restoring the cabin where the great man was born and the farm surrounding it, in setting up in nearby Roanoke a trade school where hundreds of men and women have received training in useful skills, and in arranging the issue of the famed Booker T. Washington memorial half dollar, he is now embarking upon a new project which will give us much credit in this world.

THIS TIME it is a new special half dollar memorializing Booker T. Washington and Dr. George Washington Carver, one of America's greatest scientists. Like the first such coin which sold more than any other of its kind in American history, this new one will be bought all over this country and in other parts of the world. It will be sought by coin collectors everywhere as a cherished rarity in honor of two great representatives of the Negro race, and as an evidence of the esteem in which this nation holds these two brown sons. It will be purchased by all those Negroes who take pride in the achievements of their people and the country which afforded them the opportunity. Moreover, it is pledged that the income from the sale of these memorial coins will be used to spread the gospel of Americanism here and abroad.

ON ONE side of this new coin are the profiles of the two men, Washington and Carver. On the other side is an outline map of the United States with the inscription, "Freedom and Opportunity for All—Americanism."

What a great deal of truth there is in that! Both these illustrious native sons were born in bondage. Both were emancipated after this nation engaged in a long and bloody strife over the issue of slavery. Both were given the opportunity to win an education. Both made a great contribution to the advancement of their nation in the respective fields of education and science. Both were symbols and inspirations.

It is the very essence of Americanism that each citizen shall have the freedom and opportunity to make the utmost contribution of which he is capable. Today, when chattel slavery is only an ugly memory, it must be thrilling and inspiring to all young people aspiring to great things in life, to know about two lowly men who reached the pinnacle of achievement regardless of the gravest handicaps. If they could do so, then why should modern youth fail? What better reminder could anyone have than one of these coins?

* * *

THERE IS an unfortunate tendency these days to make light of Americanism because perfection here has not yet been achieved. There is not a single country in the world today that is not far from that goal, but is there any nation that has come as close to it as the United States?

All of us deplore the imperfections. To a greater extent than other peoples, Americans take seriously the principles embodied in their Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and have sought to eradicate the imperfections and to make every imperishable phrase of those documents a living reality. Recognizing that the treatment and advancement of Negro citizens constitute the acid test of freedom and the republican government which is its expression, Americans have removed one barrier after the other to the attainment of their expressed goal.

Everybody knows that goal has not been attained, but it is encouraging to see how close we have come in a few decades to attaining it. This new memorial half-dollar is a reminder of the distance we have come and also the distance we have to go. It is difficult to think of a better way to start the new year of 1952 than to buy one, and cure with one's goods in one's home, to preserve it.

FREEDOM IS not just a word, but a speak and to write freely. Because Americ- are eager to come, and those who are here not only promises this great heritage and work unceasingly chooled, to move about, to exchange so- it is the dream to make it greater and more lasting. al classes, to worship, to vote, to be se- who are not here land of the earth. Those who

Views and Reviews

Beer Industry Ignores Negro Worker

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

WHAT are U. S. A. Negroes going to do about bias in beer? How we answer that question will prove the truth or falsity of the statement recently attributed to (but denied by) Duke Ellington that "We ain't ready."

These observations are prompted by a belated perusal of "The Negro in the Brewing Industry" by the experienced J. Harvey Kerns, assistant director of Research and Community Projects for the National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y. (50 cents). I suggest that all those who have been clamoring against color bias in employment send immediately for a copy, read it, . . . and weep! Mr. Kerns deserves a rising vote of thank for this careful study of how presumably race-conscious Negroes are creatings jobs for which they are not eligible.

Mr. Schuyler

* * *

MR. KERNS covers twenty-four cities from coast to coast in his study, personally visited ten breweries in six large cities and corresponded with or interviewed dozens of people. He has done a wonderful job and I envy him. I wish I had been able to do this job which I have urged for years.

Negroes everywhere are the greatest per capita consumers of beer. Negro communities in Greater New York are prizes in all brewers' eyes. Detroit's Negroes consume 350,000 cases of beer monthly, to say nothing of oceans of draft beer. Cleveland's Negroes spend $5,000,000 annually on alcoholic beverages, 58 per cent of that amount on beer. They guzzle 28 per cent of all brewery products and 60 per cent of all wines consumed in the area. Chicago Negroes drink enough beer yearly to fill Lake Michigan. Over 20 per cent of one nationally advertised beer sold in the Windy City is consumed in the Black Belt. It was estimated that U. S. Negroes spent $500,000,000 for beer in 1947, out of total U. S. expenditure of $4,445,000,000. They are probably spending more in 1952.

NOW WE come to the other side of the picture. In the 440 breweries in the Land of the Spree, there are 82,534 employes of whom 63,668 are production workers. They draw down $292,000,000 in pay, much of which obviously comes from Negro consumers. But, my friends, less than 500 Negroes are employed by all of these breweries from coast to coast and from Canada to Mexico. Of this tiny group over 200 are sales representatives, only twenty-five are production workers, less than twenty-five are clerical workers, the remainder being laborers, porters, truck drivers and service employes. In the beer capital of Milwaukee, the four largest breweries (the first to put Negroes in production jobs) altogether hire only twenty-five in that capacity. There are 8,000 workers on the payroll. And Milwaukee has the best record of all!

* * *

IN THE five St. Louis breweries employing 8,000 total, there are 350 Negroes but none in production or clerical work.

In five Detroit breweries with 3,300 workers, there are thirty-nine Negroes—salesmen, laborers and service employes.

In "liberal" New York the thirty-six breweries employ 10,000 workers. There are a scant handful of Negro workers, none on production jobs. Liebman breweries (Reingold) with 2,300 workers has the best record with the huge number of sixteen Negro workers, mostly clerical employes.

Cleveland's six breweries with 1,536 employes, hire forty-two Negroes—salesmen, messengers and laborers. The giant Brewing Corporation of America shows its liberalism by hiring twenty Negroes.

Chicago, "that wonderful town," has fifteen breweries with 6,000 workers of whom the amazing number of twenty-five, excluding salesmen, are Negroes.

Philadelphia, "the City of Brotherly Love," which hires 810 workers in its five breweries, has ten Negro workers, doing you-guessed-what.

'Way down yonder in New Orleans, two big breweries with 2,000 workers hire eighty-nine Negroes, eighty-two being helpers and porters.

THE CITY of Angels (Los Angeles) provides brewery jobs for twenty-five Negroes out of a total of 2,800 workers so employed. Of course none of the Negroes is in production.

You wouldn't expect any Negroes to be employed in Baltimore's three breweries either in clerical work or production, and you were never so right

The Twin Cities have 2,799 brewery workers. The largest, Hamm Brewing Company, has 1,100 on its payroll but no Negroes. Jacob Schmidt with 699 workers has one Negro porter.

Brother Talmadge's Atlanta has only one brewery but it is almost lily-white, with six Negro laborers, three firemen and three charwomen. The city's twenty-five distributors hire some Negroes as helpers on trucks but none as sales or promotional personnel.

Next week we shall discuss the brewery employers and unions, and ways and means of dealing with this outrageous situation.

Meantime, open two more bottles of that jim-crow beer!

WORLD TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

Mr. Truman urges new immigration laws admitting 300,000 aliens in the next three years, in addition to the 400,000 admitted since war's end. Mostly European aliens are contemplated as immigrants. Apparently few of the malnourished West Indians and Orientals will be admitted, for obvious reasons.

BLACK Indian Jews, unhappy over jim crow in Israel, are being repatriated to India after staging a sitdown strike in December over color bias. These 125 dusky Jews are officially said to have been unable to overcome "cultural absorption difficulties," which is certainly a new name for it.

Abyssinian Baptist Church of Harlem, world's largest Protestant congregation, withdraws from the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., because that outfit is stalling on the issue of racial integration. A very deserved rebuke. To be Christian is to be Christ-like, or it doesn't mean a thing.

* * *

BRITAIN, "Mother of Democracy," banishes Seretse Khama forever from his Bechuanaland, offering him a $2,000 yearly job in Jamaica, B. W. I. He's been getting an allowance of $3,080. This is a victory for Malan and his South African Kluxers. Significantly the Labor party did not fight it.

* * *

India, which is fighting South African racism, has adopted a new governmental policy of Indians marrying only Indians. Hollywood actress Nancy Valentine found that out when New Delhi frowned on her marriage to the Maharajah of Cooch-Behar recently. This is not surprising since the Indians invented color prejudice.

* * *

SAGA of Wesley Williams, just-retired battalion chief of New York's Fire Department, points up changes made since he joined it thirty-three years ago. As first Negro fireman in city, he was ostracized, slighted, discriminated against. Today, numerous Negroes serve in various ranks in the department in utmost integration.

* * *

State Department has ousted 126 homosexuals since Jan. 1, 1951, and an official says "we probably could do the same thing in all of the departments of the Government." Those who are not waving Red flags seem to be wearing red ties!

31a 1952

Negro(George S. Schuyler)

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

About Sparkman, Dewey, Negro Leaders and FEPC

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

MY, HOW times and minds change! For several years Negro leaders have been teaching their gullible followers to judge every white politician by his stand on civil rights alone. Nothing else mattered if only he had given lip service to FEPC. Then he became a heroic angel. This made Negroes a set-up for every demagogue callous and unprincipled enough to use them.

Mr .Schuyler

When Senator Sparkman was nominated, Negro Democrats and Fair Dealers were shocked. Neither Congressman Powell nor the NAACP could swallow him, and a Negro boycott of the polls was suggested. While undoubtedly an able and honest man, Sparkman had committed the unforgiveable sin of opposing the civil rights package and was therefore to be repudiated.

In the heat of the campaign Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Mr. Civil Rights himself, effectively attacked Sparkman's record and one would have supposed that thousands of thinking Negroes would have cheered. Instead, there appeared in the New York Times of Oct. 24, 1952, a six-column, page-length advertisement headed "Mr. Dewey—American Negroes Have Grown Up Politically . . . and it's time that you grew up, too." This attack was signed by eighty-six more or less well-known Negroes, mostly New Yorkers, but many from places like Atlanta, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Louisville, Richmond, etc.

All presumably were Democrats and all vociferous opponents of any opponent of the civil rights package. What ingratitude to viciously attack a champion of civil rights and laud the spokesman of the opposition! How come Sparkman was a beast in July and an archangel in October?

MORE AMAZING than this chewing off the arm of the man who championed the first and strongest FEPC law and similar legislation, was the text of the advertisement which these eighty-six signed. Most of them have denounced me as Uncle Tom, renegade, traitor, etc., because I pointed out in the series "What's Good About the South?" and my article "The Phantom American Negro" that Negroes were not in the dire plight represented by so many of their sympathy-hunting, self-appointed spokesmen; that their progress in home ownership, farm ownership, education, political power and social integration had been enviable; that their progress in the past ten years had exceeded that in the past forty. This was regarded as treason (although anybody who read and traveled knew it to be true), and a big whispering campaign was started against me.

Now what do we find in this advertisement signed by eighty-six Negroes? We are told that Negroes "have made tremendous strides, economically, politically, socially, and in the field of education"; that "Negroes no longer are haunted by the spectre of unemployment and hunger. They have jobs now . . . They're drawing good wages . . . The Negro farmer . . . has made tremendous progress, too."

Negro children have benefited, it seems, and "More and more Negroes own their own homes . . . More and more Negroes are moving from the slums into modern apartments . . . Progress has been slower than we'd like, but the fact still remains that educational opportunities for Negroes are expanding constantly —and in the South, as elsewhere (bold face mine. G. S. S.); that segregation in the schools is breaking down; that segregation is being eliminated in the armed forces; that Negroes are everywhere winning the right to vote." I am quoting from this advertisement, not from Schuyler!

* * *

IT WOULD seem from this that America is pretty close to solving the race problem, but one of the signers, Mrs. Sadie T. M. Alexander, once argued violently on Town Hall of the Air that it is not. This doesn't look like Negroes are victims of genocide, but Prof. Robert Ming of Chicago U. (who contributed to the NAACP "genocide" report to the UN) signed this statement. Adam Powell (who couldn't swallow Sparkman but did) is another signer. Earl Brown, N. Y. City Councilman, who periodically moans over the sad state of the Senegambian, was another signer. Dr. Kenneth Clark of C. C. N. Y. who once indignantly denied that there was a Negro in the U. S. who owns a 100-acre farm (and was apopletic with range because I said so at a luncheon for the Indonesian ambassador) also endorsed the "tremendous progress" of the Negro farmer by signing this advertisement. There are many signers, friendly to Paul Robeson (who privately endorsed his Paris statement about Negroes not defending the U. S. A.), who endorsed the advertising text that "They'll fight and die any time their country calls them."

Well, folks, there you are. I agree with what the advertisement said, because it's what I've been saying (and denounced for saying) for the past five years. I'm glad all of these good people have caught up with what I said five years ago. However, I deplore that fact that they found it necessary to denounce, for partisan political purposes, a man like Governor Dewey, the proven friend of civil rights, in favor of a gentleman whose record is just the opposite. Isn't there a limit beyond which partisanship should not go?

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Sub-Committee Labor Report Substantiates Racial Progress

COURIER readers interested in facts rather than emotional ballyhoo and calamity howling should read "Employment and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States," which is the staff report to the Sub-Committee on Labor and Labor - Management Relations of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the United States Senate, Forty-second Congress. This confirms what I wrote five years ago and have repeated frequently about the enviable progress of the U. S. colored folk and the ever-narrowing gap between the two races.

Mr. Schuyler

so-called. When I said it there was a great uproar accusing me of selling out the race (to whom, I was never able to fathom) and to have suddenly got on the payroll of some sinister, but unmentioned forces. Now Government statistics prove what I said. The hypocrites sought to make it appear that I wanted Negroes to stop trying to improve themselves because I stated that their status was rapidly improving all along the line. I still believe people will try harder to get somewhere if they know they have been successful than they will if they think they have failed.

IT IS NOT HARD to understand why certain elements resent and reject the truth about race relations or try to distort it. Some are hustlers who live on exploiting the Negro's supposed grief and are understandably angry when his well-being is publicized. Some (like those who made the ridiculous genocide charges against the U. S. at the UN) are simply conscious or unwitting instruments of Soviet propaganda, out to smear every authentic anti-Communist who exposes their game.

Does this report covering fifty years show any indication of genocide (the systematic destruction of a race, nation or group)? Well, hardly. Since 1900 the Negro population has increased 70 per cent. In 1900 the respective Negro and white death rates were 27.8 and 17.6 per 1,000; in 1949, they were 12.6 and 8.4. Today the Negro death rate is only two-thirds of the white death rate fifty years ago, which scarcely looks like extermination.

* * *

IN 1920 A NEGRO boy baby could expect to live to be 47 years old while an infant of opposite tint had a life expectancy of 56. Today a male colored baby can expect to live to 59 years and a white boy baby to 66. Colored girl babies today can expect to live about 8½ years less than their white sisters. Much of this disparity is not due to any plot, but to the simple fact that the white population became predominantly urban in 1920, while Negroes did not become largely city dwellers until 1950—and health facilities are far more plentiful in urban than in rural areas. Moreover, more recent arrivals in cities have higher death rates because less adjusted to urban living. Despite yowling about "terrorized" Negroes in Dixie, in no section is the colored population as much as 3 per cent less than in 1940. Two-thirds of the Negroes still live in the South! Some Southern states, however, have shown marked Negro decreases. This is more due to increased opportunities for work elsewhere (with declining manpower needs in agriculture) than any genocide. Some parts of the South like Texas, Louisiana, Delaware, Maryland, D. C., Florida, and North Carolina have gained rather than lost Negroes.

* * *

NEGROES OVER 25 in 1950 had averagely completed seven years of school for ten years for whites. Other educational statistics indicate a noticeable narrowing of the educational gap between white and black, just as I have been saying.

Much economic well-being is indicated and significant increase in skills and wages. More and more Negroes are in better-paying jobs than ever before.

Nobody ever said that statistically the whites and blacks were equal. What is obvious to any unbiased observed is that they are rapidly becoming equal, and another generation will see them completely so.

Statistics do not tell the whole story, of course. What makes the figures deceptive is the disproportionate burden of still backward, unskilled and careless people among Negroes, many only recently arrived in town from depressed rural areas. This is true among whites, too, but our proportion is greater. A whole lot of these Negroes are not capable of filling better laboring positions when available, so they pull down the average. On the same job one Negro may be earning $90 a week while some unskilled fellow is getting $45. That brings down the average to $67.50. It seems that skilled Negro workers are being absorbed about as rapidly as they qualify.

The challenge to our leadership is this bottleneck which keeps down Negro income and slows the narrowing of the gap between colored and white. Just as our leadership met the challenge years ago and launched the "Go to High School—Go to College" campaign, so now should there be a nationwide campaign urging our people to learn new industrial skills.

Let us stress first things, first. The people must be told that salvation lies within the individual, and not to depend on the magic of laws alone.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Columnist Granger Spanked on Dig at Sampson UN Reappointment

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

ONE OF my pleasant duties each week is to read the column in the New York Amsterdam News written by Lester Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League. It rises above the usual level of Senegambian columnar efforts (which are too often distressingly superficial, cheap, snide and demagogic) and it is therefore a contribution to journalism.

Mr. Schuyler

In his offering of Sept. 27, however, Dr. Granger moves a little too far off base to get back safely and is surprising in his spleenful references to a most worthy lady who has distinguished herself by rising above the petty, ignorant claptrap which most Afr a mericans in high positions spout to the amusement of white folks and the embarrassment of their colored contemporaries.

* * *

DR. GRANGER was clearly irked because our mutual friend, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, was not reappointed an alternate U. S. delegate to the United Nations, and Mrs. Edith S. Sampson was. The Urban League head proceeds to read into this routine event the usual raceology slant. It seems that Dr. Tobias recently made a stirring address to the Urban League conference which was widely quoted in the press, and this is supposed to have so frightened the State Department by its "militancy" that it decided to have no more of Dr. Tobias. Whether this would explain the failure of the State Department not to reappoint other alternate UN delegates to succeed themselves, Dr. Granger sayeth not.

Of course the whole notion is infantile. Dr. Tobias has spoken no more "militantly" than Ralph J. Bunche, whom the State Department invited to become an Assistant Secretary, a job he turned down.

* * *

AFTER THIS lachrymatory lament over the departure of the venerable ex-boss of the jim-crow YMCA from the UN delegation, Dr. Granger turns on Mrs. Sampson the full force of his resentful disappointment. After writing that "Mrs. Sampson of Chicago had been brought back to fill his (Tobias') place," he adds: "Of course, this latter is a gross misstatement. Mrs. Sampson could never fill the place which Channing Tobias occupied at the Paris deliberations." Why? Lester lays it on with a trowel: i.e., Tobias has a "deep, perceptive intelligence such as is displayed by the head of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and there are very few of us who will ever achieve this."

The inference is, of course, that Mrs. Sampson does not have such intelligence. So Professor Granger despairs of the State Department for making this false step. He angrily shouts that they "simply do not know the score in race relations," and have not only fumbled the ball but thrown it away.

He growls that "there is absolutely no comparison between the quality of public service to be had of a Tobias and that which Mrs. Sampson can offer," and concludes that "State Department does not want Negro leadership real statesmanship; it w a n t s mouthpiece service, and will change until it gets this."

* * *

I HATE to see the official head of the Data Boys reveal himself in this way. It is not a pretty picture. However, what's said is said.

It happens that I have read the debates and speeches of both Mrs. Sampson and Dr. Tobias, and they are what one would expect from persons selected to represent the greatest country on earth, no more and no less. These were not, are not and should not be **Negro** leaders but **American** leaders. They are not there to express their personal or group feelings but the policy of the Great Republic ...

Like every ambassador, minister, consul or UN delegate to every country on earth they are, indeed, the mouthpieces of their government; and when they become anything more or less their usefulness is ended. This is true of Acheson, is true of Mrs. Sampson and Dr. Tobias, and would be true of Professor Granger if he were appointed to represent the U. S. in the UN or in some foreign country.

TO HEAR such nonsense from a man of Lester Granger's ability and prominence disposes one to agree that "we ain't ready" for the positions in American life to which we aspire. Diplomatic rostrums are not soapboxes, and only a goose would expect a Negro U. S. delegate to get up and echo the Communist propaganda claptrap about the alleged persecution and oppression of a large segment of the U. S. population. It would do American Negroes irreparable harm if, when appointed to high positions, their leaders publicly injected narrow, personal and group prejudices and complaints into solemn and touchy deliberations. Mrs. Sampson hasn't done it nor did Dr. Tobias, and I hope no Negro will.

Of course, I understand why certain "leaders" are always shooting at Mrs. Sampson—but more on that anon.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Sniping at Mrs. (UN) Sampson Is Like Throwing Rocks at the Moon

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

WHY IS IT that there has been so much sniping at Mrs. Edith S. Sampson since she zoomed into the limelight in connection with Town Hall's round-the-world trip and went on to become the first colored American to be an alternate delegate of the United States to the United Nations? Why were her successful tours of central and western Europe as a spokeswoman for this country made to appear almost sinister? More importantly, who were the people behind this smear campaign and why?

Mr. Schuyler

It cannot be due to anything she actually said, except that some of our intellectuals, and those whose minds they have poisoned, read into her remarks what was not there. I am familiar with the texts of those talks, and where she discussed the position of the Negro in American civilization, she presented the picture in proper focus, as any honest and capable citizen should.

* * *

PERHAPS THIS is just what is the matter. Most of our intellectuals have gone up and down the country and the world lying about their own people in order to make their position appear hopeless. This was done out of hatred of white people and was intended to make them ashamed and embarrassed. It gave these spokesmen a feeling of superiority which apparently they were unable to experience in any other way.

Irked because the social system compels them to remain among those whom too often they actually despise and with whom they have little in common except color, and enraged because of rejection by the majority of whites, they stew in a broth of prejudice and spleen. They have systematically exaggerated the deplorable aspects of the race problem in this country, painting the Negro as an angel enchained and the white people as devils incarnate, even when they have been lifelong recipients of Caucasian philanthropy and consideration. However balanced they may otherwise be, their minds are distorted on this question. Many have a vested interest in its continuance; and all stick together.

UNDERSTANDABLY there is widespread uproar and resentment when somebody comes along and describes things as they are. It is shocking if that person is one of their clique, a member of their charmed circle who has become, as it were, a maverick; but when it is an outsider, they can scarcely contain themselves. They indignantly assert that such a person is wrong (although unable to prove it) and call him everything but a child of God. They cannot stand anybody who exposes their professional martyr complex.

Mrs. Sampson, recently reappointed (to their sorrow) U. S. alternate delegate to the UN, did not belong to the college professor-race hustler-left wing clique (with its axis in the East, close to the doorsteps of the funds and foundations) which is secretly fond of totalitarianism, if not Stalin's brand. She was from the Middle West and did not "belong." Only Negroes approved by that clique are regarded as eligible for the spotlight.

* * *

WORSE, SHE SPOKE as a real American and a Negro; she spoke plainly so everybody could understand, and she spoke the truth. There was a positive as well as negative side to the racial problem in the U. S. A. Negroes had liabilities and also assets. White people had helped even more than they had hindered Negroes. Understanding and cooperation between the races was everywhere increasing. There were things the white people should do, but also things the colored folk should do. Neither side consisted of devils nor angels. This difficult problem was nearer to solution of a basic kind here than elsewhere where dissimilar peoples lived in juxtaposition.

Naturally such talk is unpopular among the left wing clique who substitute cliches for logic and wallow in wishful thinking. Accepting the "line" from their white "liberal," One World, pink socialist colleagues, they promptly dismiss blunt and honest spokesmen on the race question as betrayers of their race. Uncle Toms, cowards, appeasers, and so forth—all terms which could be more aptly applied to them. They automatically swing into smear campaigns which spread over the country. Often they succeed in discrediting honest people, but fortunately, in the case of Mrs. Sampson, they have failed.

I just love to hear their teeth grinding away!

31a 1952 Negro (George S. Schuyler)

Views and Reviews

Colored Union Men Who Toil on N. Y. Docks Are Neglected

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

WELL, Local 968 of the International Longshoremen's Association has put Joseph P. Ryan, that union's lifetime president, on the spot. Unless the venerable Irishman delivers fast there is going to be a very large and annoying revolt on his hands.

Of the nearly 10,000 colored longshoremen in the Port of New York (out of a total of 45,000) about 500 belong to Local 968 which is nearly 100 per cent colored. They seem to have maximum of grievance and they want somesomething done about it NOW. So a few days ago the local passed a strong resolution demanding that Brother Ryan appoint a colored international representative or organizer to look after the interests of the colored union men who toil on the docks. So far Brother Ryan has been as quiet as a country boy in a cemetery.

Mr. Schuyler

AS MENTIONED a couple of weeks ago, the bulk of the colored longshoremen belong to "white" locals but such a thing as getting their rightful turn at the available jobs is "out the window" and those who belong to the all-colored Local 968 are even worse off. Even when they are working steadily the New York longshoremen are lucky to earn $50 weekly. Many get less than that on which to maintain themselves and their families.

Nevertheless, Brother Ryan, who has grown plump and sleek from twenty-seven years in the top feed box, tolerates a racketeering system whereby people who do not even belong to the union can get work (at a price) while union men look on hungrily. Although the locals are each supposed to have jurisdiction over the docks they work that right is suspended and inoperative where the all-colored Local 968 is concerned.

* * *

BEING I. L. A. members doesn't mean much to them because the stevedores have their own way of recruiting colored longshoremen, and the Ryan general staff tolerates it. Here's how: there are certain "clubs" run by Uncle Toms of the stevedores. When the latter want colored workers, they telephone their "boys" in Harlem or Brooklyn. These agents round up the number of men desired and collect the price of permission to work. Many of these men do not belong to the union but they work just the same as long as they can kick back something, and they do not work under union rules.

Interestingly enough there are no white "clubs" serving the stevedores in this way. Only the colored men are singled out for this "distinction." Naturally, Local 968 has suffered most from this racket.

* * *

NOW, SPURRED on by its president, Cleophis Jacobs, Local 968 has demanded that Ryan put a colored man on the headquarters staff (which he personally appoints) and see that the racket hiring is ended. Since this colored local pays in about $3,600 annually in dues, the members want to know why they should keep on doing it if they get no protection and no security. Why, they want to know, this taxation without representation or benefits?

If something is not done fast, say they, there will be no point in continuing as members of the I. L. A., and paying dues to keep Ryan and his clique in bourbon and filet mignon, to say nothing of limousines.

THIS ECONOMIC argument is likely to be more successful than previous tearful pleas for justice and fairplay. Not only would such a revolt clip the union's income but it might have wide repercussions.

Actually the I. L. A. national membership is about 60 per cent colored, and it just might be that colored longshoremen along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts might become aroused also over this colored discrimination practiced by the venerable President Ryan and his lily-white clan. After all, they pay dues, too, and while their situation everywhere is better than that of the colored brothers in the Port of New York, they might show their sympathy and solidarity in a concrete way. If so, that would certainly be one for the book.

If Brother Ryan is as sharp as reported, he will pay attention to the Local 968 resolution, put a colored man on his staff who will really represent the interests of the workers and cut out the racketeering that is starving legitimate, dues-paying I. L. A. members. Otherwise he is heading for trouble.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Dr. H. H. Donald's 'Negro Freedman' Is a Book We All Should Read

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

DR. HENDERSON H. DONALD, a colored professor of sociology who boasts a B.A. from Howard University and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Yale University, has recently written "The Negro Freedman" which deals with "Life Conditions of the American Negro in the Early Years After Emancipation." It is published by Henry Schuman, New York, and sells for $4.

Mr. Schuyler

It is notable because of its objective, non-propaganda character which is rare in books on the subject. For this reason it has aroused the ire of several reviewers who favor works which picture all the freedmen as poor, innocent angels and the white folks as fiends incarnate; or tomes which have a Stalinist slant like DuBois' "Black Reconstruction" and the distorted Russianized histories of Aptheker.

His "crime" is that he did not quote exclusively from such works but made a catholic choice from books, periodicals, newspapers, letters and reports of the period, some favorable to the colored brother and others not. This seems to me to be sound historiography and for this I think he is to be commended. His account rings with authenticity, which is probably why it has not been enthusiastically received.

Once freed they roamed the countryside in droves in vain endeavor to escape the hard fact of life that one must work in order to eat and have shelter. This is understandable, so why should anybody object to the truth? Would any color of people freed under similar circumstances have acted differently?

* * *

ON THE OTHER hand (and what the reviewers have conveniently ignored) Dr. Donald gives a wonderful account of the thirst for knowledge, respectability and economic independence which is most creditable.

Many switched from agriculture to skilled trades — blacksmiths, wheelrights, carpenters and masons, and became solid citizens. A year after the Civil War a trav-

LIKE ANY ignorant, illiterate people who have long been in servitude, the suddenly emancipated Negroes were childish, brutalized, irresponsible, spendthrift, unrealistic, superstitious and panting for government handouts, just like some of their descendants. They were looking for miracles, and black and white demagogues encouraged them to continue. They were ragged, mostly lacking skills, amoral, and understood some of the rights but few of the duties of freedmen. It is from these subhuman depths that their progress must be appraised and appreciated.

It is a sobering book which tells of opportunities lost by negligence, indifference and sheer aversion to responsible endeavor.

eler in Virginia saw colored masons and carpenters constructing new buildings. "In 1870, about 30,000 Negroes resided in St. Louis County, Mo., mostly employed in the trades." It was likewise in Charleston, S. C., and other Southern towns. Similar industry was noted in Memphis. They practically built the Southern Railway and the C. and O. They worked as brakemen, firemen, laborers, helpers and mechanics. In 1890, of the 9,000 working in blast furnaces, rolling mills, iron works, mines, lumber mills, sawmills, etc., 2,500 were skilled. In two counties in Virginia every Negro owned his fishing boat, and some 18,000 freedmen worked at fishing, oystering and cultivation of land they owned or hired.

* * *

CO-OPERATIVE STORES were attempted but usually failed from lack of business experience. In Hampton, Va., Negroes owned blacksmith shops, sash factories and many fine stores. In Baltimore they ran a cooperative brickyard, and also organized leading Negro calkers, carpenters and mechanics into an interesting corporation called the Chesapeake, Marine and Dry Dock Company (10,000 shares at $50 each) which owned a shipyard and marine railway. The first year (1866-'67) it made a profit of $15,000. Successful cooperative plantations were operated in South Carolina. Sick and death benefit societies flourished. Some cooperative plantations were paid for in three or four years.

Numerous such examples are cited in this book and should be a source of pride to all of us. Of course these were the civilized, intelligent minority. The riffraff (most numerous, as usual) were a drag on the economy.

* * *

HOME BUYING flourished. In 1869, 180 bought homes in Augusta, Ga.; 220 built in Atlanta, forty paid from $500 to $1,200 per house in Columbia, S. C., while 2,000 families on the Carolina sea islands built houses and finished paying for farms. In 1875 in one Georgia county some Negroes owned as much as 250 acres of land.

Reaction to education was terrific among young and old, with almost pathetic thirst for book learning.

Altogether this is an absorbing, stimulating book which makes one proud of those who, starting from nothing, surmounted barriers and obstacles and took their places as valuable citizens. It is no reflection on the race that such were not in the majority. In what race are they?

Views and Reviews

The AMEZs, Edith Sampson and Paul Robeson

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Courier.—The Editors.)

LET US, dear Comrades, take a little excursion through the mazes of Communist conspiracy against civilization so we may see just how Negro support for a current "line" can be cleverly stage-managed. The scene is the thirty-fourth quadrennial national conference of the AME Zion Church at the Brooklyn (N. Y.) AMEZ Church. The time is May 16, 1952, P. M. The main characters are Mrs. Edith S. Sampson, former U. S. delegate to the UN, member of UNESCO and frequent unofficial spokesman for the U. S. State Department abroad, whose speech on the Town Hall international tour before an Indian audience won world-wide acclaim; Paul Robeson, known as a great singer and actor by everybody except dramatic and musical critics, and Bishop William J. Walls.

Mr. Schuyler

* * *

BISHOP WALLS had invited Mrs. Sampson to be the sole speaker that evening before the whole conference, assuring her that no one else would talk. A telephone call to her hotel following her arrival in New York repeated the promise. However, upon her arrival at the crowded church she was asked if she would mind Paul Robeson singing on the program. Assured that he would not speak, she said, "I enjoy Mr. Robeson's singing."

Mr. Robeson then appeared in a dramatic episode in two roles as Frederick Douglass (who would have turned over in his grave) and as Bishop John Logan, one of the AMEZ founding fathers, along with three other actors. After that he sang. Then he apparently double-crossed the venerable Dr. Walls by giving a speech after the Bishop had promised Mrs. Sampson there would be no other speaker! And what did he speak about? Oh, you clever people . . . you guessed it right off! . . . He would continue to fight for the oppressed people as long as he lived. Old bad Uncle Sam had taken his passport so he couldn't go abroad and lie as usual, and so forth, and so forth.

BISHOP WALLS, who as honorary chairman of the Committee for Peace Alternatives and sponsor of the Stockholm Appeal (which our Secretary of State has dubbed a Moscow propaganda device) is probably not as naive as he appears, rose amid the "thunderous applause" (according to the Daily Worker) and mooed: "Tonight we have had a son of Zion (I would substitute another word! G. S. S.) here to sing. His father was a pastor in our church and also a fighter. I will tell you why the State Department has refused Paul Robeson a passport. The reason he is barred from going abroad is that Paul Robeson advocates independence for the colonial people . . . Let the record show that the church of Zion is in favor of having his passport returned."

Whereupon the big audience rose to its feet (except Mrs. Sampson and Mrs. Ruth Whitehead Whaley, secretary to the New York Board of Estimate, and distinguished colored lawyer), thus putting itself and the AMEZ Church on record for Robeson and against their Government.

Naturally the Daily Worker was jubilant and devoted eighteen inches in its eight-page tabloid to the story, along with Robeson's picture. It boasted that the whole conference representing 600,000 members had supported Robeson's "right" to his passport. That won't look so good on the FBI record. Of course, the Bishop did not apologize to Mrs. Sampson for the embarrassment. I wonder was it planned? Or am I just too suspicious?

* * *

WHAT ABOUT Robeson's "right" to a passport? On July 15, 1949, a former high Communist party functionary, Manning Johnson, testified under oath before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, that when he "had insisted that Paul Robeson be called in to assist in our fight against white chauvinism, Dirba said by making such requests I was doing irreparable harm to the Communist party, because in the first place it was not Paul Robeson's work, and that by the promiscuous use of Paul Robeson's name it would become general knowledge that he was a member of the Communist party, and they could not afford to have such knowledge become general, because it would endanger much work Paul Robeson was engaged in."

* * *

BISHOP WALLS may not know it but Mr. Robeson is officially credited by the Department of Justice as belonging to more than fifty Communist fronts. Of course, Mr. Robeson will not admit he is a Communist. When asked back in 1946, the Daily Worker quoted him as replying, "I characterize myself as an anti-Fascist," but a year later the same compendium of truth reported his reply to the question of Red membership: "there are only two groups in the world today—Fascists and anti-Fascists. The Communists belong to the anti-Fascist group and I label myself an anti-Fascist." This is what the Comrades call Aesopian language.

However, Newsweek said Robeson "makes no secret of his sympathy for the (Communist) party." Certainly he has never failed to rush to the defense of people like Gerhart Eisler, Eugene Dennis, Ben Davis and others whom even Bishop Walls knows to be Communists. As chairman of the National Negro Congress, Robeson was certainly aware as its secretary, John P. Davis (Our World) admitted, that the Communist party contributed $100 a month to its support.

THEN THERE was his classic 1949 statement at the Paris Peace Conference: "It is certainly unthinkable for myself and the Negro people to go to war in the interest of those who have oppressed us for generations." And then two months later: "Yes, I love this Soviet people more than any other nation." Then still later: "I will defend them (Communists) as they defended us, the Negro people" . . . So you see why Paul is minus a passport, chum. How strange that with all available Negro singers and actors, the AMEZs chose him! How singular that Mrs. Sampson should be maneuvered into that embarrassing spot!

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Facts Are Facts! Rural Negroes Eating High on the Hog

WHILE some of our professional bleeding hearts shed oceans of crocodile tears over the allegedly parlous plight of the "persecuted" Southern rural Negroes (supposedly panting to escape the rigors of Dixie for the reportedly Elysian fields of Chicago, New York and Los Angeles), their reports of conditions in the ex-Confederacy raise considerable doubt. Indeed, the latest information I am able to garner lends support to my frequently expressed (and denounced) view that the colored brother, rural and urban, is getting along quite all right and sometimes better than the ruck of Americanos. This, of course, is regarded as treason by our calamity-howling race hustlers who excoriate everyone who represents the plight of The Brother as not being dire—but facts are facts.

Mr. Schuyler

I TURN FIRST to a report from my friend Sherman Briscoe, information specialist, U. S. Department of Agriculture, who periodically roams the Southern steppes in search of authentic information. He has just returned unscathed from an October-November tour of Negro farms in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Texas. Despite the alleged terror pervading those parts, he finds that the dark-skinned tillers of the soil are generally eating high on the hog. They are quitting cotton and tobacco culture in droves, and turning to cattle, hogs, and truck produce. They are investing their increased earnings in better homes equipped with running water, new kitchen ranges, and automatic refrigerators. His account reminds me of a swing I took through the rural South four years ago and was entertained in Negro farmers' homes as well-equipped and tastefully furnished as most residences in our big cities.

BRISCOE TELLS about the Myles Moorings of Anderson, Tex., who seven years ago vegetated in a shack on a small cotton farm. Today they have a modern home with running water and refinished furniture, cattle, hogs and chickens in the pastures, and a son in college studying agriculture.

Among the 28 farm families he visited there was a large number of modernized kitchens with hot and cold running water, new stoves, cabinets and refrigerators, with home freezers and washing machines commonplace.

Sometimes he found as many as six tractors puffing up and down the fields, and farmers upping their yields of corn per acre by improving the soil and using hybrid varieties. There is Joe Carter of Lexington, Ky., who now gets as much corn off three acres as he used to get off twenty, with his current yield being eighty bushels an acre.

He found Shirley Banks of Texas, a 425-acre rice farmer owning $40,000 worth of tractors, combines, and trucks. Pleas Orr Jr., of Decatur, Ala., has a completely mechanized 175-acre farm, and is planning to get a mechanical cotton picker. Boston Banks (60) of Seminole County, Okla., is raising 1,000 turkeys a year, many of them going to the armed forces, while Henry Chaney of Macon, Ga., although a cripple confined to a wheel chair, has 350 New Hampshire layers turning out 120 dozen eggs a week.

* * *

THERE ARE the Dumas-brothers (six of them) of Macon, Ga., who, in addition to farming, operate a small sawmill producing 7,000 feet of timber a day. Also F. H. Potter of Kentucky who, with his two sons, operates a 650-acre farm and operates on the side a custom slaughter service for his neighbors, dressing 600 hogs and sixty to seventy beeves a year, thus making an extra $2,500 a year. This is just a small sampling of farmers who are successful in Dixie. There are thousands of others among the 207,000 Negroes who own their estates (as one would refer to these farms in Europe or the West Indies!) which average seventy-eight acres and in many instances exceed three or four square miles in area. While many Negro farmers have migrated to the North, East and West, only a tiny fraction of them have continued in the calling they know best. However, there are quite a few who have, and most of them are doing well.

LIKE EVERYTHING else, success in farming depends in large part upon the individual. It is a fiction that all impoverished rural Negroes are that way because of racial prejudice and lack of opportunity. As among all peoples, Negro failure to make the grade often can be attributed to a lot of other faults, such as laziness, ignorance, wastefulness, improvidence and lack of stamina and integrity. Of course it is always comforting to attribute such failures to racial prejudice and discrimination, but this scarcely explains why some are destitute in the best areas while some are prosperous in the worst.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Use Your Head and Think . . . Use Your Hands and Vote GOP!

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

WELL, as we say in Valparaiso, we're down to the nitty gritty. The political lie factories have ground out their last promises and smears, and the candidates have St. Vitus dance as they await the verdict. By next Wednesday we'll know whether the freest and most prosperous power on earth will climb upward to full liberty or go down the drain to the Total State.

Mr .Schuyler

For that, my friends, is the basic issue confronting us in this hectic Presidential campaign after all the mouthmeticians have rested their tonsils. On the left we have the creeping national slavery to be perpetuated by the long-entrenched Fair Deal—the increasing controls, expansion of Government power, inflation, graft and corruption which can only lead to bankruptcy, the open sesame to dread dictatorship.

On the right we have dedication to free competition, decentralization, economy resulting in lower taxes, end of deficit financing, elimination of give-away programs to hungry chiselers abroad, honesty and thrift. It's as simple as that.

IT IS ESTIMATED that nearly four million Negroes will vote, many for the first time, and it is depressing to note that, according to polls and surveys, most of them are said to be planning to vote again (what again!) for the Democrats. If true, this is further proof that "we ain't ready"; that we haven't emerged from the unthinking mob that votes with emotional ignorance instead of informed intelligence; that we are still suckers for the Utopian promises of cynical politicians; that we are eager to confirm the dire prophesies of Dixie demagogues used to justify our political submergence.

What are the "reasons" given by self-appointed and/or paid spokesmen of Senegambia for voting for the Democrat captives of creeping socialism?

The most forceful (and laugh-provoking) argument is that the Democrats are the party of civil rights for Negroes, have promised civil rights, and are most likely to implement them. This is laugh-provoking because (a) the civil rights Constitutional Amendments upon which all the legal victories for Negroes have been based were passed by Republicans, (b) all the civil rights laws implementing these amendments were passed by Republicans and (c) all legislation proposed since 1922 to further guarantee civil rights and protection has been killed by Democrat filibusters and runarounds.

* * *

IT IS INDISPUTABLE that the present astronomical high prices and high taxes are due to (a) World War I which was promoted by the Democrat administration headed by that apostle of jim-crowism, Woodrow Wilson, (b) World War II which was promoted by the Democrat administration headed by that arch-faker, Franklin D. Roosevelt, (c) the post-war give-away and Communist-appeasement policies promoted by the Democrat administration headed by that arch-demagogue, Harry S. Truman, and (d) the Korean War (misnamed police action) promoted by the same crew. Everyone pretending to possess human intellect should know this, or be locked in a padded cell.

* * *

BY VIRTUE OF the one-party system which has given them seniority and thereby control of Congressional committees, Southern Democrats have stymied even the mildest of civil rights bills. No one forgets that Truman told Representative Frank Boykin of Alabama in 1948: "I don't believe in this any more than you do, Frank, but we need it in order to win." The cold fact is that the only fair employment practice act of value to Negroes was the Taft-Hartley Law passed over Truman's veto by the Eightieth Congress (GOP) which prevented Negrophobic labor unions from continuing to freeze Negroes out of skilled and well-paying jobs, albeit the Democrat-controlled NLRB would not properly enforce it.

* * *

ELEVEN STATES have passed FEPC laws. Of this number two (New Mexico and Rhode Island) had Democrat Legislatures and three (Massachusetts, New Mexico and Rhode Island) had Democrat Governors. With Dixie under Democrats controlling Congress and its chief committees, not a single state in Dixie has passed an FEPC law, and each Southern state's Representatives in Congress have fought against a Federal FEPC. Who denies it?

The final "argument" of leading Democrat stooges is that Negroes "never had it so good," which is the most outrageous fiction of all in view of the fact that, (a) every U. S. man, woman and child owed $179.48 in 1933 and owes $1,800 now; that (b) the gross U. S. debt in 1933 was $22½ billion and is today over $255 billion, that (c) per capita income rose only from $1,191 in 1945 to $1,436 in 1952, but cost of living rose from 128.6 to 171.9, or 20.5 per cent as against 33.67 per cent; that (d) when Truman took office business failures totaled 809, while in 1950 they were 9,162; that (e) total individual savings and bank deposits in 1942 was $8 billion, while in 1950 it was $4.3 billion, and the dollar in the bank today is worth only 50 cents.

Whom does all this make better off? This wild inflation has certainly helped the politicians running the Democrat administration, but how has it helped Negroes?

Perhaps most of us are impervious to facts and logic (despite universal schooling). If so we shall again write ourselves down as neophytes and keep the present crowd squandering our taxes in Washington while we sit waiting hopefully like cats outside an empty butcher shop. If we have learned anything, we'll put the Republicans in power.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

'St. Louis Woman' (La Baker) Playing Footsie With Bloody Dictator

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinions of the Courier.—The Editors.)

NOW that Scripps-Howard columnist Robert Ruark has led the public uproar over Josephine Baker's love feast with bloody dictator Juan Peron of hapless Argentina and her outrageous falsifications anent the U. S. A. race question, I presume the original hepster on this variety artist may be permitted a further word. The news that she had dramatically signed the guest book at ruthless Eva's temporary tomb with the words, "Your sister, Josephine, who loved you dearly," evoked from me only a slightly amused "Ho Hum!" Likewise did her revelation of all the lynchings she had "personally seen" in the U. S. A., probably during the slight intervals when she was not getting $20,000 weekly to prance across the boards in exaggerated Paris creations crying "I love you. I love you all!"

Mr .Schuyler

IT WAS WITH amusement on the grim side that I recalled the hurricane of denunciation that lashed me when I publicly stated the significant sequence of events in the lady's off-stage career. I recollected how certain Negro "leaders" picketed the Stork Club over her "discrimination" which two official investigations later exploded sky high, and which NAACP lawyers admitted was quite imaginative. I chuckled over how my fellow-journalists were gullibly taken in but never attained sufficient moral stature to admit it. I remembered how I had predicted in the Courier (May 5, 1951) that she "may be making her last visit to the U. S. A. . . . A fine artist is being misled by some of her fellow-traveling advisers." My only error was my generous presumption that she was being misled. Now she is hobnobbing with the bloodiest dictator outside the Iron Curtain. Will her dupes kindly line up on the right (for a change!) and one by one soak their heads under the ice-water faucet!

OF COURSE, currying favor with oppressors is not a new role for her. An Associated Press dispatch of Oct. 1, 1935 quoted her as announcing that she was on the side of Mussolini against the Ethiopians, who were then being bombed and gassed by the heroic legions of fascism, which later surrendered in droves to the British.

One singularly unpublicized incident during the financially successful Josephine Baker Day staged by the New York NAACP on May 20, 1951, was its picketing by the African Nationalist Movement. Why? Well, according to the pickets' signs and to James R. Lawson, the Movement's leader, the lady had won her French wartime decoration by turning over to the French authorities in Morocco a list of some 150-odd leaders of the Istiqlal (independence) party. They were promptly nabbed, jugged and I believe some were guillotined, thus temporarily crippling this movement to which even the Sultan belonged.

* * •

ACCORDING TO Lorenzo de Aber, Courier's Mexico City reporter, there was much of significance in the lady's sojourn there: such as the adoption of a child of a servant of a member of the Soviet Embassy staff (with all the poor U. S. A. black babies available for adoption!) and the employment of former servants of the same Muscovite gentlemen.

There was the mass meeting in a Red-frequented theatre which she reportedly financed and which was packed with Commies, and where her World Cultural Association Against Discrimination was formed. Suspiciously, branches immediately sprang up all over Mexico and Central America in time for delegations to carry signs in May Day, 1952 parades. Who could have established them so quickly?

Before me is a large illustrated clipping from Imprensa Popular, the Daily Worker of Rio de Janeiro, dated Sept. 5, 1952, with big headline enthusiastically reporting the lady's "vehement denunciation" of racism in the U. S. A. Know who organized it? Go to the head of the class!

* * •

IN OUR Aug. 30, 1952 issue, Joao Conceicao, Courier's Rio reporter, told of her Stork Club-like hassle with Television Tupi over a mere light bulb which forced cancellation of the show and the station's apologies to the public. She later told him, "It was a misunderstanding . . . I would never be unkind to the Brazilian people and I only wish to reciprocate the many courtesies and applause they have bestowed upon me." Why not the same generosity and appreciation for the American people's applause, praise and money? Like Charlie Chaplin and Maurice Chevalier (and to paraphrase a once-popular ditty) "Josie won't be back here any more!"

With a world organization opposed to racial discrimination, you would expect attacks on its existence everywhere, since color bias is wide-spread in the West Indies, South America, Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia. But Josie denounces only the U. S. A. brand. She said nothing against it in Brazil where it is a national disgrace. Nor in Cuba where she was barred from the swank lily-white El Nacional Hotel. She has not mentioned the periodic head-whippings the Paris gendarmes give hapless North Africans sojourning there, nor the persecutions throughout French Africa. For her, apparently, the South African shambles don't exist!

Why does this one-woman jeremiad against the United States coincide with the current Soviet propaganda against U. S. "genocide?"

Ah! St. Louis woman with her diamond rings!

31a 1952 Negro (Ollie Stewart)

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

PARIS — Lawrence Winters has a spot on the Berlin (Germany) radio. I picked him up Saturday night after dinner via short-wave, and heard a full fifteen minutes of spirituals. The studio audience loved him. His radio work is in addition to his recitals. He's a baritone. Rumor persists that he may land a contract with the Metropolitan this fall.

Mr. Stewart

A series of photographs by Gordon (Life magazine) Parks — on American teen-agers in Paris— reminds me that th photographer now has new assignment in tl West Indies. The rovir kind: Gordon was in Par with his family for almos two years.

Lois Towles Sails

Lois (pianist) Towles off to the States this week, for a series of concerts. Her sister Dorothea (a model) plans to follow in some weeks to show off new dress creations in a cross-country tour . . . Richard Wright in London on a business trip. . . .

Middleweight Jimmy King won a much-booed decision over Claude Milazzo (France) after a slow 10-round match here Monday night at the Palais de Sports. King previously has won several fights in Berlin where he has been campaigning for a year.

Busy is the word for Allene Knighten, of Tulsa, Oklahoma. She arrived six weeks ago to study the organ with Marcel Dupre —but has found time to join the choir at the American Church in Paris, to rehearse at the Conservatory in a cantata to be given in March, to play the organ at the American Church and to direct a play to be given shortly by white American teenagers.

This just takes up her leisure time. Her serious work comes when she practices five hours a day on the organ, takes her lessons and goes to concerts in the evenings.

Italians Return Throne

Much talk around town this week about the return by the Italians of Haile Selassie's throne to Ethiopia — but there was even more talk about why the Italians took so long to get around to this little chore. The throne was grabbed during the war of 1935-37, and has been kept in Rome for the past 12 years.

The Mussolini hordes didn't stop, however, with taking the Emperor's uniforms, oil paintings of great value and priceless tapestries. All told, there were more than a dozen large crates filled with royal keepsakes that left Naples by boat the last day of February.

From a European correspondent in America: "On the surface you would think Manhattan is made of money. The shining convertibles and limousines block Park and Fifth Avenues. The restaurants are jammed, and there is much mink and plenty of sable . . . The street-cleaners smoke cigars — and the doormen drive to work in their own cars!"

What? No mention of television sets in the janitors' apartments?

Windows Routed

Looking ahead: Although the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II will not take place until some time in 1953, ticket agencies have already sold reservations for more than 2,500 seats along the procession route —at prices ranging from $6 to $72 each. All windows in stores and homes along the parade route have been rented by the agencies and will be re-sold at fabulous prices before the end of this year.

Life in France: Household items taken for granted in America are still considered luxuries in France. Yearly household arts show opened this week with ice boxes and washing machines selling at $400. A four-burner gas stove sells for $200.

I've already mentioned that a tenant has to pay extra for hot water and heat in an apartment. This week I learned (by paying) that you also have to pay the fire insurance on your apartment. The landlord pays nothing.

Joins His Wife

Passing through en route to Germany was Sgt. William C. Brown and his white wife, Dorothy, who came over recently by boat to join him. They both come from Lynn, Mass., and were married only a few months ago. The sergeant, who has been in Germany three months, came to Paris to meet his wife and take her to his station in Germany. He's with the 272nd Field Artillery Battalion.

Tom Avery, who made so many friends (and so much money) with his barbecue place near the American Embassy, has had to move to a bigger location. He is now at 6 Rue D'Antin, near the Opera. With the bar, he can seat 150 persons at one time, and has rooms for banquets and private parties.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

PARIS—Progress: Last week Jay Clifford became the first to achieve membership in the American Club of Paris . . . . This week, Capt. George A. Birchette, Buffalo, N.Y., smashed a bigger tradition by becoming the first doctor to be assigned to a ward in the American Hospital of Paris. Stationed at Orleans, France, with the 3rd Medical Holding Co., Capt. Birchette was picked when the hospital asked the Army for a doctor in a hurry. He's a Howard U. graduate, class of '46 . . . Also this week, pretty Ruth Phillips, of Harrisburg, Pa., was transferred to the American Embassy in Paris from Monrovia, Liberia. In Paris, she joins her former co-worker, Beatrice Carson, of Washington, D.C.

Mr. Stewart

Thanks: To Miss Modestine Young, executive secretary, Alumni Association, Tenn. State University, Nashville: Sorry I won't be able to accept your kind invitation to speak there on June 1, much as I appreciate the honor accorded me by the Alumni Association. Which reminds me, it has been 22 years since I was capped and gowned at Tennessee State.

Torres To Study

Future diplomat: Noel Rafael Torres, Jamaica, L.I., arrived here recently with his wife to do graduate study in international law at the University of Paris. Expects to remain 18 months, then try for foreign service. Torres graduated from Virginia State, then took law at Boston University. Prior to his departure for Europe, he was practicing in Springfield, Mass. Ex-serviceman in the ETO during war.

With the military: Corporal Oliver Hubbard, 219 Johnston Ave., Plainfield, N.J., Morgan College graduate (1950), now stationed at Orleans, France, with the 33rd Medical Holding Co., and spends most of his week-ends in Paris. Arrived last October, and plans to study medicine at Heidelberg U. in Germany after getting out of the Army next fall.

Other servicemen seen in Paris who send greetings to friends and relatives include: Pvt. Edward Scroggins, 611 Northwest St., Alexandria, Va.; Pfc. Willie L. Reed, 362 Marion St., Brooklyn; Cpl. James L. Bundy dy, 28 Jefferson St., Poughkeepsie, N.Y.; Cpl. Hiawatha Harris, San Francisco, Calif. Cpl. Robert Littlejohn, Spartanburg, S.C.; Pfc. Joseph D. Blanton, Detroit; Airforce Sgt. Warren G. Farrow. Pittsburgh; Pfc. Albert H. Sutton, Los Angeles; Cpl. A. L. Oberling, Chicago; Cpl. Joseph H. Brown Jr., Chester, Pa.; and Cpl. Alvin Allen, 1110 West Susquehanna Ave., Philadelphia.

Dr. Cook Lectures

Fulbright grantee Mercer Cook Sr. spent the past week lecturing and digging into the archives of the library at Avignon, France. Before he goes back to his work as professor at Howard University, Dr. Cook will have covered every worthwhile library in France. Both he and Dr. Rayford Logan have been making lecture trips every two weeks, while continuing their research work.

Facts of life: Two years ago I wrote from Germany that there were "at least 3,000 Brown Babies in the U.S. Zone of Germany" — and now the German government has made it official.

A few days ago (March 15), the West German Parliament reported that out of the 94,000 occupation babies fathered by U.S. soldiers, 3,000 of them are colored, and has asked the Allied High Commission to try to establish the paternity of the children and to make arrangements for their financial support.

"The children fathered by colored soldiers presnt a special problem," the Parliamnt declared.

Interest Is Late

It is significant that the Germans have suddenly become interested in these children. Although the last census of occupation babies was made back in 1950, nothing was said or done until now — when the Germans are about to sign a peace treaty with the Western Allies.

On the verge of becoming independent, the Germans are determined to squeeze every possible dollar they can out of the Americans. And if they can find any way to get rid of the Brown Babies, they will do so.

Federated CLUBS

BY REBECCA-STILES-TAYLOR

NEW YORK FOR EDUCATORS

We are told by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., acting director of the Chicago Community inventor of the University of Chicago, that Chicago's non-white population has reached the average for 18 cities of more than 500,000 population.

Mrs. Taylor

Chicago's 1950 colored population was 509,512 persons an increase of 80 per cent from the 1940 census figure of 282,244. The figure was the largest of any city in the nation with the exception of New York City which has 775,529.

Of the Chicago total, 492,331 were Negroes and 17,181 were Indian, Japanese, Chinese and members of other non-white races.

In the light of these figures and the trend of the times, it can be easily seen that conditions facing us today in the molding of our citizenry are challenging EDUCATORS to leave the ways followed for centuries, to meet new insistent demands.

The old ways of life are changing rapidly; time-honored institutions are breaking down; and the social and economic world about us seems to be going to pieces

The traditional function of education has been to transmit a social heritage. That was adequate in earlier days, but is not enough to save us in a time of change like this.

We must face new facts, adopt new ways of living, solve problems different from those which our history tells of and build, if we can, a better world out of the wreck of the old.

The big question is—What can education do in this crisis to fit the pupils of the changing world?

This responsibility educators must not shirk. It is not enough to teach the history of the past, or even to make their pupils familiar with the enviornment of the present day, but they must take account of the fact that a new world is dawning and that these children are looking to them for guidance.

Educational practice is far from being even now imbued with the best theory. Too often it is true that we do not adequately prepare the children to enter the world of reality which lies outside of the classroom doors. But it may be said that education is not the only function of our social and political life which has failed to meet the challenge.

Finance, social controls, and industry have failed in even greater degrees, but because education is fundamental, it must take the greatest responsibility.

For years, we have been teaching our children the history of our government, the rise and fall of political parties, the disputed issues of each era. and how they were decided; the wars of the nation, and how the battles were fought and won.

We have taught the children the principles of democracy, and of political rule by the people of the nation. But meanwhile the progress of invention and the great industrial development of the past century have been becoming more and more powerful, until our econimic life has now com eto rank in importance with our political life.

With conditions so changed it is not enough that the children of today would study civics and political government. They must study also the elements of economics, and become familiar with the problems of the distribution of wealth and opportunity.

We have taught them that all men are equal and entitled to equal political opportunity. What we have NOT taught them, is that all men have a fundamental right to economic opportunity as well, nor have we brought them to realize the inequitable economic conditions they will meet when they leave school.

The times demand a new kind of teacher—no school without the teacher, no school without the child. One is as important as the other. There is need for teachers who think, who mingle with the active world about them, who hold opinions on questions of the day, who believe passionately in economic as well as political justice for all men.

The public has been accustomed to the academic type of teacher, uninterested in public affairs. The public must be educated to accept teachers who think and who have opinions, and back them up and sustain them in their right to think on political and social questions, and to get their pupils to do likewise. Children will then come to the tasks of citizenship with awakened minds and keen intelligence.

31a 1952

TOWNSEND

Bertrand Russell's Racial Views Strike A Harmonious Note Here

During these days of great confusion, in retrospect one finds himself involved in many paradoxes. Last Sunday was a very beautiful day so I attended the Christian services in the morning and devoted the afternoon to reading Bertrand Russell's very interesting book, "Unpopular Essays."

While I do not subscribe to many of Mr. Russell's theories, it is always a great pleasure to read his works no matter how one disagrees with his views.

In this book he does a particularly praiseworthy job of demolishing Hegel, Plato, and the myth of racial superiority; and Russell is correct in asserting that the Communists institute purges in order to eliminate people who do not think that Stalin is ordained with all of the knowledge in the world. A. Philip Randolph wittingly refers to Joseph Stalin as "Saint Stalin."

It has been pointed out, nevertheless, that the liberals—the people Russell admires—are forever vacillating. Invariably they advocate peace until war is declared, and then they become utter war mongers. Moreover, they wish that the workers would receive higher wages but when the workers use direct action methods, the liberals castigate them for being immoral.

A very splendid case in point is the editorial in the Chicago Sun-Times Tuesday April 8, in which they charge the nation's 650,000 steel workers as being unconscionable because they dare to strike for the right to enjoy a decent standard of living.

As for the Communists they do not have a modicum of integrity. They have apologized for the slave labor camps and the Moscow trial frameups. As for the liberals who once denounced the reprehensible Franco regime, they are at this moment stating that we need Franco's help in the event of war with the Soviet Union. Is there any wonder that the average man in the street along with many of our so-called leaders are in a state of abject confusion.

Getting back to the book, however, Russell does a very good job and the way he handles both Plato and Hegel gives food for thought. As far as Plato's Republic is concerned, Russell thoroughly analyzes its shortcomings, and surely it has many shortcomings.

First of all Plato advocated a hierarchy of philosophers to rule the world. This ruling class would compel certain men and women to marry each other for eugenic purposes.

Thus, a man and a woman if they loved each other would not be able to live with one another unless the rulers sanctified the marriage. Also all illegitimate children would be burned to death. Bertrand Russell eloquently states "If a society based upon Plato's Republic was established, an unbearable oligarchic power would enslave us all."

Hegel's reactionary philosophy, says Russell, is even more dangerous than Plato's. Hegel's, he continues, unfortunately is highly regarded despite the fact that he was a madman. He conceived the dialectical theory, a fantastic theory to say the least. (The granddaddy of Stalin's Communism.)

Mr. Russell is quite astute in his analysis of the race question. He verifies that a pure race does not exist for the Hottentots, Pygmies, and the Australian aborigines. It is even questionable, continues Mr. Russell, whether or not those races are absolutely pure, but it has been definitely established that the Europeans and the Americans have many types of blood within their systems.

It is indeed unfortunate that Europeans and Americans fail to recognize this. If they did, they would not permit demogogues like presidential candidate Dick Russell of Georgia, Byrnes of South Carolina, and others to preach race superiority which serves to separate them in the struggle for world democracy.

Negro (Willard Townsend)

Willard TOWNSEND

Young College Graduate Performs Economic Miracle In Tyrell County, N.C.

Perhaps very few people outside of its 5,555 inhabitants have heard of Tyrell County, North Carolina.

Statistically it is just another ordinary county of one of the thirteen poverty stricken Southern states. There are 625 farms in the county. One hundred forty-four of them range in size from one-tenth of an acre to ten acres. One hundred eighty-one are from ten to twenty acres and 236 between twenty and fifty acres. No more than 64 of the farms have an individual acreage of more than fifty acres. Corn is the major crop with potatoes running second and closely followed by beans and cotton.

The county's Negro population averages about 36 percent or little over 2000 people. A great majority of the people of Tyrell County, both Negro and white are share-croppers.

If one is acquainted with the problems of share-croppers (and it should be a must for every American college student) he should know that this large section of Americans are heavy-laden with debts, crickets and boll-weevils in an unproductive soil which has impoverished the economic life of the South.

Tyrell County, North Carolina, is just one link that long chain of an agricultural system which feeds upon itself, like a trapped animal eating its own flesh, for survival.

Yet in Tyrell County a modern miracle happened. These disheartened Negro share-croppers found that they had withing themselves the capacity to build a new and fine economic life out of the ashes of their hopeless existence.

It all started with a young Negro college graduate from the area who became interested in cooperatives. This young man after receiving his degree returned to Tyrell County and with great enthusiasm was able to organize a study club. For many long months he preached and explained the value of consumer cooperation among the Negro farmers of Tyrell County.

Understanding finally conquered and the black farmers of Tyrell organized a credit union among themselves. A basic democratic organization of thrift and credit. They named their organization the Light of Tyrell Credit Union.

That was in 1938 when these farmers began pooling their few dollars to assist each other. By December 31, 1943 they had made 407 loans totaling $31,853 to eacl other. During the intervening years they had assisted in taking over mortgages on farms and assisted members to acquire new farms.

In addition, through the credit union, 12 members purchased a $22,000 farms which they operate co-operatively. Catching the spirit of democratic co-operation the little people of Tyrell explored other avenues in approaching their economic problems in a democratic co-operative fashion.

A year later they organized a co-operative store and in 1941 a co-operative hospitalization association. They are also planning a co-operative sawmill and hope to create a producer-consumer co-operative which will give them easy and ready access to markets where better prices for their products can be obtained.

To us of labor, this is a practical demonstration of leadership in the economy of living on the part of this young man.

Willard TOWNSEND

31a Negro

Let Us Punish Our Enemies And Protest Our Friends

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—I arrived in Jacksonville, Fla. Sunday morning in time to attend the gigantic mass meeting held under the auspices of the NAACP at Behtel Baptist church. This meeting was called in protest against the heinous murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, Christmas night in their home at Mims, Fla.

That the people of Florida were outraged by this criminal act was evidenced by the overflowing crowd that had gathered long before the meeting had begun and there is great evidence here in this large Southern community that no longer would the Southern Negro sit supinely by and accept these atrocities without fighting back. Then, too, in virtually every newspaper which I have read—large and small, daily and weekly, Negro and white—were editorials of the outrage. It seems that every respectable white citizen has tried to apologize for this ugly and criminal murder. Throughout the state during my stay, I have talked to many men, particularly white, who are sorely grieved and are trying to do something about it.

For instance, Allan Courtney, a white radio commentator in Miami, asked for donations to build up a reward for the capture of the culprits responsible for the bombing, and to him has come many hundreds of dollars for this fund. Mr. Courtney in his recent broadcast revealed that most of the money that has been sent in has come from non-Negro and non-Jewish citizens—people who have not been bombed but who most certainly are offended by these dastardly acts on citizens of the community. My information is that the city of Miami, the county government, and other agencies have, as of this date, contributed more than $9,000. These activities should not go unnoticed, because they demonstrate that many common people here in Florida are rising to the occasion.

While this is going on in Florida I note from the papers back home that they are asking for boycotts against Florida fruits, advising tourists to stay away from Florida, and many other things designed to capture with lines. I wonder how emotional some people can get. Let's take, for instance, our refusing to buy oranges and grapefruit from Florida. Have we taken into consideration that there are many thousands of acres of citrus fruits that give sustenance to Negroes, that many hundreds of Negroes are employed daily in this business, that there are thousands of acres owned and controlled by Negroes engaged in fruit growing? Are they to be penalized because of the assassin's bomb? If so, why not snatch all of the telephones out of our homes because in Cicero, Ill., Western Electric Company has a great factory that manufactures the telephones which we use each day.

We had a riot in Cicero because, like the Negroes in Carver Village in Miami, a Negro family seeking shelter moved into a so-called white community. So, why not boycott the use of telephones, or is it because Cicero is in the North and because we live in the North it has become a habitual, almost glandular, process for those of us who live in the North to condemn everything South whenever some brutal fool makes violence against Negroes.

This article is not designed to defend the wrongs of the South, but rather to point out that there are wrongs both North and South; that there are decent, honest, and respectable white people in the South as well as in the North; and that whenever we institute blanket drives against all of the good people of our nation regardless of who they might be we make a grave mistake. It is my firm conviction, as I pointed out in this column a few weeks back, that many of the problems in the South grow out of poverty—a poverty created by the economic overlords of the North and their political stooges in the South that are trying to maintain the status quo "All of this is done in the conquest of gold."

Therefore, from where I sit here in Jacksonville, Fla., this afternoon I believe that we must make fresh allies here in the South—that they are available to us is quite obvious.

Willard TOWNSEND

Jo Baker Should Do Something For The Black People Of France

Just recently in the Negro press, at cocktail parties, bars, and swank living rooms I have read and listened to discussions and criticisms of Edith S. Sampson—much of it concerning the so-called criticism that Edith Sampson made of Josephine Baker.

Of course, it is quite easy to sit around and criticize those who are actively engaged in trying to make democracy work. For instance, I happened to be present at a gathering one night when Miss Baker made some very unbecoming remarks regarding Edith. This was long before Edith got around to taking her on.

I know for sure that the Communists haven't been able to influence Edith by their guile and flattery. Therefore every chance they get, they are trying to make her look bad before the people whom she is trying to help. The Communists are past masters at smearing those whom they dislike and are the world's greatest assassins of character.

I think Edith has sized this thing up quite correctly in a recent speech that she made on her tour through Europe in which I quote in part as follows:

". . .It is true that our forefathers by the thousands were brought to the new world in slave ships. But we helped build America from the bottom up, and we now stand proudly with the old families as the inheritors of this land. We know something about its struggles to reach maturity, and we intend to share in its world responsibilities.

"The Negro in a maturing America has seen a lot. He watched the immigrants flood into New York harbor after the days of emancipation, and live in packing boxes while they found their opportunities. The Negro was there all the time, seeing every people take the role of the despised minority, struggle for a place, and finally fit into the scheme of things as free men. Nothing like it has ever happened before in history. And now as this new world emerges into a state of maturity, descendants of the Negro early settlers are taking their place in a great commonwealth.

"These Negroes are proud people. They are self-reliant and full of self-confidence. They laugh at this ludicrous propaganda of a master class from Moscow that they are headed back toward slavery, and need helping hands which are bloody with the persecutions of a new slave system.

"You must realize that the 'Slave mentality' is not entirely rooted out of Negroes. There are still a few of the 'old school' who feel lost without a master to serve without questioning. They have found that master in Moscow — a white god who is infallible and promises everything. But these few have no following among the self-respecting Negroes of America. The very fact that they go about in the new slave states attacking their own country and bowing down to the new masters makes them pathetic in the sight of our stalwarts. . ."

While Edith has been very pragmatic and honest about America, Miss Baker has been given to telling us fine stories about her beloved France. But, really, what is the story?

Let's take, for instance, Morocco which is French controlled where there are practices which affect the natives much worse than anything that has happened in Mississippi.

Their colonial administration has introduced an elaborate system of indirect taxes on food stuffs and other essential goods which weigh heavily on her French colonials, and on a small land owner an agricultural tax which is not levied on the profits or head of cattle but on the land itself, and there is an additional tax payable only by the Moroccans in the form of labor.

I wonder how Miss Baker could explain the wage income of the natives in this section of her beloved France. The minimum hourly wage for Moroccans doing identical work in the identical area is 95 francs as against 260 francs

This is just a small part of the things that France is doing to which is appalling, only seven percent of the school-age population, Baker could do a much cent of the which totals 1,500,000 have an opportunity to go to school. Yet twelve percent of the country's budget, which comes largely from the Moroccan pocket, goes to education.

Then in the matter of education, people of color around the world, so it would be my guess that Miss Baker could do a much better job among her French contemporaries by trying to correct these grave injustices on her side of the ocean and let Edith Sampson, God bless her, continue her great service to our country and her people.

Willard
TOWNSEND

Townsend Tells Why He Thinks Communists Are Dangerous To Us

Last night along with Roi Ottley, the noted author whose book **No Green Pastures** is being widely received, and with several noted commentators we had dinner in Chicago's famed Press Club.

During the conversation, I was queried relative to my opinions of Communism. Since my views at the time were given only to a small group, it dawned upon me this morning to discuss Communism briefly as I see it and my reasons for opposing it.

The American Division of the Comintern discovered the "oppressed" Negro community in 1930, and like Columbus' discovery of the new continent, it was quite accidental.

While several pioneering Negro left-wing intellectuals had identified themselves with the Communist party in the early stages of its legal existence, it was not until the first year of the depression that instructions were issued by the Comintern to intensify the work among Negroes in the United States.

Previous to this time, the nationality and Jewish minorities in such urban centers as New York, Chicago, and Detroit had served as the major areas for organizational activity.

In 1928 and 1929, a series of doctrinal revolts took place within the American Communist party which led to the creation of several "splinter" Communist groups.

In these revolts, the party suffered heavy numerical losses and to recover, the Comintern went "shopping" for a new American minority group. "The American Indian—no! too individualistic and not susceptible to mass propaganda. The Orientals—no! they don't count and they lack a natural aggressiveness. The Negro—ah! tovarich, there is a group for you—the United States' largest minority and, next to the American Indian, the most indigenous."

Overnight party members became specialists in Negro problems. Junkets in Harlem, Chicago's Southside, and Detroit's Paradise Valley became the standing order of the day. Overwhelmed by this sudden attention, many would-be Negro intellectuals who constantly wore their social frustrations on their coat lapels, enrolled in the Communist movement.

Encouraged, the Party looked around for an appropriate mass propaganda appeal which would touch the "hearts of the oppressed Negro peasants". It didn't take long. It turned out to be a ghastly combination of Garveyism and Leninism. Here they picked the race-conscious remnants of the Garvey "Back to Africa" movement, and sought to fit it into a neat Comintern pattern.

With one eye on the once popular Garvey movement, they quickly and mechanically transferred to the United States, Lenin's theory of self-determinism for minority groups as it was allegedly applied to the many cultural and ethnical minorities within the Soviet Union.

"Self-determination for the Negro in the Black Belt" became the new slogan. From Garvey's "Back to Africa" to Browder's "Back to Mississippi" and the "Black Republic" was the revolutionary solution presented to the thirteen million Negroes scattered throughout the United States.

Under the new transplanted theory, the Negro in America, according to the "Cafeteria revolutionists," represented a separate nationality, culture and language and as such was entitled to create his own Jim Crow state within the United States.

Perhaps this theory served as an adequate solution for the minority problems of the Soviet Union, but to transfer mechanically this theory to the United States and apply it to the Negro problem was sheer idiocy, and only the Communist movement in its malignant ignorance of the basic problems of Negroes could find any close similarity between the problems of the Ukrainian peasants and the American Negro.

Any high school kid could inform these master theoreticians that the Negro did not represent a separate nationality, culture, or language.

Willard
TOWNSEND

Historians Have Not Been Honest In Recording Role Of Du Sable

In the morning's mail I received a very interesting news clipping. The dateline on the clipping is Chicago but the paper from which it was clipped is not named.

The story has to to with Jean Baptiste Point DuSable whom they call Chicago's forgotten man. The article points out that Chicago owes its existence to a Negro—that this Negro, Jean Baptiste Point DuSable, was a trapper and trader who first settled here 160 years ago and that he built a large attractive house with a handsome lawn and planted great poplar trees.

Trapper DuSable according to the story lived at the intersection of the Chicago River and Lake Michigan from 1779 to 1796 where he reared his family.

Continuing, the article points out that this great house built by DuSable was sold to a man by the name of John Kinzie and in Chicago's history it is recorded as the "Kinzie House."

Today, it points out, that there is a plaque erected at the corner of Pine and Kinzie streets here in Chicago that says "Site of the first house in Chicago, erected about 1779 by Jean Baptiste Point DuSable, a Negro from Santo Domingo."

From this point on according to the article some interesting gymnastics seem to enter into the picture, because the plaque goes on to say that "with the concurrence of the Chicago Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution, this tablet is dedicated in honor of John Kinzie...."

I am very curious as to what occasion the dedication of the site to John Kinzie instead of DuSable. It would seem that honest historians would have dealt with forthrightness in recording Chicago's past.

The article points out that, "DuSable was born aroung 1750, but no one can say exactly where. He was a runaway slave from New Orleans, while others credit him with being from Santo Domingo of French and Spanish parentage.

But the most authentic sources available indicate that DuSable traced his lineage to the Dandonneau family which emigrated from France to Canada during the 17th Century.

"DuSable's principal occupation was trading. The group of buildings that served as home and trading post included a log house 40 feet by 22, a bakehouse, a dairy, a smokehouse, poultry house, workshop, stable, barn, horse mill, and others. Like other successful pioneers of his era, he worked at a number of occupations and trades.

"The inventory of items appearing on the bill of sale when he later sold his house indicates that he was a craftsman of exceptional skill. His home was a stopping point for all travellers and traders who passed that way, and his reputation as gracious host and a shrewd, honest trader travelled far.

"DuSable remained in the vicinity of his Chicago homestead until around 1796. He sold his holdings to a French trader named LeMai and left the area. From there, the record of his future exploits become vague and indistinct, but documents from St. Charles, Missouri, where his son lived, indicate that he spent his declining years there.

"The absence of his name from its rightful place in the front of all histories of the area is conspicuous. It is no accident that none of the major encyclopedias list the name DuSable.

"It is no accident that the Encyclopedia Americana, which is regarded as a leading authority on American history, briefly states: 'Traders including Jean Baptiste Point DuSable a San Domingan, had lived near the mouth of the Chicago River, but John Kinzie who brought his family there in 1804 is regarded as the first permanent settler.'

"The relegating of the DuSable name to an obscure corner in the annals of history is a part of an obvious and infamous conspiracy. The purpose of the racists is clear. If a Negro contributed nothing to the building of the nation, what claim has he to first-class citizenship?

"And more important, if the Negro cannot point with pride to the exploits and accomplishments of his forebears, then he will lack the confidence that comes with the knowledge that others like him have tried and succeeded. And so, along with the Attucks, the Tubmans, the Douglasses, and hosts of others, the DuSables be-come the 'skeletons in the closet' for the whites as well that this of the official ruling class history.

"However, the truth is contained in the curious sayings that the Indians had, that 'the first white man to settle in Chicago was a Negro.'"

It is indeed unfortunate not only for the Negroes of America but

31a 1952

Negro (Enoc P. Waters)

Adventures in RACE RELATIONS

by Enoc P. Waters

THE END OF THE 'GOLD RUSH'

A friend of mine in the real estate business, Vernon Jarrett declared that economic factors are chiefly responsible for stabilizing some of the once all-white communities that fringe Chicago's black belt.

Back in the late forties when the United States Supreme Court ruled out restrictive covenants, he said, Negroes, long hemmed in the black belt and flush with savings from war time jobs, began buying property whereever it was for sale.

This led to two great migrations. First was the movement of Negroes from the ghettos to the contiguous neighborhoods, and second, the movement of whites from the fringe areas to the suburbs.

So great was the movement that at the time fear was expressed that the black belt with all of its evils would become larger and that the formerly all-white neighborhoods would become solidly Negro.

The flight of the whites to the suburbs, he says, was not inspired alone by prejudice against having Negroes as neighbors.

Rather, Jarrett said, whites were anxious to sell because Negroes were willing to pay heavy premiums for the privilege of living outside the ghetto.

In many instances, the profits that whites realized on the sale of their homes was not only enough to enable them to rehouse themselves comfortably in higher class suburbs, but were sufficient to allow them to put money in the bank also.

This process would have continued except for two things. One, inflation and restrictions on buying property made it more and more difficult for Negroes to get the cash required for down payments.

The second factor arresting the development was the gradual realization of property owners in the suburbs that they were being taken for a ride.

Aware that a white man who had sold his property in a fringe area was flush with money, on one hand, and was desperate for housing on the other, the suburbanites began to demand more for their homes.

Soon the desire of suburbanites to make a fast buck on the sale of their homes made it unprofitable for whites living in the fringe areas to sell to Negroes.

In several cases cited by Jarret, whites who had sold to Negroes found themselves unable to rehouse themselves because real estate had skyrocketed in the suburbs.

Not only did whites begin taking down their "For Sale" signs, but Negroes living in the ghetto stopped harassing realtors to find them property for sale.

With the frantic selling and buying, and moving in and moving out at a standstill residents of the fringe areas began to get together on maintaining high standards of living so as to keep the value of their property high.

So now we have, Jarrett says, thanks to the accident of economic factors, stabilized interracial neighborhoods throughout the city, a very healthy situation.

Rec'd 6-21-52.

STRAIGHT 31a 1952 (Negro) CARTER WESLEY

From The Shoulder

By CARTER WESLEY

Our editorial writer points out in the lead editorial this week the dilemma that Negroes face when they go to take a look at candidates. But look at them we must, and we must have the courage to make decisions and vote on the best possible evidence we can get, because the candidates who are elected affect our lives intimately. We intend to discuss the candidates right up until the election, and we think it will be better to indicate in each article how we feel as of that time, subject to any change or modification that may develop with further reasoning and observation.

On the presidential election we pick Adlai Stevenson, knowing that we are also taking Sparkman. Since this means that we are rejecting Eisenhower and his running mate Nixon, we will undertake to state our reasons as briefly and objectively as we can.

WHY STEVENSON?

Forgetting for the moment our personal aspirations as Negroes, we think that Stevenson gives the best promise for integrity, based upon courage and independent thinking because he has refused to cut corners, to cater to any faction, and has said repeatedly that he intended to do the right as he saw it regardless of pressures, regardless of friends, and regardless of foes, and has proven his sincerity by stating the disagreeable things to the people who were most concerned in the issues involved in specific questions. We also think Stevenson the best man, because Eisenhower has shown an indication to try to be all things to all men, and to say to the respective groups and sections the things that he thought would please them.

When Eisenhower was first proposed, having in mind his fine record for compounding differences in his vast European command during the war, we thought that he probably would make the best possible man, and would be head and shoulders above petty politics. He was being sponsored by the liberal element of the Republican party, and we assumed that he was liberal and an outstanding man of character and of courage. But instead of keeping to his role of being an outstanding general, respected by all of the nation, Ike made the fatal mistake of trying to play politics, which he knew nothing about from the American standpoint. Whether he became Taft's captive or not, he embraced too firmly and completely Taft's ideas and ideals, and abandoned too quickly the liberal element of the Republican party.

On the matter of discrimination, Ike has been either extremely dumb, or a plain fraud. On the matter of FEPC, he says it is a matter that should be left entirely to the states, anybody with a spoonful of sense, even a foreigner, knows that to leave the South to handle any racial question means a continuation of the discrimination. On civil rights his position has been about the same. The only thing Ike has had to say is that he now believes in integration in the Army, although in 1947 he did not think it wise; and he thinks segregation should be ended in Washington, D.C., although he doesn't tell us how he will end it. But admittedly for me, my chief objection is that Ike is absoluely lost in this matter of politics, and is slipping and sliding around from one side of questions to the other like a drunken man. There is as much difference in the Eisenhower that we have seen since his nomination, and the Eisenhower that we all knew, and more or less worshipped, prior to that date, as there is between night and day.

STOMACH SPARKMAN?

On the vice presidential level, the Negro runs into his first and probably his greatest dilemma. Despite the fact that Sparkman has been fairly liberal in supporting the rights of labor and general improvements, he has been consistently against anything that sounded like liberalizing the rights of Negroes. But the president and the Vice president come in a package at the polls, so Negroes will have to take Sparkman and hope that Stevenson will live the four years, and that Sparkman will "get religion," when he moves into the vice presidency and becomes less responsible to the people of Alabama. We have been taking risks all our lives, and it seems that we can't escape a risk in this situation. Nixon is just out of the question from any standpoint, and Eisenhower, as was indicated above, is also, so we have to take the package of Stevenson and Sparkman.

Finally, we in Texas paid a big price and fought a long war to get into the Democratic party, because it is the one party that runs the state. From a county, a state, or a national point of view, the Republicans still do not offer Negroes in Texas much in the line of advancement politically nor alleviation of the discriminations from which they suffer. In Texas the Republican party is still "lily-white."

ON THE STATE LEVEL

Everybody knows that in the primary I did not support Governor Shivers nor Price Daniel for governor and for senator, respectively. Yet in the November 4 election I am going to vote for Governor Shivers and for Price Daniel, and am recommending that Negroes generally do the same. In the first place, they will be elected in any event. In the second place, it will be dangerous to try to instruct the average Negro voter to split the ticket. In the third place, the more votes we cast for the governor, the larger our representation in the convention will be at a later primary.

THE SCHOOL BOARD

I am deliberately by-passing the city election right now, because I really don't have data and have not been able to make up my mind on the candidates at this instance. In local elections, such as the school board election, Negroes get torn apart and confused more often than on the top levels. In many instances some of our respected leaders have mistaken their friendship for various men connected with the school system for judgment in estimating the value of respective candidates to the school system. Over the years men, who stand as leaders, because they like H. L. Mills, have blindly done H. L. Mills' bidding. I like H. L. Mills, despite all that his traducers say about him, but I reserve the right to look at issues from the standpoint of Negroes, from the standpoint of the best interests of the community, and to vote my views, just as H. L. Mills votes his for the things that he believes in.

There are some who as teachers actually believe that they have to vote just as H. L. Mills wants them to vote, or they will lose their jobs. But why should I limit it to H. L. Mills, that's true about Holger Jeppensen, it is true about Dr. Peterson, and it is true about Lawyer Werlein, all of these have Negro teachers do their bidding, or have done it in the past. I mention these things because I am specifically saying that I don't think even the teachers have to vote as any of these men want them to vote, they don't stand over the shoulders of these Negro teachers and know how they actually vote in the polls. Negro teachers who want to avoid clashing with these authorities may well agree with them when they talk to them, but when they go into the polls they have only their conscience and God to contend with, and there in the polls they should vote as they see fit, knowing that their ballot is a secret ballot and nobody will know how they voted.

As to the candidates, we again run into dilemmas. It is impossible to pick out four candidates, whose records show they will do right and justice by Negroes on an equal basis with the way they will provide for the white children in this community. But the Minute Women and the Dixiecratic elements have made the job on this particular school board's election a little less onerous than in the past, because these people have so definitely and clearly indicated their racial supremacy ideas and their dislike, if not hatred, of the interests of Negro minorities, that one only needs to know where they are, to know where one must remain to, be away from them. These so-called conservative people are always talking about the Negro bloc vote, but they take positions which make it impossible for Negroes to do anything except block their vote as a matter of sense.

Now what do you see when you look at the candidates? The Minute Women and their allies among the Dixiecrats have, according to their own statements, screened people in the community to their own statements, screened people son, which they unblushingly say will carry out their beliefs and their ideas on the school board. They are blocking their vote, but it's "all right" for them.

Under the present ideas of the constituted school board, teachers are not free intelligent leaders in the com-

munity, they are craven, afraid of their shadows because of the intimidation and the deadly reprisals that have on so many occasions been taken against them, if they dared to speak as individuals when they are out of the schools. I'd like to see a school setup where the teachers would be required to teach the prescribed subjects and serve as leaders of the pupil in Christianity and patriotism, and then be free in the community to take their part as individuals the same as other people in the community. I don't say that the ticket that has been proposed by certain of the so-called liberal elements is an ideal one, but I do believe that it gives promise of bringing us closer to the time when teachers may again be individuals and be free.

I therefore recommend that all Negroes, and that means teachers, too, vote for the slate consisting of J. J. Hippard, Position 1; A. J. Tucker, Position 2; Mrs. Olon Rogers, Position 3; and Dr. Ray K. Dailey, Position 4.

Now on Position 2 Negroes run into dilemma again. K. C. Brown, who will make as good a member of the board as any of those on the slate mentioned, is running independently and more or less on the right of Negroes to have somebody on the board. Obviously, if Negroes vote for K. C. Brown and Jack Tucker, they will kill both of their candidates off and Position 2 on the Dixiecratic slate will walk in. What Negroes should have done was to have forced K. C. into the slate that is being run opposite to the Dixiecratic slate. Having failed that, we are really caught in a mess, if we try to advise our readers to vote some for Tucker and some for K.C. Brown for Position 2. That is practically deliberately nullifying any attempt to take Position 2. This paragraph is being inserted, as I had written the article endorsing the slate, because a representative from the Council of Negro Organizations had said that the slate was acceptable, and we had had an agreement with other organizations to support that slate. I'll wait now until the next edition to see if there is a switch, so that we can unite behind K. C. Brown.

I know that there will be readers who will find one or the other of those people not to their liking, but here again we are faced with the necessity of accepting a package, for to fragment our vote or divide it means that we wouldn't have a chance to elect these people to the board.

THE MAYOR

To be blunt, I am going to support Roy Hofheinz for mayor. This decision is entirely objective, I havent's seen Roy Hofheinz or talked with him in probably 12 or 13 years. I reason it this way: Running Houston is a big job and requires a guy capable of handling big things. I have seen good men elected to the mayor's office here, but they just remained confused and futile, because they did not know what to do with the big issues that came. Roy Hofheinz is as cocky as anybody I know, and is over-filled with self-confidence. He started life with nothing but his fists and his wrists, and has parlayed them into probably three-quarters of a million to maybe a million dollars at the age of 40. By any measure he is intelligent and he is smart, and will be able to deal with men on the top rank of business in America. I haven't anything against the other candidates, but I fail to find any one of them that gives promise to handle the mayor's job in Houston today with the same likelihood that Roy will be able to handle it.

Now I know the readers will ask, "Well, what about the race question?" So far as Roy Hofheinz is concerned, that is a question, and he is a question mark to us from that angle. But aren't all the other candidates the same? Roy Hofheinz is a native to the South, belongs to this soil here in Houston itself, I see no reason why he should be afraid to take steps to right at least some of the injustices that Negroes suffer. I have always preferred to deal with an intelligent man than with one who was not intelligent, or one who was not sure of himself and afraid. Naturally, Roy probably doesn't need our vote this time, because he has luckily fallen heir to the machine that normally elects Holcombe. But if we were to vote for him solidly, I believe he would be fair enough, and would have the courage to listen to the real issues, that we might bring that showed on their face the need for correction and I think he would have courage enough to do what was right.

Now you'll have to wait until next issue for me to get on the Councilmen, I have been out of town and just have not had time even to get the names of all the people running, let alone analyze them. Besides, the managing editor is going to raise the devil about the length of this article.

Walter WHITE

Tells Of Last Time He Saw The Widow Of The Martyr Of Florida

The autopsy, Dr. Starke of Sanford told me around midnig , revealed ruptures in her stomach, spleen and liver. Her lungs were partially collapsed, and her intestines were dark from bruises from the horrible effects of the nitroglycerine blast.

Pain—dark, shooting agony—kept her in agony from the time of the blast on the birthday of the Prince of Peace for nine days because of a brain concussion and grievously injured shoulder and hip.

Her large, beautiful brown eyes were bloodshot from her suffering. But even pain could not dim the inner radiance which came from inward strength and character.

Thus died in the Jim Crow wing of the Fernald-Laughton hospital in Sanford, Fla., a great lady, nine days after her husband, Harry T. Moore, had died on arriving in the same hospital. I had met the Moores only a brief month before the tragic ending of their lives.

It was at the annual meeting of the Florida State Conference of Branches of the NAACP, which was held at Daytona Beach, Fla. The modest, quiet and self-effacing Harry Moore had been persuaded only with difficulty to take a place on the platform which was his due.

I remember Mrs. Harriet Moore sitting in a front row. She had laughed gaily at some of the witty introductory remarks of Mary McLeod Bethune. Her lovely, brown face had clouded when other speakers and I mentioned the horror of Groveland.

She applauded lustily the c cisms of the Governor and ot officials of the state which is r notoriously a rabbit warren ineffectuality so far as eq justice is concerned.

The last time I saw Mrs. Mo was on Saturday evening, D 29. She was propped up in hospital bed. Her beautiful f was lined with pain and fati from a long interrogation by F officials.

The last rays of a setting s lighted up her gray hair until looked like a halo. As I v leaving the next day for N York and was scheduled to turn for her husband's funeral t following week, I bade her go bye and touched her hand, a monishing her to be good and obey Dr. Starke's orders. S smiled warmly in farewell, wh was destined to be forever.

"I will be good," she said. feel stronger now that you've p aside all the things you have do to come down here to Flori to help us. I am not discourag for the things Harry died for."

She closed her eyes involu tarily in momentary pain. Su denly conscious that she ha manifested suffering which h proud and sensitive nature mad her ashamed to demonstrate, sh opened her eyes and smile again.

If any of us who survive fail t pick up the torch which she an her husband so gallantly bore i the face of poverty, of threats an of apathy, we don't deserve suc freedom as we today enjoy.

Walter WHITE

Walter White Miffed Over Charge Of 'Vacationing' Fraternity Brother

It is often difficult to fathom the motives or the objectives of some writers. An example is a recent column by Al Sweeney in the Baltimore **Afro-American** in which Da Costa V. Mason, described as chief justice of Alpha Alpha chapter of the Sigma Delta Tau fraternity, is quoted on returning from a Florida holiday "that big talk in Florida centered around the bombing of the NAACP official's home, along with the quick one-day probe of the bombing by Walter White in Florida."

As far as I know there was no substance in truth to rumors that my life was threatened in Florida despite the blistering attacks of Gov. Fuller Warren on me as a "hired Harlem hate monger" who had come to Florida "to disturb the peaceful relations between the races." I expected such attacks which are no new experience to me.

White newspapermen, who are not especially pro-Negro or pro-NAACP, were generous enough to telephone me long distance to warn me to take precautions against attempts which they had heard might be made against my life. Even the governor's representative and the sheriff of Brevard County assured me that their facilities would be used to protect me.

In light of those facts and certain others it is all the more puzzling why the vacationing Mr. Mason should make such a statement which is so easily capable of disproof, or why Mr. Sweeney should publish it without first checking with the **Afro-American's** own reporter, Rufus Wells, who was with me three of the four days I was in Florida investigating the bombing.

Mr. Sweeney would have learned that Mr. Wells requested and was freely granted permission to accompany Paul Perkins, Orlando attorney, and myself on our investigation.

It was because of this that Mr. Wells was the only reporter allowed to talk with Mrs. Harriet Moore in the Sanford hospital and that he was allowed to hear every word which passed between ourselves and J. J. Elliott, the governor's representative, Hubert Griggs, State's Attorney, Sheriff Williams and others with whom Paul Perkins and I talked during the approximately fifteen hours a day we devoted to the enquiry.

Possibly it is of little or no importance but for the record as well as for the information of Messrs. Mason and Sweeney here is the log of my Florida t .

I left New York on the after of Thursday, Dec. 27, on the f plane on which I could get commodations during the holi rush. I arrived in Orlando af midnight and got to bed af talking with a number of persons at 3:30 a.m.

All of Friday was spent on and around the scene of the crime a Mims. Friday evening I spoke a a mass meeting which was follo ed by conferences and work u long after midnight. The Afro's reporter was with me.

Saturday was again spent i conferences and running dow clues. I returned to New York Sunday—not one but four da after leaving—to do some impo tant work which I had had drop when the Moore home w bombed. This included efforts raise funds so that the NAAC would not end the year with large a deficit and to prepare the NAACP annual meeting Jan. 7.

It was my plan on leavi Florida to return there for M Moore's funeral on Thursday that plan was changed by moving up of the interment Tuesday when Mrs. Moore brother, Sergeant George Simn was not certain he was going be granted an extension of army leave.

What puzzles me is what use purpose did Mr. Sweeney seek serve by inclusion of Mr. Maso statement in his column. Certa ly his pa 's reputation for curacy was not helped am several hundreds of Floridi who saw me there and know did not make a "one-day prob Mere reading of three front p stories in the **Afro-American** the preceding week would h revealed that Mr. Mason's st ment was incorrect.

Does Mr. Sweeney meas effectiveness solely by he len of time spent in a place or by results? Had only one day b spent there, it is pertinent to that the clues as to the possi guilt of three persons which secured and turned over to FBI were obtained within twe four hours of my arrival Florida.

Perhaps the item and its n vation might better have left unmentioned. But it is queer and disconcerting tha Negro paper should neglect check its facts in a case as tr and heartbreaking as the fien murder of the Moores.

Walter WHITE

Conditions Are Changing In Dixie That May Upset The Old Die-Hards

The political cauldron usually does not start simmering until mid-Spring just before the two major political parties meet in convention.

But the state of the world and the bellowing of deeply wounded has beens like Jimmy Byrnes who cannot stand being out of the limelight and away from the patronage trough have moved up the calendar all through the South as I have found there during recent visits.

All signs point towards a quite different pattern of behavior below the Potomac than Byrnes and his kind hope and work for.

Despite the barbaric shootings by peace officers in Florida and Louisiana, Negroes are unperturbed—in truth, too much so. At Daytona Beach, Fla. the other day, for example, I was told that there wasn't much excitement about Sheriff McCall's killing of Samuel Shepherd because "Lake County is on the other side of the state." (As a matter of geography, it is the next county to the one in which Daytona Beach is located).

But for good or ill, mob or other anti-Negro violence isn't having the terrorizing effect which Herman Talmadge and his like expect it to have.

Quiet campaigns to increase registration of Negroes are producing results. Carleton Collier of the Louisville **Courier-Journal** recently predicted there would be three million colored voters in the South in 1952 which would slightly more than treble the present number.

It is probable that those figures are too high because Negroes aren't that awakened and intelligent enough to create that powerful a weapon which could almost revolutionize their present political status.

But it is already certain that between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 Negro votes will be cast next year below the Smith and Wesson line.

Barring a catastrophic upset of conditions and attitudes, it is certain that Messrs. Byrnes-Byrd-Talmadge and their motley crew cannot persuade or frighten any more wool hatters to bolt the Democratic ticket than the Strom Thurmond-Fielding Wright Dixiecrat ticket received in 1948.

It will be remembered that they rolled up only a little more than a million votes or approximately half the estimated Negro vote of 1952. The posturing rebels are not saying anything about this frightening possibility but neither they nor more enlightened southerners are unmindful of that result.

Nor are they unaware that many southerners who today enjoy greater prosperity than they ever knew before have no slightest intention of giving up political and economic advantages because a former political figure now green with envy and bitterness because time has passed him by and he no longer struts the world stage wants to use them to get himself out of South Carolina and back in Washington.

But these obvious facts probably won't prevent northern Democrats from letting themselves be buffaloed and forced to make unnecessary concessions to the Southern bluffers. If the American press only used the usual caution in reporting the news which it applies to other events, it would give scant, if any, mention to the bombastic rantings of Byrd and Byrnes.

Unless Mr. Truman and other democratic leaders wake up pretty soon to the fact that they would profit far more by according no more time or attention to the blustering southerners and giving that time and attention to the Negro, labor and liberal vote, the Democrats may be jolted out of power.

I found no widespread enthusiasm for any Republican potential in the South or among Negroes in other sections of the country. Taft's recent speeches in which he attempted to cuddle up to the South were greeted with either guffaws of derision or cynical smiles. "Anybody but Taft" is the way several key figures phrased it.

Towards Eisenhower I found a certain warmth but it was that of one yet to declare himself. So sick are southern Negroes of the arrogance of southern white Democrats that a forthright stand on civil rights and related issues might bring forth remarkable support for a Republican candidate provided he is not the Ohio Senator. Towards Truman there is still much warmth of feeling but none for his party.

We may be about to see a political upheaval in the South which may make Byrnes wish he had let the genii stay in the bottle.

Walter WHITE

Edith Sampson Gets 'Going Over' For Her Blast At Josephine Baker

Mrs. Edith Sampson had done so good a job as an alternate U. S. delegate to the U. N. and since her replacement in that post by Dr. Channing Tobias, it is unfortunate that she permitted herself at Paris to denounce Miss Josephine Baker for not taking lying down the insult the latter encountered at the Stork Club.

This is all the more true because of what happened to Mrs. Sampson at Washington's Hotel Carlton and the results from the protests which were made then in her behalf.

It will be remembered that the eighteenth and final broadcast of World Town Meeting of the Air in 1950 from as many world capitals was scheduled from Washington. The topic for discussion was how democracy could be most effectively sold to the world.

Mrs. Sampson was chosen as one of the participants on that broadcast when 20,000,000 Americans were to hear what those who had gone on the world tour had learned in Europe, Asia and Africa.

George and Jeanne Denny of Town Hall invited to dinner the two main speakers and the other two participants, of whom Mrs. Sampson was one, to discuss final detail of the broadcast.

Although a table was reserved well in advance, the grou bluntly refused service b Mrs. Sampson was a mem the dinner party. George D North Carolina blood flame protest as did that of other me bers of our Town Hall party. Th insult to Mrs. Sampson was told on the air that evening.

As a result, impetus was added to the fight against exclusion of dark skinned guests from Washington hotels. Along with other efforts, the exposure of the embarrassment to Mrs. Sampson helped to make possible today's situation in the nation's capital where the larger and better hotels are open to all irrespective of color.

What is equally unfortunate was the bad timing in the coincidence of Mrs Sampson's blast at Miss Baker and the news of the Christmas night bomb-slaying of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in Florida. Already bitterly resentful of the insult to their beloved Mlle. Baker who is idolized in France Frenchmen of the political right and center as well as the left were appalled by the savagery of the Moore murders and quickly as well as correctly, connected them with the Stork Club episode as being part and parcel of the same American malady—the color line.

Newspaper clippings just received from France reveal that the Florida and New York events are being played up on front pages even more than the very serious happenings in Egypt and other segments of the Arab world.

Paris in the spring has been the theme of ecstatic praise by writers for ages. Even in winter time it is fascinating.

From such a vantage point where none who has the money and prestige is ever turned away from a restaurant or hotel, discrimination in a New York night spot would undoubtedly seem less important than would be the case if one were in New York.

The persuasive pleas of State Department representatives to make public statements to offset hurtful news items on Paris newspapers' front pages seem under such circumstances even more plausible than usual. Silken cords can be as binding as steel.

For Mrs. Sampson's sake as well as for that of the fight against bigotry, to which she has contributed so much, it is devoutly hoped she will in future refuse to permit herself to be pitted as one colored woman against another to pull America's scorched racial chestnuts out of the international fire.

She should be much too experienced to fall again into that trap. She is too valuable to allow herself to serve the cause of men like Walter Winchell in his pathological campaign to destroy utterly anyone who does not accept his every word and act as divinely infallible, of a Dixiecrat-minded Sherman Billingsley in his determination to get away arrogantly with flouting of New York's civil rights laws, or of affable State Department underlings whose job it is to cover up and explain away flaws in the democratic process here in America.

Walter WHITE

Ike Did a Job on Himself and His Stock Plunged Downward Swiftly

Almost never in American political history has a reputation been deflated so swiftly and so totally as that of General Eisenhower.

Even his arch enemy, General MacArthur, was showman enough to string out his ovations across the country until the Senate hearings punctured the myth of his omniscience and infallibility. Even now as the Taft keynoter of the GOP convention enough of his glamour remains, he hopes and believes, to enable him to stampede the delegates for Taft (or could it be for himself?).

Eisenhower, however, did the job for—or would it be better to say on—himself with his very first speech at Abilene and sank deeper and deeper into the mire of disfavor with vast segments of the voters with each succeeding utterance.

Undoubtedly he injured his cause most with the position he took on FEPC and civil rights generally. Even Richard Russell of Georgia suddenly waking up to the fact that fighting civil rights isn't popular as a vote-getter any longer in the South with the exception of hog-and-hominy areas, came out for a non-compulsory FEPC in **U.S. News and World Report.**

Apparently, uninformed on the changing opinion of the American people, General Eisenhower took a position strangely out of character for a general famed for courage and resourcefulness in physical battle—of being mortally afraid that laws against the evil of denial to a man or woman of the right to work because of his race or creed might stir up resentment.

Laws against murder or rape or treason, General, are not popular with murderers, rapists or traitors.

On several other issues he was equally unrealistic. He blithely asserted that $40,000,000,000 could easily be cut from government expenditures and was promptly rebuked and ridiculed by President Truman, Averell Harriman and Estes Kefauver. The general ignored realities to declare the problem of soil erosion one for the states to handle, forgetting that nature is singularly blind to state or even national boundary lines.

"Unreasonable antagonism between economic elements" was listed by him as a threat to the United States which, followed as it was by an attack on Truman's handling of the steel strike and refusal to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act, led to the boycott in Detroit by the CIO of Eisenhower's visit there.

No man can be quite as inept as Eisenhower appeared to be during his first week at home. The skill and forcefulness with which he handled seemingly impossible military and political prima donnas of European nations during the war and afterwards made his failures of the past fortnight most inexplicable.

Friends and supporters of the General who, hoping and praying that he would turn out to be another Wendell Willkie, are arguing that Eisenhower is operating under wraps until after the convention.

They profess the belief that Taft's fabulously organized and financed machine may wreck itself by its arrogance and hard-boiled buying up of amenable delegates. But Eisenhower at Detroit in throwing away his prepared manuscript and talking off the cuff seems to be waking up to the fact that the odds against him are possibly stiffer than during the battle of the Bulge.

For one thing, there seemed to be a backtracking on his highly unpopular stand on FEPC or the semblance of retreat when he declared that "the full power, the full influence of the federal government must be used in correcting any unnecessary discrimination . . . Any money that has been appropriated for federal use, any service the federal government is supposed to supply to us, anything that they do in building construction, the hiring of men in any kind of position in government, must be on a completely equal basis."

What might have been a graceful retreat from an untenable position was minimized, however, by the statement that "we must be careful . . . never to use a coercive law when we might aggravate instead of help to advance the program of pure equality of opportunity in this country."

Perhaps in time wen the General disentangles himself from verbosity and double talk, and when he clears up his presently muddled thinking he may look much better than has been the case this past fortnight.

Walter WHITE

Hails Appointment Of Buell Gallagher

A great step forward in American education is marked by the election of Dr. Buell Gallagher, former president of Talladega college in Alabama, to the presidency of the College of the City of New York, the largest municipal college in the world with more than 31,000 students.

A board headed by Dr. Ordway Tead searched the country for more than 18 months to find the best man to succeed Dr. Harry N. Wright who reaches the retirement age in September. Their ultimate choice was Dr. Gallagher.

I have known Buell Gallagher since the early days of his career at Talladega. I met him through my late brother, George N. White, who was asspciate secretary of the American Missionary association.

From the moment I met him I knew that Buell Gallagher was a man of ability, wide learning, and ability to get along with human beings. But many college presidents possess these attributes.

Buell Gallagher possesses an additional one which differentiates him from the former president of another, school in the South who joined in forcing a white student in community life.
of a Quaker college in Indiana to leave school because he had become engaged to a classmate who happened to be colored.

Buell Gallagher never compromised while he was in Alabama with those who insisted on keeping Negroes in inferior status. He made it clear from the beginning that he would never require or permit students or faculty members to humiliate themselves in order to "get along with Southern whites."

I remember one conversation with him in which he voiced his contempt for another Southern college president who, to appease and conform to the mores of a local chamber of commerce he had been invited to address, had forced singers from the college to go up a freight elevator to entertain at the meeting.

On being elected president of the College of the City of New York, Dr. Gallagher made unquivocally clear his stand on academic freedom and equality of opportunity. While voicing his opposition to any form of totalitarianism, whether it be fascism or communsm, he at the same time voiced his opposition to loyalty oaths. He made clear that he did not believe that a teacher or any other person following a reputable career should be made "political eunuchs" to hold on to their jobs.

One thing is certain — CCNY will become even more distinguished as a school of learning and — possibly even more important in this period of hysteria and McCarthyism — it will be a place where freedom and truth instead of academic fallacy will characterize the institution.

Walter
WHITE

The Cause Of Civil Rights Has Won Many Allies In The Last Four Years

CHICAGO — It is now slightly past dawn on Wednesday of the Democratic National Convention. A "life watch" has been the schedule for a few of us through the night as the platform drafting committee wrestled two floors above us in the Conrad Hilton hotel in Chicago.

We stood the watch so that should any facts needed by the committee could be provided. Welcome, exciting word has just come that the brilliant, uncompromising fight led by ex-gov. Herbert H. Lehman of New York has culminated in victory.

Within a few hours we shall see the civil rights plank which is reported to pledge the Democrats to amendment of Senate Rule 22 to end filibusters, FEPC and others of the nine planks the Leadership Conference asked last Tuesday.

By the time you read this you will know not only what the platform says and what action the convention takes on it. You will of course also know who the candidates will be to oppose Eisenhower and Nixon.

What I want to do here is to report on the phenomenal revolution in public opinion on the issue of civil rights which has taken place since 1948. Four years ago in Philadelphia only a handful of delegates under the inspired and battling leadership of Hubert Humphries were concerned or informed about human rights.

When I reached Chicago from Jamaica eight days ago, Dixiecrats were already on the scene plying their characteristic trade of blustering, threatening to "bolt," arrogantly demanding that six states impose their will on the other 42 states and four territories.

But also there was here another type of Southerner—Maury Maverick of Texas with an opposition ticket to what he called contemptuously the "Shivercrats." Six Negroes and six Mexican-Americans were included in the Maverick delegation which pulled no punches on the race question or Dixiecrat disloyalty.

Even more significant and potent was the fact that entire delegations like those of New Jersey, Michigan, Minnesota and California were unequivocally pledged to an all-out fight for a more explicit civil rights plank including amendment of Senate rules.

I had the great privilege of presenting eight spokesmen for 54 national organizations with a combined membership of more than 15 milion voters who hit hard and uncompromisingly for a nine-point civil rights program. Most of er Sen. Francis Myers of Pennsylvania, Jacob Arvey of Illinois, Sam Rayburn of Texas and several others will emerge from here with badly tarnished reputations for shrewdness or courage.

But above these sordid phases of the convention rises a new respect for human rights and for the Negro, labor, church, fraternal and other groups who have fought long and valiantly to awaken America on this issue. We have moved a long step forward and we are going faster and further on the road to real racial and human equality.

P. S.—And then they nominated John Sparkman —of Alabama — to run with Stevenson! Not as bad as Russell — not as good as others, Southern and Northern, whose records are good and decent on civil rights. More—MUCH more—later on this.

the testimony was televised and world wide radio broadcasts were made of the presentation.

From that time on we saw at first hand how deep and widee has been the transformation of opinion. One delegate from an important Western state who had stood alone for a strong stand asked me to talk to the chairman of his delegation.

The latter plied me with searching questions after which he told me his entire delegation would back our stand to the bitter end. Delegates from many other states pledged their support. Interestingly enough, a number from the South told us that they were with us even though they could not vote for us yet.

Possibly another thing which happened here is even more indicative. I have been present many times at national conventions of both parties on behald of civil rights. There was a time when the treatment we received varies from outright hostility to studious indifference.

Here there has been nothing but most respectful attention and friendliness even from many of those who were most vigorously opposed to strong civil rights action. (Not all, of course, because Gov. Talmadge was here to pay me the compliment on a nation-wide television program that "the state of Georgia will not take a pledge of loyalty to Hubert Humphrey or Walter White . . . who have no right to attempt to control the sovereignty of the state of Georgia or the freedom of action of the Democrats of our state." Thanks, Governor.)

All of this adds up to the fact that increased political action on a non-partisan basis along with the geographic distribution of the Negro vote has given him a weapon of incalculable value. Those few of us who have been on the scene did not count as individuals; only because we were the living symbols of that power.

There were behind-the-scene deals, of course, on such issues as the seating of the Dixiecrats from Texas and Mississippi and Carolina, Louisiana and Virginia. They were as stupid as they were unnecessary. They will inevitably rise again and again to plague those who made them.

Others worked assiduously on "compromises" to placate the Byrnes - Talmadge - Shivers crowd who again and again have defied and sold out their party.

Chairman Frank McKinney David Lawrence of Pittsburgh, form-

Walter
WHITE

Negro Voters In Eight States Hold Balance Of Power In Coming Election

This is a most fervent appeal to every native born or naturalized American, twenty-one years of age or over, whose character and education make him an eligible voter who lives in Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, California, Michigan and Texas. Especially Negroes.

There are other states to which the plea could be almost as fervently directed — New Jersey, Indiana, Missouri, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, West Virginia and Kansas, for example. But in this column I prefer to concentrate on the eight pivotal states listed in the first paragraph. For they are the ones unbiased observers are now agreed will determine who shall be the next occupant of the White House and who will be the next presiding officer of the United States Senate where the fight for civil rights will be won — or lost.

It takes 266 Electoral College votes to win. The eight states named will cast 221 of them. In seven of the eight states the Negro vote unquestionably holds the balance of power, even in a not too close race. This year all signs point to one of the closest races in American political history. It is not only conceivable but highly probable that in one or more of the eight states — possibly yours — the scales may be tipped one way or the other by the vote of yourself and a few of your friends.

The Negro vote does not yet hold the decisive role for Texas as a whole, although it does in some local elections. But, any bloc of 200,000 voters might decide the issue at any time. With the current bitterness of the Shivercrats in Texas over tidelands oil, civil rights, Dixiecrat issues, there is even a probability that the Negro vote in Texas may be as important as was the colored vote in Ohio, Illinois and California in 1948.

Newsweek in its September 15 issue states that the eight states are not only "the most populous and therefore the richest in electoral votes, but they are also among the most doubtful and so distributed geographically that

each is a key to its own section of the country." Newsweek considers the eight states so important that it will make and publish a weekly assessment to Election Day of each of them "in the belief that the election will turn in the end on these eight pivots."

Never in history have those who fight and abhor race prejudice been so advantageously placed to do something about the evil as in the eight states. The frustration and even impotence which have blighted hopes of those who worked and prayed for a federal FEPC can now be replaced by determination and hope if those of us who live and vote in these eight states take the trouble to register and vote.

Since the date for payment of the poll tax in Texas has passed, only those Texans who have already paid it are eligible to vote. But there are enough of those to do a job. No poll tax is required in the other seven states, so that cannot be offered as excuse.

Here is a list of the final registration dates which have not already passed in four of the seven states:

New York — October 11; Illinois — October 16; Michigan — October 14; Massachuestts — October 3.

Telephone your local Board of Elections or consult your local newspapers for details on how and where you can register if you have not already done so. Then register! Then vote on November 4.

If you let apathy keep you from doing so, then in the words of the preacher as he ties the knot, "forever after hold your peace" when the topic of civil rights, of threats of war and hopes of peace, of taxes high or low, of decent housing or Army Jim Crow or justice in courts of law or segregation in Washington comes up. Yours and yours alone will be the blame.

Walter WHITE

Dixiecrats, Conservative GOPs 'Lynch' Alaska Statehood Bill

"The Knife for Statehood" is the heading of a New York **Herald Tribune** editorial on the legislative lynching which took place on the floor of the United States Senate in recommittal of the Alaska Statehood Bill by a single vote. But it is more—much more—than a mortal stab in the back of a single bill. It constitutes not only the all-time low in legislative chicanery by the Dixiecrat—conservative Republican vote in the Senate on all issues dealing with civil rights, but an issue which should strike terror and dismay in the hearts of all Americans who have any love for their country.

This column is being written 24 hours after the vote was taken. But it is as certain as the rising of tomorrow's sun that Moscow Radio is jubilantly blaring the news to every remote area of the Pacific, Asia and Africa. The sordid, sorry and unconcealed motivation of the Dixiecrat bloc to deny statehood to Hawaii and Alaska because four new Senators from those areas would be likely to vote for a liberalized cloture rule and for long overdue civil rights legislation is the worse blow to American prestige within the memory of most persons now living. It is imperative that you and I and every other American voter, particularly if he is an advocate of civil rights, must make the vote of every Senator a yardstick as to how we shall vote for these Senators when they come up for re-election.

Everybody expected a solid Southern vote against both the Alaskan and Hawaiian Statehood Bills.

But it is appalling to find Senators like Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Ferguson of Michigan and Martin of Pennsylvania voting to recommit the bill and thereby kill it. One would have thought that Senator Taft would have been smart enough to vote against recommittal or find some method of avoiding going on record. But all his pious talk about his devotion to the principles of civil rights and equal justice is to be measured by his vote to recommit. Pivotal and disastrous was Senator Henry Cabot Lodge's absence from the Senate and his failure to arrange a pair. Had he been present and voted against recommitting, the vote would have been a 45 to 45 tie with the deciding vote cast by Vice-President Barkley who is regarded as vigorously favoring statehood for both territories.

Here is the roll call vote as compiled by the United Press. May I urge that you clip it out and take it to the polls with you when you vote for any of the persons who were on the wrong side in this basic question.

Walter WHITE

The Strategy Behind The Move Of Senator Russell Of Georgia

Announcement by Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia on Feb. 28, that he is a candidate for the presidency and will fight for the presidential nomination even if President Truman decides to go after it" at first blush is so incredible as to be ludicrous.

The one sure way to insure the election of almost any Republican and virtually to destroy the Democratic Party would be nomination by the Democrats of the "quarterback of the filibuster" who glories in that title.

To his credit, Russell made no attempt to straddle the issue of civil rights. When asked by a reporter he used the term "civil wrongs" and declared that "I am unalterably opposed to every one of the so-called civil rights proposals that I have opposed in the past."

Although, no reasonably intelligent person, which includes Russell, believes for a moment that a southerner with his record would ever obtain the Democratic nomination unless the Party wants to commit suicide.

The purpose of Russell in announcing his candidacy is identical with his whole career and strategy on civil rights—to be an obstructionist. The key to his real purpose is his answer to the question as to whether or not he would support Mr. Truman if the President does decide to be a candidate.

Russell replied, "I will not answer that question so long as the President is not a candidate. When he is a candidate and the platform is written, I will answer that question. However, I want to point out that I supported Mr. Truman in 1948."

The black print is mine. Russell, being the shrewd horse trader he is and glorying in the power and perquisites which are his as Democratic Senator of the Senate Whip, is not going to surrender any of those privileges by going off the reservation politically. His motive is more sinister.

He is playing power politics along with Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina and others in a determined drive to prevent renomination of President Truman and to block any party platform pledges in 1952 on civil rights or any other enlightened legislation which is unpalatable to the Dixiecrats and their conservative backers such as the Tidelands Oil crowd and the Northern industrialists who have vast investments in the South.

Russell and his backers are playing a cold-blooded game of bluffing. They trade upon the prejudices of those who are opposed to doing anything about the current wave of bombings, floggings, disfranchisement and employment or educational discrimination and segregation.

They hope to convince Northern Democrats and the country at large that the Dixiecrats can pull away enough electoral votes to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Russell talked glibly about "waste in government" and "maintenance of the rights of the states in an indissoluble union" as "our protection against that loss of individual rights and liberties which has always followed undue centralization of authority."

He conspicuously ignored, of course, that the perpetual raids on the federal treasury by Southern states for benefits to themselves which are greatly increased by the cost of segregated facilities is the greatest single instance of "waste in government" which exists today.

With this added cost of government, illustrated in a single instance by an increase of $22 million in the building of the federal atomic energy plant near Aiken, S. C., the total of the alleged peculations in the Internal Revenue Bureau is dribbles by comparison.

But Russell's impudent announcenent for the presidency presents a challenge which decent Americans cannot fail to meet. To do so would mean the final blow to democracy.

The challenge must be met by the most intensive campaign ever seen to step up registration and voting, particularly by Negro Americans in the South, and in the 17 pivotal states of the North where today the Negro owns the potential balance of power.

Every organization and individual who fails to do his utmost to build up such strength in opposition to this blazon attempt to take over dictatorial control of the nation is unworthy of the rights he wants to enjoy.

The job ahead is cut out for us. But here is raw, naked fascism which will and must be met and beaten.

Walter WHITE

A Worthy Man Of Science Gets A Tribute That Is Well Deserved

May I use this space this week to pay tribute to one of the truest friends any man was ever privileged to have.

On April 30 at New York's Statler Hotel more than a thousand Americans who are leaders in the fields of medicine, education, civil rights and public affairs will do homage, long overdue, to him.

In his honor the great Eleanor Roosevelt will make her first public speech on returning from the U. N. General Assembly in Paris and a trip around the world. The Kentucky-born president of the American College of Surgeons, Dr. Henry W. Cave, who fought and smashed the color bar in that most eminent of professional societies, will tell what he thinks of the man for whom the fight was made.

Scientists, judges, educators and distinguished political personages will join them in tribute.

The honoree, of course, will be Dr. Louis T. Wright, fellow of the American College of Surgeons, chief of surgery at New York's huge interracial Harlem hospital, creator of the Wright method of intradermal vaccination, author of the authoritative treatise on the treatment of brain injuries and skull fractures, co-developer of aureomycin with which he cured for the first time in history a virus infection in the human body, at present at work on a new and promising approach towards finding the answer to the most horrible plague from which mankind suffers, cancer. **Collier's Magazine** will publish soon an exciting profile of Dr. Wright by a writer more competent than I to discuss his vast contributions to science.

But even were I informed enough to write about science, I would prefer writing about the man himself. Such is his fabulous skill as a surgeon Louis Wright could have charged fees which would have made him wealthy.

Instead he has manifested the classic indifference of true scientists towards using their genius to enrich themselves. He and his wife and their two daughters, both of them now doctors and fellow-researchers with their father in the quest for the answers to human misery caused by disease, have willingly made the sacrifice of comfort and security for pure science and high principle.

Louis Wright began thirty years ago the first fight against the then total exclusion of Negro doctors from New York and other municipal, tax-supported hospitals.

With the late William N. Colson, brilliant Negro lawyer who died long before his time, Dr. Wright gathered evidence and with it made things so hot for the officials responsible for the mistreatment of colored patients and the denial of opportunity to colored doctors and nurses, they proposed a compromise of an all-Negro municipal hospital.

A number of Negroes jubilantly hailed the proposal as a great step forward. Not Dr. Wright.

He took the unequivocal position to which the rest of the nation has only recently reached — that segregation in itself is and always would be inequality. He infuriated some of his fellow physicians by insisting that no Negro should either be appointed or promoted solely because of being a Negro; that he must prepare himself and continue preparing himself to meet the competition of the top figures in his field.

Some Negroes who wanted recognition and compensation without paying the price of competitive effort within the enervating cocoon of segregated hospitals bitterly assailed Dr. Wright for his "unrealistic" stand.

Louis Wright has never limited his fight for complete equality to the field of medicine although there was enough to do in that field to occupy any person, however energetic, for a lifetime.

His vision was broad enough to know that no one phase of human endeavor — medical, economic, political, military or humanitarian — can be isolated from the fabric of human existence.

Without exception of all the distinguished men and women of both races who have served on the Board of Directors of the NAACP, Dr. Wright is most responsible for the unwavering devotion to unqualified opposition to racial segregation and discrimination in every form. The same is true of the staff.

Upon rare occasions there have been a few — a very few — who advocated "caution" or "practical" solutions to the vast array of complex problems the NAACP has had to face. As chairman of the Board since 1934 and as a member of the Board for six years prior to his elevation to the chairmanship, Dr. Wright has presided with firmness, fairness, good humor and, above all else, consecrated devotion to high principle.

Even when he has ruffled the sensibilities of Board members and staff (he tartly silenced this reporter at the last Board meeting by saying, "I have not recognized the Secretary!") none have ever doubted for a minute the integrity of whatever ruling which he has made.

It is good to know that such unselfish adherence to principle—a quality so rare nowadays as to be almost nonexistent — is recognized and applauded. Perhaps more young men in science and human rights will thereby be moved to pay the price for the peace of mind which only they enjoy and who have never sold out.

Walter WHITE

John Temple Graves Wrong But Wrong Consistently

My favorite columnist above all others, particularly so far as consistency is concerned, is John Temple Graves of the Birmingham POST HERALD.

Other columnists, even including Westbrook Pegler, occasionally make sense or show some faint glimmering of recognition that there is such a thing known as human equality and constitutional integrity.

No such inconsistency ever plagues John Temple Graves, although there are scurrilous rumors among the old-timers that many ye[illegible]o Graves did show faint t[illegible] knowing that there was a [illegible]ar which the South lost, at [illegible]militarily.

Glowering at his readers as though he had just swallowed an overdose of ipecac, Mr. Graves is currently beating the drums in his column, "This Morning," for (1) Senator Russell of Georgia for the presidency, (2) in jubilation over the South Carolina and Virginia decisions on segregation in grammar schools, and (3) lamentations over the fact that the civil rights issue and the power of the Negro vote are sufficient to keep Southerners out of the White House.

Let us take up these seriatim. On March 18 Mr. Graves drooled all over "This Morning" over Russell's appearance on Meet the Press. "His answers were statesman's answers," Graves reports "and never more so than when he replied on the race question."

Unfortunately, because I was on a train, this reporter was unable to see Mr. Russell's performance. But from some of the reports I have received from competent observers, Mr. Russell was never on a hotter seat than when the reporters pinned him down on the effect of his anti-civil rights position on his presidential chances.

I am told that he attempted to brazen it out by asserting that the right to segregate is a constitutional privilege.

Perhaps I do Brother Graves an injustice. Even he seemed to admit reluctantly that "Statesman" Russell won't be able to get away with his sophistry.

Mr. Graves sadly comments, "But the tragedy of his (Russell's) political situation was reflected in the fact that even though his interrogators seemed honestly not to want to stress it, the Negro problem and attitude of the South came so inescapably and increasingly into the talk as it went on. That is what is so likely to cost him the Democratic nomination even though the whole nation is impressed with him."

I do wish someone would teach Mr. Graves a few basic principles of logic and use of the English language. "Whole" is a pretty inclusive adjective. Even in Georgia they taught this reporter that whole means whole—everybody.

There are a good many million of Americans, white as well as Negro, who are not impressed with Mr. Russell and see him for the slick and arrogant politician he is.

In another column "Pundit" Graves rhetorically (and hopefully) asks, "Are federal courts forsaking sentimentality and the do-gooders for the Constitution and the facts of life?" in chortling over the temporary setbacks in the Clarendon County, S. C., and the Prince Edward County, Va., attacks on racial segregation and inequality at the grammar school level.

He adds, not so hopefully, that "the NAACP has been stopped at the mass educational level for the time being."

Because Graves has been following and consistently attacking the NAACP for the past thirty years, it would be presumed that by now he would know that the NAACP has lost most of its southern cases in the lower courts and won them in the higher ones. As used to be said of England—she loses every battle but the last one.

Despite all Mr. Graves' whistling past the graveyard, there is a singular lack of conviction about his fervent hope that the NAACP is not going to follow through as it always has before.

To make matters worse for Mr. Graves' argument that the South ought not to be interferred with in handling the race problem as it sees fit, in the same issue of the POST HERALD is published an Associated Press story from Montgomery about a 39-year-old white man, Ollie Shows, shooting a 101-year-old Negro, who was sitting in a wagon, because, Shows told the police, the Negro "cussed" him.

John Boldin, the centenarian, lies at the point of death, at the time of publication of the news story, in a Montgomery hospital. His assailant, meanwhile, was released on $500 bond.

31a 1952

Negro (Walter White)

Walter WHITE

Quiet Revolt Is Bringing Progress, Peace To The South

Pinch-hitting this week for Walter White who is vacationing in Jamaica, is Carter Jewel, correspondent for the Associated Negro Press:

BY CARTER JEWEL

A quiet but steady revolutionary trend is developing in the South despite the die-hard Dixiecrats. The virility of this trend is evidenced by the current action of white religious groups, the average writer of letters to southern dailies and the voluntary breakdown of racial segregation.

Both southern Negroes and whites are boldly taking a stand for racial equality and social justice. Just last week the directors of the public library of Newport News, Va. announced that its facilities are available to all regardless of race.

Negro ministers have been doing graduate work at Union Theological Seminary, a white institution in Richmond, since 1935. Although they are day students, they have enjoyed all other privileges the same as the white theological students.

Negro students were admitted last year to the Medical college of Virginia at Richmond without any suit, just as the ministers were admitted to the theological school without any order from the courts.

Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other Negro civic organizations in the South are courageously championing the cause of minorities. The North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP was given a Civil Rights Award at the NAACP national convention in Oklahoma City, Okla. for outstanding achievement in the field of civil rights.

A white woman writing to a southern daily paper voiced approval of the action of Norfolk ministers in abandoning their Preaching Mission until such time that it can be held without any segregation of the races. She wrote:

"We white people have only to make a 'self' case of a thing to find out if it hurts or not. Would we like to be forced to the rear of buses just because God made the color of our skin different from others? Wouldn't we all like to feel welcome in public gatherings, parks and sea shores?

"What's the use to talk piously of peace and do absolutely nothing to help make peace? When the segregation law is repealed it will be at least that much peace on earth.

I feel quite sure the ministers of Norfolk (Va.) can preach segregation into oblivion in a short while if they will."

Lora Mansfield, who wrote the above letter has written many in the same spirit condemning racial segregation and oppression. There are many others in different parts of the South who are boldly expressing themselves in the same manner on race prejudice and racial segregation and discrimination.

It all goes to prove that a quiet but determined revolutionary trend is spreading in the South and the Russells, Byrds, Byrnes and others of their class can't stop it.

Asks Ike To Wake Up On Negro Vote Before It Is Too Late

There are many of us who know and admire you who today become increasingly distressed by your actions and statements — or absence of them — since the Republican Party nominated you and Senator Nixon at Chicago last July.

We have anxiously awaited some clear-cut and uncompromising assurance of the specific means by which you would implement your asserted belief in and support of even-handed justice and opportunity to all mankind.

Some of us who shared with you the dark days in the European Theatre of War, when it was not at all certain that the forces of democracy would win the world-wide war against Nazism, know how you cut through red tape to drive on to victory when some of the leaders of the allied forces sought to tie your hands with red tape and protocol.

Now you are engaged in another gigantic struggle which may determine the future course of civilization even more than the battle against Hitler and Hitlerism. When you and those who supported you fought back at Chicago against the overwhelming odds which your determined opponent, Senator Robert A. Taft, held over you, we believed that a new day of enlightened liberalism had been born for the Republican Party.

We believed — and dared hope — that the old days of alliance with the Dixiecrat South were ended. We dared hope that the umbilical cord had been severed with the forces of shameless corruption represented by the buying of Republican delegates to the national convention, whose exposure led to the collapse of the Taft machine.

We did not like nor do we now like the seating by the Democrats of the Dixiecrat delegations from Texas and Mississippi. We did not like and we do not now like the compromise represented by the nomination of Senator John Sparkman.

We are bewildered, General Eisenhower, by the change which apparently has come over you. Leaving aside the question of whether it is good or not to put a military man in the White House — which you yourself opposed in 1948—we believed that you would use the executive genius demonstrated during the war to mark new paths for our nation.

We were alarmed when you announced that you were going to Georgia. But we tried to give you the benefit of the doubt when we learned that Governor Herman Talmadge, eager to use you as a pawn in his vicious fight against the civil rights program in striking back at his own party's platform, insisted on welcoming and introducing you.

Our bewilderment mounted as you embraced in rapid succession Taft, Jenner, McCarthy, Nixon, Dirksen and, finally, Governor Byrnes.

It was a shock to see you laughing as the calculating Byrnes was photographed looking at you with the same air of smug possession with which Robert Taft looked at you in your home at Columbia university in New York following that breakfast of acceptance of Taft's ideas and terms.

That your honor and your love of principle is not entirely dead was indicated by your courage in saying in the presence of Byrnes in Columbia, S. C. on September 30 that equality of opportunity was part of the vision of the men who founded our nation. You played it safe by proposing no federal or other action to implement that declaration.

But did you not, General Eisenhower, understand the significance of the stony silence which greeted even those mild words of affirmation of the principle of human equality? Surely the rebel yell and the fanatic waving of confederate flags which greeted every other statement you made in your speech from the capital steps at Columbia must have revealed to you the racist, un-American quality of the Judas embrace which you received from Byrnes and his followers.

We who admire you, General Eisenhower, implore you to wake up before it is too late. There are far greater principles in life than being elected to even so exalted and powerful an office as Chief Executive of the world's greatest democracy. May I quote you an ancient, profound and enduring truth — "What profiteth it a man if he gain the whole world and loseth his own soul"

Respectfully yours,
Walter White

Walter WHITE

Analysis of Election Results Shows Factors Which Swung Balance To Ike

What happened? I was feeling quite humble in the hours after midnight of election day regarding some predictions I had made until I read that even after the necessary 266 electoral votes were safely in the Eisenhower column and the tide was running on to a landslide, the Eisenhower supporters at the New York headquarters still didn't believe it.

Now that enough time has elapsed to study the results more objectively, faint glimmers of light, if not reason, begin to emerge.

The fact that 62.3 million Americans were employed in 1952 in contrast with 61.8 million in 1951; that personal income totaled $233 billion as contrasted with $227 billion last year; that consumer credit was 21.7 billion in 1952 as against 19.4 billion in the year preceding gave credence to the slogan: "You never had it so good."

But against this was the drop in farm income from $16.2 billion to $14.8 billion; a rise in retail prices from an index of 186.6 to 190.8 while savings dropped from $20.7 billion to $17 billion. It is this last set of figures which formed the basis of the uneasiness about a depression or recession.

There is no doubt that the dramatic idea of going to Korea, reputedly the creation of C. D. Jackson of TIME, LIFE and FORTUNE magazines, caught the imagination not only of parents of boys in Korea but of a very large percentage of the population generally.

The same was true about the charges, many of them wild and unfounded, about corruption and communism in government, although there was enough of both to injure Governor Stevenson's chances measurably.

In view of the fact that between 1932 and 1944 almost as large a percentage of the American press was opposed to Roosevelt as it was to President Truman in 1948 and Governor Stevenson in 1952, no one knows how great or little effect the almost total opposition to Stevenson and support of Eisenhower by the press had upon the final results.

It is apparent that the editorial pages were again less potent than the headlines.

While the impact of radio and television, especially the latter, was tremendous, here again it is speculative in trying to measure how much effect any of these media had especially because of the high spiritual quality and sound content of Governor Stevenson's speeches which caught the imagination, if it did not affect the votes, of Americans as has not been the case of any candidate since Roosevelt.

But one measurable factor was the manner in which President Truman had been smeared and discredited because of his stand on civil rights. No vendetta in American politics has been as determined or as vicious as that led by Byrnes, Talmadge, Shivers, Byrd and Hugh White.

Enormous sums were spent for full-page advertisements in Southern newspapers whipping up fear of the Negro vote which fitted snuggly into the pattern of fear and smear of men like McCarthy, Jenner and Byrnes.

Countless numbers of leaflets were dropped from airplanes over North Carolina cities and towns which screamed that there would be "Negro bosses in the mills and factories" if Stevenson won and imploring Southern whites, "Eisenhower is against all this (FEPC)

"If he is elected FEPC law will not be passed. In order to save our way of life, in order to avoid the racial struggle, we, the white people of the South must vote for Ike Eisenhower." General Eisenhower, of course, neither knew that this was going to be done nor approved it.

But the jubilant editorials proclaiming that the solid South is broken and that a real two-party system has been established may prove to be highly premature.

The prospect in the New Congress dominated as it will be by Robert A. Taft and Richard Russell is not propitious for civil rights legislation. But those millions of Americans who are concerned with the problem of human justice must fight against discouragement and continue the struggle without letup. The Republicans said again and again during the campaign that the Democrats were responsible for failure of action on this issue. Now that the GOP controls both Houses of the Congress as well as the White House, we shall see what that party does to keep its pledges.

Walter WHITE

U. S. Delegation Solves South African Situation In Usual Manner --- Evasion

The quandry in which the South African situation has placed the United States has been "solved" in the usual manner — evasion. Gov. Charles Sprague of the U. S. delegation has announced that they will vote not only against South Africa in the matter of discussion of the situation; but also against the resolution for an official commission of inquiry introduced by 18 Asian and Arab nations.

On behalf of the U. S. Delegation Gov. Sprague expressed the pious and futile hope that the "lively conscience" of South Africa will bring about an eventual solution of the tragedy now being enacted in South Africa. How Prime Minister Malan and his Nazi-like associates must be chuckling.

In defense of the American decision are certain grim facts. The first is that the colonial powers — France, Great Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands along with countries like Australia — are bitterly opposed to any "interference" with their colonial possessions.

When "the bungling" was made that the U. S. delegation might vote for the resolution to place the Tunisian and Moroccan issue on the agenda for discussion Robert Schuman, foreign minister of France, and Jules Moch, first delegate of the Disarmament Commission of the U. N., took the first plane out of Paris for the United States to persuade the U. S. delegation to change its mind.

To the credit of the U. S. delegation, it refused to do so, which led to Schuman's speech serving blunt notice on the U. N. that France would not permit any interference with its African colonies.

This created a further impasse in the U. N. If France refuses to permit any "interference" in the Tunisian and Moroccan issues and gets away with it, how possibly can the U. N. force Malan to change his dangerous tactics?

If you are interested in getting more information on the background, may I recommend to you "Africa Is Next" by Theodore H. White which appeared in the February, 1952 issue of Harper's Magazine, and Stringfellow Barr's new and brilliant book "Citizens of the World" which has just been published by Harper and Brothers.

A second embarrassment for the U. S. delegation is the fact that our nation's own racial misdeeds make the United States exceedingly vulnerable in talking about the shortcomings of other nations. And there is little doubt in the minds of some members of the delegation and of many other Americans that if we as a nation intervene in South Africa or Kenya, there may be investigations of bigotry in the United States.

The net result is impotence, both at the national and international levels, on what is developing as the most dangerous issue facing the world today so far as the peace of the world is concerned.

The social revolution which spreads like a prairie fire throughout Asia, South Africa, Kenya and parts of South America constitute a minor conflagration, unless something is done, in comparison with what may develop.

The League of Nations collapsed and World War II occurred when the League was unwilling and unable to stop Mussolini's barbaric invasion of Ethiopia. Precisely the same results could happen so far as Africa and Asia are concerned.

Now that the first hydrogen bomb, capable of wiping out in an instant 350 square miles, has been exploded, it takes no great imagination to understand what can happen to the world.

The Atomic Energy Commission reports that an entire island disappeared when the hydrogen bomb was dropped upon it. As I said in a recent broadcast, what may be the epitaph of civilization may be "there was an island."

And yet in the face of this appalling eventuality the bungling of Senators Pat McCarran of Nevada and James O. Eastland of Mississippi are doing a bull-in-a-china shop act on employees of the U. N. This has already led to the suicide of one of the most brilliant and loyal Americans serving the United Nations — Abraham Feller.

Another able employee recently returned from Europe to make a brilliant report of the job he had done there. Leaving the office of his chief, he suddenly started screaming and attempted to throw himself out a window. Fortunately, he was restrained in time and is now being treated in the psychiatric ward of Bellevue Hospital. Only fools would pillory loyal and able men who work for peace. It makes one wonder which is the more destructive — the hydrogen bomb or a stupid senator seeking headlines.

WHITE

General MacArthur Is No Longer A Question Mark To Negro Voters

Gen. Douglas MacArthur, as of the day this piece is written (it is hard to predict what the situation may be when it is published), has been mentioned as the beneficiary and possible inheritor of the Republican convention votes of the rapidly collapsing Taft machine and campaign.

But, whatever chances the deposed general possessed of attracting Negro support or that of sizeable blocs of other minority groups were kicked out of the window by his speech to the Mississippi legislature at Jackson on March 22.

Read and remember John Popham's account of the debacle in the New York Times of March 23.

"General MacArthur praised the 'statesmen of the South' for having led in the last decade a fight against federal encroachment on state sovereignty. He said that it filled his heart with pride to know that he had been southern-born, and thus, entitled to share in the South's 'great and noble traditions.' He cited the South's opposition to 'the manner in which this federal autocracy has sought by unconstitutional assumption of power' to regulate the region's 'purely local social problems' and 'to sequester their tidelands resources.'"

Somewhat superfluously, Popham reports that the 4000-word speech "was interrupted twenty-five times by applause and rebel yells." What did Mr. Popham expect would greet such sentiments—"Marching Through Georgia?" Even Robert Taft, in his dissonant, cacophonous uncle tomming to the Dixiecrats, has not dared go that far.

I hope you did not miss Edward R. Murrow's magnificant television presentation of the Mississippi surrender on "See It Now," on March 23. Camera crews had been dispatched to Jackson to film and record the event from Friday afternoon through Saturday.

Bumbling Gov. Hugh White (no relation, praise the Lord, to this reporter) queried various persons in charge of arrangements in a southern accent thicker than blackstrap molasses at ten degrees below zero. One of the arrangers confidently predicted a crowd of 150,000.

Ed Murrow quietly commented that less than one-twelfth of that number—12.000 to be exact—bothered to turn out to hear MacArthur discuss the South's "great and noble traditions" and their "purely local social problems" such as the bomb murders of the Harry Moores, the poll tax, segregation and advocacy of mob violence by Byrnes-Talmadge-Rankin southerners.

Most devastating to MacArthur's aspirations was Mr. Murrow's inter-splicing of shots of MacArthur with ones of General Eisenhower. The contrast was incredible in its deflation of the former emperor of the Pacific. MacArthur's unsmiling face and labored voice reflected an embittered man yet puzzled that the world does not accept him at his own evaluation as the greatest general, statesman and leader of all time.

Never noted for either modesty or ability to accept any opinion except his own, he lashed out at the "war psychosis," which he charged "plunged us unprepared into the Korean War," as though he, MacArthur, were not chiefly responsible for that war through his own mistakes. General Eisenhower, on the contrary, spoke with earnestness, modesty and intelligence about the military and economic necessity to preserve civilization.

Despite the fact that Eisenhower's views on most subjects, other than military ones, and especially on civil rights are unknown, no person who is not incurably bigoted or ignorant could fail to be aware of the vast superiority of Eisenhower over MacArthur.

General MacArthur was far more skilled in masking his deep rooted prejudices, when this reporter talked with him about the kicking around of Negro troops in the Pacific during the war. The mask is gone now and with it several millions of votes.

Professor, a little soft music, please, with muffled drums to accompany the leaden feet of Robert A. Taft and Douglas MacArthur as they pass forever off the political stage.

Walter WHITE

Winchell Comes Out On Short End Of His Row With Jo Baker

An editor telephoned me the other day, "Have you heard that Walter Winchell's broadcasting contract has been cancelled and his column reduced to three days a week resulting in his income being cut from a million to $200,000 a year? You must be mighty proud!"

I am neither proud nor happy. On the contrary, I am deeply sorry that one who had such power let it go to his head to the extent that he was willing and even determined to destroy any person who dared question his omnipotence and omniscience.

I have known Walter Winchell for more than twenty years. In his phrenetic fashion he has lashed out at bigots of both the extreme right and the extreme left. He has excoriated bigotry on numerous occasions. He has made—and unmade—countless reputations both in the field of the theater and public life generally.

But, with all his power, he fell victim to the most corrosive of all human emotions—love of power. He had reached the stage—where he would brook no dissent even from his closest friends.

When Josephine Baker was treated discourteously at New York's plush Stork Club, Winchell lost all sense of balance and set out to wreck her career. Personally I don't think the fact that Miss Baker happens to be colored was a determining fact at all.

From both first-hand and second-hand contacts with Winchell I am convinced he would have been as savage in his treatment of her had she been white. She had dared to expose publicly the inconsistency between Winchell's philosophy and action in that he excoriated racial and religious bigotry on the air but was unwilling to insist that his Oklahoma-born friend, Sherman Billingsley, should not practice racial discrimination in violation of the New York State law in Billingsley's Stork club.

There is no way of proving it but Winchell's actions indicated he thought he would encounter no difficulty in wiping out Josephine Baker or anyone else who dared challenge him.

And what have been the results? The New York State laws against discrimination in places of public accommodation have been strengthened, at Gov. Thomas E Dewey's insistence, to meet and correct discrimination such as that suffered by Miss Baker at the Stork club.

The New York State Committee Against Discrimination has been given power to initiate investigation and action to revoke the licenses of such places which is in addition to the present civil rights statutes.

Walter Winchell has met his Waterloo by finding that the growing passion of American people against discrimination is such that even his fantastic power could not resist that rising tide.

The sponsors of Winchell's Sunday night broadcast were unwilling to grant him further leaves of absence to recover from an illness which is now known as not being organic but psychosomatic.

Other commentators who once were afraid to tackle Winchell are no longer afraid and are doing their utmost in many cases to establish reputations of being above prejudice.

It is a pity that Winchell did not use better judgment. His blows at prejudice, listened to reputedly by twenty-five million Americans each Sunday night, will be missed.

But his failure to come through when the acid test of his liberalism was posed by the Stork club incident should be a lesson and a warning to others who may be tempted upon occasion to follow his unfortunate example.

Walter WHITE

Earlham College Official Tells Stand In Interracial Romances

One of the most incredible examples of illogic this reporter has ever received is a letter from Rufus M. Allen, Chairman of the Board of Earlham College in Richmond, Ind.

The Board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had inquired about the accuracy of news reports that the college had requested Robert McAllester, a senior from Ithaca, N. Y., to leave the campus because he refused to break his engagement to Miss Grace Cunningham, another senior, who happens to be colored.

Mr. McAllester's parents, who were formerly Congregational missionaries in Africa, had invited their son to bring Miss Cunningham to Ithaca for a visit following which they most enthusiastically approved his choice of a bride.

Mr. Allen charges that "the news stories have departed so widely from the truth" he finds it necessary to send a statement of the college's side of the case.

In one respect Mr. Allen is correct—the facts as Dean David E. Henley gives them are much more damaging than the quotations by the press.

Coming from a Quaker institution and considered against the great traditions of courage, moral principle and freedom from racial or religious bigotry of Quakers, Mr. Henley's letter is shocking.

Earlham College, the president of another and friendly school informs me, currently seeks to persuade Indiana industralists to contribute to the college. Apparently the college administration feared that news of the engagement might cause loss of hoped for financial support and that the prudent step to take to avoid publicity was by quietly getting rid of young McAllester.

As is often the case when principle is subordinated to expediency, the feared publicity was multiplied a thousandfold to spread all over the nation and the world. Once again Stalin is the beneficiary.

Dean Henley asserts that McAllester's engagement constituted "a known, planned and willful violation of a long-standing college rule against steady, interracial dating, looking toward marriage. The purpose of the rule is to forestall precipitate, youthful interracial engagement or marriage."

He writes of conferences on possible solutions "of the situation in which they (McAllester and Miss Cunningham) have placed the college." The italics are mine. It is unthinkable that any college of repute, particularly a Quaker school, would have a rule opposing student relations only when those relations threatened to result in honorable marriage. But the italicized phrases are difficult to explain otherwise.

Dean Henley goes even farther in reporting on pressures he brought to bear on young McAllester. "I said to Bob," he writes, "that I would like to suggest not as a Dean to student, but as one man appealing to the gentleman in another man, that he might think of four items:

first, he took the lead with his family in taking the girl to his home, entering into the engagement there, and deciding to violate the well-known rule and LET THE COLLEGE TAKE THE CONSEQUENCES;

second, that he had only one course to finish in order to graduate, having been within three and one-half credit hours at the end of the first semester;

third, that he being a man and,

fourth, he being a MEMBER OF THE DOMINANT RACE IN THIS COUNTRY, might consider whether it was time now for him to make a move, so that Grace (Miss Cunningham) would have to make no move whatever."

Again, the italics are mine. Dean Henley reports that McAllester declined to follow his advice, asked for permission to explain his decision to the student body which he set forth in a "clear, concise and satisfactory manner," and complied with the order to leave the college.

As this reporter read Earlham College's apologia, his memory went back to a visit years ago to the famous Wilberforce Museum in Hull, England, where the story is told of the Quaker struggle against human slavery and race prejudice.

I thought of Stanley Jones' "Christ of the Indian Road" in which that famous Quaker missionary called for moral courage against false barriers which separate and embitter men of different races, religions and places of birth. I remember the great work of Clarence Pickett and the American Friends Service Committee in helping mankind of every race all over the world.

Walter WHITE

'Lydia Bailey' Hailed as Stirring Picturization of Negro on Film

Piled up speaking and other engagements prevented my wife and me from accepting the invitation of the Government of Haiti and 20th Century-Fox to go to Port-au-Prince for the world premiere of "Lydia Bailey"—the first ever held in the history of that glamorous country.

We deeply regretted being deprived of the trip since it was our suggestion three years ago that the film be both filmed and premiered in Haiti. But our disappointment was somewhat assuaged by the exciting stories of the four crowded days which some sixty or more correspondents spent in Port-au-Prince

There was, incidentally, a significant difference between the stories written by white and Negro correspondents, especially with respect to one of the featured events of the junket.

The Haitian hosts had arranged at not inconsiderable expense a trip by donkey from Milot, site of the famous Sans Souci palace, to the world famed Citadel for those hardy—or foolhardy—enough to make the 25-mile trip. There was, of course, no compulsion on any of the guests to go.

A torrential tropical downpour burst halfway up the ascent upon those who did go. How they suffered became the burden of most of their stories—not the magnificent and courageous story of Haiti or the tropic splendor of the premiere or the lavish generosity of their hosts or the fact that approximately $500 or more had been spent on each guest for the trip.

When "Lydia Bailey" comes to your town, as it will soon, I beg you not to miss it. The action is terrific from beginning to end. It tells a story in highly dramatic fashion of one of the most gallant fights for freedom in human history. The technicolor photography has never been surpassed.

Certain minor, and one somewhat major, adaptations of Haitian history have been made by the film-makers, but they do not materially affect the picture.

For example, a voodoo dance is staged just outside the mansion of a French planter which would never be done in a real voodoo ceremony. Nowadays tourists see Saturday night Haitian dances on the countryside and believe they are seeing real voodoo. Occasionally foreigners are permitted to see a real one.

But during the days of Toussaint, Desalline, Christophe and Petion the feeling against whites and the devotion to voodoo, much of which has been lessened by education, would never have permitted the staging of a real dance for the edification of whites.

Even more important is the impression given that a white Baltimorian was one of the first architects of Haitian revolution and eventual winning of independence. There were whites friendly to the revolt against French rule and slavery.

But they played only minor roles in the fight for independence which broke Napoleon's dream of a great empire in the Western Hemisphere. Crushing of that dream forced Napoleon to sell the vast Louisiana Territory to the United States during Thomas Jefferson's administration which played a material role in making the United States the powerful nation it is today.

The outstanding star of the picture is William Marshall, who played the role of King Dick. He is one of the most handsome matinee idols to ever appear on the screen and gives a performance of such brilliance as to be breathtaking.

Of equal but different quality is the role played by Ken Renard as Toussaint. Here was a man of integrity and unselfishness who, although double-crossed and eventually killed by the French, was the spiritual as well as the military architect of Haiti's revolt.

I will not spoil the story by telling you all of the plot. But 20th Century-Fox and Darryl Zanuck have once again made an inestimable contribution towards a true and stirring picturization of the Negro.

Walter WHITE

Southern Columnist Uses White And Liberals As Target Of Bitter Attacks

I must make a note to take my vitamins regularly, never forget my rubbers, and watch carefully when crossing the street. I must do all these and more because it is becoming quite clear that the livelihood of John Temple Graves, Birmingham Post-Herald columnist, might end if I weren't around to supply him with material as basis of attacks. I'd hate to see even John Temple Graves out of a job.

Of all my friends, Emory Jackson, peppery and courageous editor of the Birmingham World, is by far the most faithful and indefatigable supplier of newspaper clippings.

Usually Emory appends to each batch a terse commentary typed on half sheets of the greyish paper newspapermen use. Returning to the United States recently I found a summer's collection of envelops from Emory.

Happily I settled down to learn what new ways of calling me a so-and-so. John Temple Graves' choleric temperament had concocted during my absence. I wasn't disappointed.

"Listening to Walter White before the Democratic platform committee, to Walter Reuther, and to that James Carey of the CIO who lately profaned the name of Thomas Jefferson to threaten his country with bloody treason, you know that forces dominant in the Democratic Party of 1952 are determined to make it an instrument so incompatible with the South that you blush for Southerners who propose humbly to go along," Graves writes in one of his more temperate moments. He added, "How kin to us Ike Eisenhower seems now! What a cousin Bob Taft!"

Warming up he gravesends his diatribe in this manner: "Is this the party of our fathers, this motley of CIO and NAACP and ADA, this barrackhouse of bureaucrats, this compound of cynics and Socialists, this snakepit of pressure groups, this Old Guard of Corruption, which is shaking its fist at the South in Chicago?"

Attaboy, Graves, that's telling 'em! Feel better now? A couple of aspirins and a nice cold towel might help. A slug of Bourbon or mountain dew, heart specialists tell me, dilates the blood vessels and lessens pressure on the heart. Wanta try it?

Another Southerner who is somewhat less explosive and more realistic than Brother Graves remarked the other day with grudging admiration that "in this year's election spades sure is trumps." Realization of that distasteful (to him) fact appears to threaten the Birmingham columnist's digestion, blood pressure and peace of mind.

General Eisenhower, he writes in another piece, "has spoken so clearly that the current issue of Walter White's NAACP bulletin has this to say: 'Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican candidate for president, remains firm in his opposition to a federal FEPC with enforcement powers' and 'could not promise to do anything about changing the Senate rules.'

That has come to be more important for the South now than mere platform pronouncements on FEPC."

John Temple Graves' frenetic fear that the sands of time and justice are running out on the South in its attitude towards the Negro and civil rights leads him to almost pathological support of General Eisenhower. Taft was Graves' first love but now he fawns on Eisenhower saying that "he is a magnificent executive and American and that with him we can defeat the party of socialism, cynicism and South-killing which proposes after 20 long years of accumulated power to make it 24 and forever."

He begs Taft and his supporters to get behind Eisenhower to save the South and grudgingly admits that "the Negro vote is not wholly a captive vote" and therefore may be decisive.

(Thanks, John, that's mighty white of you, pardon the expression.) For Eisenhower has become to him a white knight in shining armor dashing up to save the Southern political belle from a fate worse than death — being required to stop stealing justice and equity from fellow-Americans because of their color.

This commentator, while duly appreciative of the frequency of mention of himself in Graves' columns, does object to one thing. General Eisenhower, with all his failure to date to recognize the absolute need for Federal action to assure citizens of rights and opportunities long denied them, is nowhere near as backward or ineducable as Graves fatuously believes him to be.

Better watch out, Brother Graves. You may find the rug pulled out from under you by your present idol as the campaign waxes hotter and realities are recognized by the Republican candidate. Where'd you be then?

Walter WHITE

Sparkman Too Vague On Rights Must Take More Positive Stand

It is to be doubted that Senator Sparkman helped the Democratic cause by nis Oct. 4 interview in Washington with 100 Negro Democratic leaders which was arranged by Congressman William Dawson.

According to the New York Times he did praise the Democratic platform, declaring that it "recognizes those great rights, protected by the Constitution" and added that "we have pledged ourselves to work, on state and federal levels to secure these rights."

Whether he chose those last four words, the title of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, deliberately or accidentally the Times did not state.

But Senator Sparkmen's vague reference to solutions of the civil rights problem "worked out around a conference table" is meaningless. More round-the-conference-table discussions of the race question have been held than on any other problem, bar none, in the history of the United States.

Every philanthropic foundation even remotely interested in social problems has financed one or more "studies of the Negro" which laid end to end would reach from here to Jimmie Byrnes' office in South Carolina.

Several trillion words have been spilled around conference tables and from platforms on the issue of constitutional rights since the first slaves landed in Virginia 343 years ago. What we need now, Mr. Sparkman, is a little action—not words.

Even more inexplicable and annoying was his statement that one of the tragedies in our efforts to solve our civil rights difficulties "has been the degree of obstinacy on both sides."

What a travesty on the age-long heartbreaking struggle of American Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Nisei, Chinese and immigrants from southeastern Europe in their efforts to obtain what? Merely the opportunity to live in peace and security.

As for obstinacy, what about the obdurate obstructionism of anti-civil righters in and out of the Congress who for three centuries have used mob violence, filibustering, unconstitutional laws, chicanery and downright theft of public and private funds to keep minorities down?

To top it all, they have used bluster and arrogance to shut off even discussion of the issue.

And what of the other side? How obstinate have they been? Any attempt to equate the two positions is ridiculous. For generations enemies of the Negro, as well as of other minorities upon occasion, have treated him with brutality and contempt.

Only when decades of grim struggle resulted in aroused public opinion and when world condemnation of American mistreatment of dark-skinned people made the position of the United States untenable, did the anti-civil righters yield even slightly.

Even then the best offered was a useless constitutional amendment on the poll tax and an anti-lynching bill—in exchange for dropping the FEPC! Apparently Senator Sparkman considers as obstinate the prompt and total rejection of this insulting offer to sell out.

Senator Nixon's civil rights record in voting June 24, 1952, against reporting out the Humphrey-Ives FEPC bill and for continuation of power of the House Rules Committee when he was a member of the House to prevent civil rights bills from reaching the floor of the House is bad enough.

But Senator Sparkman did not apparently bother to check the record before the Oct. 4 conference since he charged Nixon with voting against amendment of Senate Rule 22.

Nixon was not a member of the Senate on March 17, 194[illegible] when the infamous Wherry-Hatden cloture rule was voted. The Dixiecrat-Republican coalition has permitted no vote on rule amendment since then.

count for his 1938 vote against the minimum wage act?

But when he told newsmen that the press and the opposition were "distorting his position on civil rights," he was unbelievable. How can 23 out of 23 adverse votes be distorted? Senator Sparkman will have to come up with something more plausible than that.

Senator Sparkman told the group that solution of interracial problems depends on improved living standards and that his voting record on these issues has been good. How then does he ex-

Walter WHITE

Charge Of Not Appearing At Rights Hearing 'Faulty Memory'

I am reasonably certain my former friend, Joseph D. Bibb of the Pittsburgh Courier would not publish a demonstrably provable falsehood in his column. For that reason, I attribute certain statements he made recently either to a faulty memory or to bothering to check newspaper files, including those of the Courier. I also question that he quotes correctly a statement Bibb put into the mouth of Elmer Henderson of the American Council on Human Rights because Elmer is no liar either.

Here is what Bibb wrote in the December 6 Courier:

"But White did not appear before the Platform Committee of the Republican Party either for the NAACP or in behalf of the 'fifty-four' other groups. Great liberals like Governor Dewey, Senator Ives, Senator Lodge and Governor Driscoll are members of the GOP, but that did not register with White."

The facts — to which several thousand people in Bibb's own town of Chicago as well as reputable citizens who were in Chicago at the time can testify to — are these:

I went to Chicago on June 3 from the NAACP Annual Conference in Oklahoma City, accompanied by Roy Wilkins, Clarence Mitchell and Henry Lee Moon. At 10:30 a.m. on July 1 we met in the Morrison Hotel for several hours with authorized spokesmen for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. At 2:30 p.m. we appeared, Mr Bibb to the contrary notwithstanding, before the GOP Platform Committee. (It wasn't much of a committee, having been named at the last moment when we showed up insisting on being heard on the civil rights issue.)

There was not even a table upon which witnesses could place their documents. When Governor Harold Stassen, who was the first witness, had to make his presentation without a lectern and with his posterior smack against spectators in the first row of the crowded North Ballroom of the Conrad Hilton Hotel, I personally brought in a table for the convenience of succeeding witnesses.

Incidentally, Bibb, who lives in Chicago didn't bother to put in an appearance at the hearings before either the Republican or the Democratic Platform Committees. I did.

Now it seems he didn't bother even to read the newspapers or report of our appearance. Nor listen to the radio and television reports of our appearance. Nor attend nor read the newspaper accounts of the Operations Civil Rights dinner at the Sherman Hotel on July 2, 1952 when representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties spoke for their cause while I spoke "for the people."

How Bibb can be as uninformed on what actually happened under his very eyes, I leave to you. Elmer Henderson has bluntly repudiated Bibb's lie that "He (Henderson) reported that neither White, the '54' groups nor the CIO or any of the affiliates showed up."

One would assume that a responsible newspaper would require its employees to check their facts before printing their stories and opinions, if for no other reason than the laws of libel.

Another Courier writer, who is billed as that paper's "political expert," in the issue preceding Bibb's fantastically false statements, wrote that the NAACP's Washington Bureau had cost $200,000 during the first six months of 1951 when the truth is that it had not cost one-twentieth of that amount.

Such an attack on the faithful and brilliant work of Clarence Mitchell, Director of the Washington Bureau, in protecting the basic rights of 15,000,000 Negroes (including those of the Courier staff) is beneath contempt. Had it not been for the work of Mr. Mitchell and his very small staff, not as many Negroes would have twenty cents a week to buy the Courier as do buy it.

Bibb and his kind have the right to criticize Clarence Mitchell, "Democrats serving on the Board of Directors of the NAACP," its executive secretary the late Philip Murray, the 54 church, labor, minority and other organizations which are fighting in cooperation with the NAACP against mob murder, disfranchisement, job discrimination and second-class citizenship for Negroes —including Bibb. But those same people also have the right to demand of Bibb, John Clark and the editors of the Courier that they observe that most basic of journalistic ethics — to get the facts and abstain from lying.

Walter WHITE 31a

Eisenhower Promises To Work For End Of Filibustering In Senate

Perhaps it was because he knew that we, unlike ninety-five percent of his callers these days, did not want jobs, that General Eisenhower was as relaxed as he was when Arthur B. Spingarn, Dr. Channing H Tobias, Theodore Spaulding of Philadelphia and I called on him at the Commodore Hotel on Nov. 28.

Knowing the terrific pressures upon him as the President-elect, and particularly because of his impending trip to Korea, I had suggested in my telegram that he arrange the appointment at his own convenience.

The telegram was sent late Wednesday afternoon. Early Friday morning after the Thanksgiving holiday Arthur Vandenburg, jr., General Eisenhower's appointment secretary, telephoned me at home to say that the General could give us 45 minutes at 11:30 a.m.

Unfortunately, Ralph Bunche had to preside over an important meeting of his Trusteeship Committee at the UN and could not join us. And Judge Hastie was unable to get to New York in time.

If he harbored any feeling over the fact that most Negroes voted for Governor Stevenson instead of himself, General Eisenhower showed neither awareness nor resentment. After speaking in the warmest terms of Ralph Bunche, he laughed and said, "The only thing I've got against him is that he is a Democrat."

When I pointed out that because of his position Dr. Bunche was politically neutral he laughed again and remarked, "I've got more friends in the Democratic Party than in the Republican Party."

The President-elect talked with very great earnestness and with deep feeling about race prejudice in the United States, "It's a moral, social, political and economic question," he asserted, "and far too many people let themselves be blinded by the social angle and thereby do not think clearly about the other phase."

He asserted again, and again that he intends to use every bit of authority and whatever prestige or influence he possesses to get something done on the question. "I haven't promised any laws because I don't believe laws will do the job," he declared.

But he listened attentively, nodding his head in affirmation as Mr. Spingarn and Dr. Tobias pointed out that each of the gains of which the South today boasts had been bitterly fought by the South and had been made possible only by legal action and the campaigns for FEPC, anti-lynching and anti-poll legislation.

There are many statements he made off the record which indicate considerable growth on the part of the incoming president since he testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee four years ago on segregation in the armed services. It will be remembered that he at that time voiced the opinion that there was little which could be done affirmatively to abolish segregation.

He told us on Nov. 28 that the process of elimination of second-class citizenship must be stepped up because we as a nation can never be truly free and strong as long as a single individual can be kept in inferior status.

Most important of his statements was his determination to do whatever he could to achieve amendment of Senate Rule 22 dealing with filibusters. Quite correctly, he pointed out that there are limitations on what anyone of the three arms of government can do about the functioning of any other branch. But he assured us when we asked him to use his best efforts to effect amendment of the rules that he would do so.

We left the interview with the feeling that General Eisenhower wants to do the right thing. We also came away with the impression that although he has taken the time to inform himself on the race question, he does not, perhaps fortunately, realize the extent to which Southern Democrats and many members of his own party will go to prevent implementation of his undoubtedly strong convictions.

He told us that he knew that he would meet some defeats but he expected and is determined also to win victories.

We shall see what we shall see.

Walter WHITE

Segregationists Get Slap In Face As Truman Kills Jim Crow School Bill

(REPRINTED BY REQUEST)

The sheer arrogance of Southern members of Congress is matched only by the supineness on the issue of segregation of far too many Northern Republicans and Democrats. The latest instance of this was the affixing of an amendment to a federal aid to education bill during the last few days of the late and unlamented first session of the 82nd Congress to require segregation in schools on army posts and other federal territory in seventeen Southern states. The impudence of such action would be incredible, had not America learned how impudent the segregationists are. There is no question of "States' rights" involved because every penny of the funds for these schools for the children of members of the Armed Services is paid by the Federal Government.

But the segregationists cared nothing about that. They proceeded in roughshod fashion to impose—or attempt to impose—their will on the Federal Government, although no local moneys for education were envolved.

Fortunately, President Truman slapped down in his pocket veto of H. R. 5411, a bill to amend Public Laws 815 and 874 with respect to schools in critical defense housing areas and on military posts. In vetoing the message he declared: "Unfortunately, however, the Congress has included one provision in this bill which I cannot approve. This provision would require a group of schools on Federal property which are operating successfully on an integrated basis to be segregated. It would do so by requiring Federal schools on military bases and other Federal property to conform to the laws of the States in which such installations are located. This is a departure from the provisions of Public Laws 815 and 874, which required only that the education provided under these circumstances should be comparable to that available to other children in the State. The purpose of the proposed change is clearly to require that schools operated solely by the Federal Government on Federally-owned land, if located in any of seventeen States, shall be operated on a segregated basis 'to the maximum extent practicable.'

"This proposal, if enacted into law, would constitute a backward step in the efforts of the Federal Government to extend equal rights and opportunities to all our people. During the past few years, we have made rapid progress toward equal treatment and opportunity in those activities of the Federal Government where we have a direct responsibility to follow national rather than local interpretations of non-discrimination. Two outstanding examples are the Federal civil service and our armed forces, where important advances have been made toward equalizing treatment and opportunity."

It is a pity that the President did not stop there. Instead, he added: "Not every school operated on a Federal reservation has been integrated. It is never our purpose to insist on integration without considering pertinent local factors; but it is the duty of the Federal Government to move forward in such locations and in such fields of activity as seem best and appropriate under individual conditions and circumstances."

The educational need is so great in connection with the expanding armed services and defense activities that the bill will be brought up again when Congress reconvenes in January. Here is one effective and immediate job voters can do. Try to see their congressmen and senators while they are at home and obtain pledges, preferably in writing, that they will be on the lookout and will not let the Southerners slip over another piece of trickery like this again.

Walter WHITE

Civil Rights Is Big Hurdle On White House Road For Kefauver

Estes Kefauver of Tennessee is a symbol of the changing political order so far as both the Negro and the South are concerned.

Since the emergence of the Negro vote as the potential balance of power in various key states following the defeat of John J. Parker in 1931, the belief has been established that no Southerner could possibly be elected president of the United States.

Slippery Jimmy Byrnes tried to slip in through the back door in 1944 by seeking and almost capturing the vice presidential nomination at the Chicago convention, figuring, as was later proved correct, that President Roosevelt would not live out a fourth term.

But the Negro and labor vote—especially the former—stopped his bid cold which explains in large measure Byrnes' present vindictiveness.

And now Senator Kefauver comes forward to challenge the assumption that no candidate who comes from below the line can win nomination or election. The odds against success for the Tennessean are tremendous.

Aside from the fact that he is a Southerner, his state is unimportant politically. Tough-minded politicians are ever mindful of the necessity of picking candidates from states such as New York, Illinois, California or Pennsylvania whose large number of electoral votes play a decisive role. Neither are they prone to choose standard bearers from one-party states or sections but instead from places where there is a reasonable balance between the two major parties.

But when these and other practical political considerations are put aside, there is real significance in Mr. Kefauver's announcement on Jan. 23 that he is a candidate for the presidency—and not the vice presidency—whatever President Truman decides to do.

The soft-spoken Tennessean is a man of great personal charm and magnetism. He is in no sense of the word a "typical Southerner." From occasional talks with him dating back to his days in the House of Representatives I have become convinced that he is opposed to every form of racial or religious bigotry.

He has chosen Nathan Straus—who fought and won much of his fight against discrimination and segregation in public housing when he headed the National Housing Administration and was crucified by Southerners and real estate interests for doing so—as the treasurer of the Kefauver campaign.

Senator Kefauver's very intelligent and handsome wife was born in Scotland, the daughter of the builder of the Cunard liners, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. She does not appear to have absorbed any of the racial mores and practices of Tennessee.

But Senator Kefauver's biggest hurdle is civil rights. Upon that rock his political ship will either crack up or make it a firm and courageous mooring post. The Illinois primary contest between himself and any opponent who gives all-out, honest support to the civil rights program may tell the tale of the Kefauver political fortunes, circa 1952.

That he realizes this fact and, even more important, that it reflects what he really would like to do, Mr. Kefauver stated frankly in announcing his candidacy that although he is personally opposed to a compulsory FEPC, he will support such a step if it is included in his party's platform. (Which is considerably more than is true of Mr. Taft and his party's pledge.)

Senator Kefauver's voting record on civil rights measures, with one notable exception, is bad. He did vote for the Barkley ruling on cloture on March 11, 1949. Had that ruling been upheld instead of defeated, there possibly would

never have been a Wherry-Hayden "compromise" cloture rule.

But on the other side are these blots on his record which must be cleansed before Negroes or anyone else interested in civil rights can vote for him. He voted against the Lucas amendment which sought to eliminate the Russell Amendment providing for segregation in the armed services. He voted for the Wherry-Hayden compromise cloture rule on March 17, 1949. He voted against cloture twice in 1950—on May 19 and July 12 on the FEPC. He voted for the Lodge-Gossett Amendment on February 1, 1950, which amendment would have materially reduced the balance of power of the Negro vote.

Even more significant is the Tennessean's unequivocal opposition to the filibuster. If that evil instrument of bigotry is ended as it must and will be eventually, the overwhelming majority of senators who for one reason or another favor FEPC, strengthening of the federal civil rights statutes, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation will be able to vote for and pass such measures.

His timorous position on FEPC would appear to be a hostage given to the fortunes of Southern Democratic political realties. It would seem that at least for the time being, Mr. Kefauver does not want to bring down on his head the furiously phony wrath of the Dixiecrats, which is the chief stock in trade of the anti-Trumanites.

But he is wise and morally decent enough to know that no candidate, particularly if he comes from the South, can hope to win without the enthusiastic support of racial and religious minorities in pivotal states. And he is realist enough to know that only an unequivocal position on civil rights will win that support.

Walter WHITE

'I Led Three Lives' Recommended As Worthwhile Reading For All

"Even though they (the Communists) campaigned vigorously and quite openly, I knew of only one Negro in the Cambridge community who was persuaded to become a member of the Young Communist League," writes Herbert A. Philbrick in I LED THREE LIVES, the story of the Boston advertising man who for nine years lived as a Communist while serving as counterspy for the FBI.

This seems to corroborate the political acumen of American Negroes which was set forth more specifically by Wilson Record in his brilliant THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE NEGRO (University of North Carolina Press) and by Father William A. Nolan in COMMUNISM VERSUS THE NEGRO (Henry Regnery Co.).

I LED THREE LIVES is significant, not because of its revelations of the abortive attempts to capitalize on the Boston Negro's problems of housing and employment discrimination, but more particularly because it reveals the political naivete of the average American.

On the more affirmative side it reveals the often vague but fundamental dissatisfaction of Americans with the status quo. John Doe and Mary Roe at first are exhilarated by acquisition, often on the installment plan, of automobiles and television sets and washing machines. But the novelty doesn't last long.

The eagerly desired conveniences which are both desirable for themselves and as a yardstick of equality with or superiority over neighbors soon become accepted as no more than one deserves. An undetermined void remains because the so-called average American suffers from a sense of insecurity and futility which sometimes leads him into joining organizations such as America First, the Ku Klux Klan, the Communist Party, the Dixiecrats, the Chamber of Commerce, the Catholic or some other church or religious movement like Father Divine's, or a local 'neighborhood improvement association."

Herbert Philbrick's book, much of which has been widely syndicated in approximately a hundred newspapers across the nation, is the amazingly revealing narrative of such an American.

Inherently decent, happily married, he stumbled into a nest of intrigue which appeared at first to offer some fuzzy way out of the blind alley of existence into which he felt vaguely inprisoned.

Somehow or other Philbrick seemed to turn to the FBI more out of revulsion against the cold-blooded cynicism of the Communists than out of loyalty. Which is not to be wondered at in view of the doctrinaire, cops-and-robbers asininity of the comrades ranging all the way from plug-ugly, loud talking operatives from General Electric plants to soft-voiced intellectuals from Harvard.

I suggest you read I LED THREE LIVES to learn how devious and deceptive are the methods by which innocent dupes, honestly outraged by racial and economic an political injustices, are persuaded to join or support Communist or Communist-front organizations which are shrewdly used to achieve ends other than the ones publicized as the objectives of the groups.

By so doing you will learn the techniques and thereby know which organizations you can wholeheartedly support.

The most valuable contribution which Mr. Philbrick makes is his exposition of the mortal harm done by blundering agencies such as the House Un-American Activities Committee and such individuals as Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin.

The current and exceedingly perilous practice of damning a man through "guilt by association" by which entire organizations are blacklisted "because of the presence of a few Communists" is characterized by Mr. Philbrick, somewhat temperately, as a menace which "frequently harms innocent persons."

Although Mr. Philbrick studiously avoids mentioning Senator McCarthy by name, there is no doubt he has the Wisconsin Senator in mind in pointing out the enormous aid given to Communists by irresponsible buck shot charges that every person who is even mildly concerned about human rights and human decency must automatically be classified as a Communist."

I LED THREE LIVES is well worth reading if you want to keep abreast of the tortuous paths in which the feet of frightened men who seek a way out of contemporary complexities tend to travel. It will help you to know who to trust and who not to trust when strange people come to you to enlist you in various causes. McGraw-Hill publishes the book and the price is $3.50.

This makes it all the more important that, despite setbacks and difficulties, those who do think straight and who have pride enough to resent caricature must continue to voice their protests against discrimination.

Until that is done those who want to sell their products to Negroes will continue to think of them as a childlike race willing to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage.

Walter WHITE

Why Disparaging Shows Like 'Amos And Andy' Can Stay On The Air

Would you be interested in a peek behind the scenes which may explain in part how opinion of the Negro is sometimes formed? Perhaps it would be more accurate to say malformed.

Several weeks ago Arthur Spingarn, Thurgood Marshall and I were talking to a distinguished and sincere New York woman. With flaming eyes she exclaimed:

"Last night by accident at the home of a friend I saw the televised 'Amos 'n' Andy' program. It is the most disgusting and cruel libel on a race I have ever seen. Hitler and Goebbles never created anything against the Jews like this distorted caricature of colored people. The harm done to the minds of millions of children is incalculable. Isn't there anything folks like me can do?"

We told her of the campaign which has been conducted to persuade, with conspicuous lack of success, Blatz Beer and the Schenley company to replace the obnoxious show with a more accurate picturization of the Negro.

"You might write your views to Lewis Rosentiel," we suggested, "although he has failed to answer numerous other letters which have been written him. Because of your prominence he might reply to you."

She did write but received no answer. Another friend of hers who shared her resentment and who knew Mr. Rosenstiel socially wrote him. This time a reply came. It was as bewildering as it was preposterous.

Mr. Rosenstiel wrote—or someone wrote for him—a lengthy and facile letter in which he quoted from letters written him by certain colored actors and a few other Negroes praising and thanking him for giving employment to some forty Negro actors and actresses.

He laid heavy emphasis on quotations from two or three colored newspapers which were favorable to the "Amos 'n' Andy" show. Most of them, incidentally, were written prior to the nation-wide resentment to the program.

Of course, since he was pleading his own cause and not that of the opposition, there was no reference to the far larger volume of epistolatory and newspaper disapproval which he, Blatz Beer, the Schenley company and the Weinberg advertising agency had received, nor that which had poured into the Columbia Broadcasting system.

What is both important and regrettable is that enough commendation of the objectionable television show was put in writing by Negroes, for one reason or another, to make a plausible case for its sponsors.

Had not the New York woman been so well informed through long years of contact with the

Fortunately, knowing better, she believed it is a step forward.

has made her objection to the Negro or who do not know any better or will do anything which would earn money.

Down on Beale

By NAT D. WILLIAMS

Wise men's rules
Are forged on tools
Called fools!

—Swilly

* * *

Should We Forget?

The death of Hattie McDaniel, outstanding Negro cinema, radio and TV actress, had its repercussion on Beale Street.

Beale Streeters' reactions to the announcement of the popular star's demise were perhaps typical of those of brethren of the colored persuasion most everywhere in the country. They greeted the news with mixed feelings.

Some of the guys expressed the view that the white folk had lost another instrument used to carve out their patterns of superiority and butter their ego.

Other fellahs voiced the notion that the amusement world had lost one of its sprightliest comediennes . . . a witty woman who used her histrionic gifts to lend a weary world a much-needed chuckle or so.

A third group of articulate battlers on the racial front maintained that Miss McDaniel's passing marked the beginning of the end of an entertainment era . . . much like the passing of the black-face slap-sticker of the old-time minstrel days. Their sigh of relief was directed more at the era, rather than over the death of a transitory artist, however talented.

And last, but not least, there was the voice of the turtle . . . the little guy who was grateful that a Negro . . . a Negro woman . . . could scale the heights of artistic recognition to the point of earning a coveted Academy Award "Oscar" despite the roles she had to accept in order to win it.

The big question on Beale Street is still being debated . . . whether or not Hattie McDaniels rates a special niche in the memory halls of entertainment-loving Beale Streeters along with such idols as Bessie Smith, Bill Robinson, Bert Williams, and a host of other sepia show folk. Should she be forgotten? Or should a "Beulah" statue be in order in her honor?

* * *

This, Too, Shall Pass

From the Corner's listening post, it's a complicated situation. Hattie McDaniels had to travel the low road to fame and fortune. She had not only the handicap of race, but also the "drawbacks" of size, weight, hair, texture and pigmentation. She wasn't a "femme fatale" by the slide rule for feminent beauty and allure used among the black, brown, and beige brethren whom circumstances forced to call her "sister." But she had something that the white world could use. So Sam had to take it and like it . . . or lump it.

And there was a vociferous fringe of "your folks" who definitely advocated "lumping it." They protested the types of roles in which Miss McDaniels was cast . . . even while tuning in on her shows. They numbered her as a too-prominent symbol of the type of Negro performer whom they would prefer not to have around. They classed her among those who lend aid and comfort to the white folk's mental stereotypes of what Negroes are . . . and should be.

With a degree of logic and much force to their arguments they stated their case against the American entertainment pattern . . . which up until very recently . . . has persisted in portraying Negroes as hoofers (dancers), blues shouters, han't-fearing clowns, ministerial mountebanks, tray-jugglers, personal maids, field hands and convicts.

They maintain that all Negroes can't dance . . . that doleful and ribald songs don't flow spontaneously from all Afric lips . . . that gleeful grins are not etched in every ebony face . . . and that blues music is not in every black man's soul . . . But they have had some rough going trying to make the moguls of make-believe accept their views.

They've been rudely reminded that the dollar is mightier than a disagreement . . . that bulging box-offices stem from brimming box-seats . . . that the tastes of America's white majority carry more weight than the nation's multi-colored minority's desire for dignity. Appeals to Negro artists themselves were for the most part largely ignored. After all, the crackle of a fistful of new folding money sounds more like thunder than the carping cackle of "long hairs" who wish they had it.

So, most of the protesting fringe in the colored world have just had to retire to the sidelines and wait for Nature to take its course. At long last they are beginning to believe they see a faint streak of dawn on the curtain of their dark night.

* * *

But Is It So?

On the other hand, though, the Corner wonders if a lot of your folks are altogether logical in their positions?

After all, the Hattie McDaniels type of Negro performers, entertainers and actors have served a purpose . . . and still do. They have opened and still open doors. Like the traditional rainbow-hued washerwoman whose earnings paved her son's way to his medical office, the Negro actors who accept roles which don't flatter the race are making a substantial contribution to Sam's progress despite the weight of a system.

At least most of them haven't tried to escape from the Negro race. The majority of them don't go around adopting French and Mexican orphans . . . in the face of so many little Negro waifs drifting about blown by the winds. Leastwise, that ain't the way the Corner's heard it.

The Corner has the sneaking suspicion that most of the brethren put too much responsibility on Negroes who emerge from the barrel. Why should a top-flight Negro dancer or singer, or talker, be expected to display the statesmanship of Fred Douglass, the diplomacy of Ralph Bunche, and the erudition of Du-Bois? The Corner can't see how a powerful man with his fists or a good man with a bat can be called upon to display the sociological insight of a Dr. Charles Johnson . . . and do a good job of it. It just ain't human.

Too many of God's chillun persist in expecting every talented member of their ranks to show all the attributes of a Messiah. After all, who said that colored folk were going to produce a Moses anyhow? Maybe they should be looking for John Henry.

One wonders if it's so that Negro performers and actors are just about as human as those of other races . . . and have the right to exploit their talents to their own best advantage. The sneaking suspicion lingers that a whole flock of the sepia swing clan thinks so.

* * *

Can You Blame 'Em?

And furthermore, one might facetiously ask, "What right do Negroes have to expect or claim anything from the overwhelming bulk of their racial co-plaintiffs who achieve distinction on a big-time scale?"

It's a startingly bald fact that the vast majority of "your folks" who do make the grade on the big-time of any field of endeavor . . . who get into the big chips of fame and pelf, ordinarily reserved for folk of other hues . . . do so with with little, if any, help from the "brethren."

Negroes traditionally fail to recognize greatness or distinguish talent and achievement among their own membe[illegible]ntil Mister Charlie calls it [illegible]ne of the greatest actors, [illegible]rs, athletes, or what-have-you have "wasted their sweetness on the desert air" of Negro acceptance, and have shuffled off the mortal coil, unwept, unhonored and unsung by the lips of Sam.

Funny as it sounds . . . black parrots don't see each other's fine feathers until some white parrot plucks one out. Now whatchubet . . . heh, heh, heh, heh!

Wonder if there will be any "Oscar" coming up from your folk for Hattie McDaniels? Or do God's chillun erect statues for each other? Suh?

WRIGHT ANGLES by THOMAS H. WRIGHT

Another wall came a tumbling down a few short weeks ago when the Chicago Yellow Cab Company began to hire Negro taxi drivers. There are now 150 Negro drivers in Yellow Cabs. The results of their first few weeks' work is all good news.

Mr. Benjamin Samuels, the President of the Yellow Cab Company has just written this in a letter to me. "Up to this writing, we have not received one complaint from the thousands of passengers handled by these men as to lack of courtesy. We have received no complaints that any of these men has refused to take passengers to their destination promptly, which has proved to be the most common complaint which we have received against our white drivers and also the driving of the men themselves has proved just as efficient as our other group."

How about their earnings? Well, Mr. Samuels says this "From reports which come to us based on the amount of business these men are doing, we find that many of them are doing much better than some of their associates in the same garage who are white drivers."

And how has the taxi-riding public taken this new Yellow Cab policy? The Cab company was all primed to have at least a few prejudiced people object. But only one complaining letter an anonymous letter — has been received criticizing the Yellow Cab Company for hiring Negroes. The people of Chicago approve of fair employment pactices.

Here again we have the kinder garten lesson on discrimination When a man is deprived of a job because of his color everyone loses. Not only the man whose skill and energy is thus wasted, but the employe who loses the profit from his work, the public who loses the advantage of his services. And the biggest loss of all is to the cause of democracy, which can only thrive when men have free and equal opportunity.

So let's finish the problem in arithmetic. You give a man a job he can do. You don't ask if he has pink fingernails or a red beard. Just can he do the job. If he can, he's going to make his best wage on that job. He's going to lift the production quota wherever he's working. He's going to be a good customer for the things other people are making. Best of all, he's going to be a working partner — a Class A citizen — in the U. S. A.

Time after time I have seen employers — well meaning employers — move toward the hiring of Negroes with a certain amount of fear. They feared their other employees would object; they feared the public would object. Only rarely have these fears actually proved to be justified. Most of the time the hiring of Negroes in jobs where they've never been hired before has caused little or no stir. The greatest trouble lay in the fear of trouble.

Mr. Benjamin Samuels of the Yellow Cab Company is only the most recent executive to learn that skin color has nothing to do with a man's working ability. Right now he is pleased and happy with the fine results of a non-discriminatory hiring policy. Other executives will get the same results from the same formula, and more and more barriers will crash to the ground.

Congratulations to the Yellow Cab Company and to the 150 new Negro drivers who are making such a good record during their first weeks' work.

WRIGHT ANGLES by THOMAS H. WRIGHT

NAIRO, What's That?

The spawning of organizations is an everyday unimportant occurrence in the United States. I helped to start one the other day— "Nicotine Nobodies". Any guy can join who stops smoking cigarettes. And many organizations have their anniversaries without too much reason for existence.

But recently, I sat in on the conventions of an organization which has come of age. The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, meeting in Detroit, Mich. That is a long name, so we shorten it up alphabetically to NAIRO.

Its members are the professional people holding down the jobs in Employment Practices agencies, Mayor's Committees on Human Relations, the city and state-wide citizens' organizations called Civic Unity Councils or Community Councils and the old line agencies, such as the private Jewish and Negro organizations and other civic agencies engaged in Human Relations work.

Some five years ago, a handful of these people came together in Chicago and formed NAIRO. In Detroit this past fall, the Fifth Annual Convention had well over 200 registered delegates.

They came from almost every state in the union, and from the territories. For three days, these delegates analyzed problem areas in Intergroup Relations, shared experiences, skills and intelligence gained from dealing with intergroup problems, and sought to define more clearly the philosophy and objectives of professional men and women engaged full-time in Human Relations work.

The title of the major discussions was "The Unfinished Business of Democracy." The areas of interest of the delegates were: 1) Non-segregated and non-discriminating in Housing, public and private, 2) Fair Employment practices, and 3) Action-Research on Human Relations problems.

In each of these areas, experts presented the problem and discussion sections made further analyses and conclusions.

One entire evening session was given over to a presentation of the impact of American Intergroup Relations problems upon our International Relations by Francis H. Russell, Director, Office of Public Affairs, U. S. State Department. A very hard-hitting discussion period laid bare the specifics of how our interracial difficulties here at home, such as Cicero, lose us friends and influence people against us in every part of the world.

Mr. Russell very frankly stated that the way we treat our minorities in America is the greatest single barrier to good relations between the United States of America and most of the world.

When the American Council on Race Relations was in existence, NAIRO was serviced by the secretary of that organization. When the American Council folded, many thought NAIRO would not be able to walk alone, it had been wet-nursed so long.

But, NAIRO did not fold. It cut its program to fit the fund available from its members and interested Human Relations agencies. During 1951, NAIRO REPORTER was published, presenting each month a record of significant happenings in the field.

At the Detroit Convention, it was evident that a solid core of professional people had been drawn together on a permanent basis.

The Convention proceedings were at a high professional level, and the kind of program adopted by the Executive Board was designed to develop a constantly higher standard of performance by professional workers in the field of Human Relations.

The permanent organization of a National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials is a sign in itself that significant gains are being made in the solution of America's problems of Intergroup Relations.

RALPH

McGILL

Constitution

The Negro Answers Russia

Today, as the Soviet newspapers and radio play up the racial news from the United States, giving to every stupid klan episode an importance it does not possess, repeating over and over with willful distortation the wicked, occasional acts of violence, and seeking to cause all the free nations of the world to believe that in the United States terror and cruelty is the constant lot of all persons of color, it is necessary that all persons of good will assist in putting the picture in balance. Fortunately, a number of Negroes, speaking in Europe, are assisting in this field.

To begin with, Negro leadership establishes as a premise that despite improvements the American Negro is not satisfied and will not be until equal opportunity is obtained, but that they are first of all Americans and will seek progress within the framework of their democratic governments, national and state. They, therefore, refuse to be duped by the Communists

Story

The "picture" given by these American Negroes to Europe is about this:

There are in America about 15,000,000 Negroes, making up about 15 per cent of the population. That exceeds that of any foreign-born population group.

At the time o freedom, in 1865, about 96 per cent of the Negroes in the United States were illiterate. Today a good 95 per cent can read and write and the hunger of the Negro for education is marked. In New York City, for example, the literacy of the Negro population is of a higher percentage than that of the foreign-born white population.

The American Negro, for all his difficulty with entrance into higher educational institutions, nonetheless has more opportunity than the average Englishman. Of the 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States there are 128,000 enrolled in American colleges and universities. Of the more than 50,000,000 persons in Britain only 85,000 young men and women are enrolled in universities.

Progress has been marked in the South. Today there are only five Southern States in which Negroes are not admitted to state universities in at least some of the graduate courses. In 1910 there were only 42 Negro high schools in the South. Today there are 2,500. The value of Negro schools in the South was less than $80,000,000 in 1940. Today it is above $150,000,000. Negro professors are regular faculty members in more than 70 Northern universities.

Wealth

What the peoples of Europe find most difficult to believe is that of the 15,000,000 Negroes, almost 900,000 own their own homes, farmers hold title to more than 12,000,000 acres of land, and that Negroes have accumulated more than $5 billion in savings.

Two hundred Negro insurance companies and banks have assets of more than $100,000,000.

American Negroes own approximately 1,500,000 automobiles, which is a higher ratio of ownership than exists in England and probably is higher than in any European country

While a national FEPC has failed of enactment, there are already 11 states and 21 cities which have adopted legislation seeking to guarantee equal employment opportunity.

Labor unions are not free of discrimination, yet almost 1,500,000 Negroes now belong to them and receive equal pay. Some are officers of these organizations.

In business, Negro ownership also runs around a value of $100,000,000, and includes almost every field of private enterprise. These include more than 200 newspapers, all free to say what they wish.

One of the greatest diplomatic triumphs of our generation belongs to a Negro, Dr. Ralph Bunche. He was also winner of the Nobel peace prize.

These are some of the things which belong in the picture being given Europe by Negroes—who do not exclude such things as the Cicero race riots, in Illinois, the murder of a Negro leader in Florida, and the occasional acts of mob violence.

They are also doing a good job for all of us by telling this story of why the American Negro is a loyal American working for the full promise of his country, untouched in any degree by Communist propaganda.

RALPH

McGILL

A Warming Experience

Recently I had a pleasant duty of sponsoring a Southern visit of eight days by five foreign newspaper and magazine men, who are employed by the United States Information Service in their respective countries — India, Egypt, and Iran. Each of these countries is harassed by internal troubles and certain elements of anti-American opinion.

I learned and confirmed certain things from this experience. One of these I should have known. It is that many of those organizations, agencies and individuals who are most eloquent about international good will and the necessity of "peoples becoming better acquainted," are not at all interested save theoretically. If it is to cost them any money, to interfere with their daily routine, or be of any bother, they cannot be found. Presumably they are busy preparing resolutions, speeches or essays on the necessity of improved understanding and mutual international good will. Yet another group was fearful of participating because some of the writers might be a little too dark.

While all these things wounded me, I soon healed, and was immediately impatient with myself for not having known that this was an inevitable part of the whole. There are always those to whom words, resolutions, chairmanships and high-sounding, warming phrases are everything. And they are, I suspect, better than nothing.

Co-operation

What inspired me was the other side of the picture—those who enthusiastically rallied around. A progressive farming community took them in, showed them a rural church service, gave them a luncheon, and staged a fine soil conservation demonstration. This insight into something outside the urban centers was a high spot for them.

Two large banks entertained them with luncheons, a textile plant visit, and sought to explain the growth of the South's economy. A large corporation devoted a day to sight-seeing and a luncheon. Still another businessman and his wife supplied transport for an all-day journey to Warm Springs, Ga., for a visit to the National Foundation and the little White House. They also entertained them at their summer cottage near the famous Roosevelt home. A local discussion group had them to dinner and gave them an entertaining evening. A businessman had them and other friends to dinner at one of the Jewish clubs. I was especially glad of this because two of the men were Egyptians and there is at present a state of crisis between Egypt and Israel. The hotel at which they stopped made them a good, and helpful rate. The Yellow Cab Co. also showed them unusual courtesies in providing transport. The school superintendent took them to see schools for both races. They twice had dinner at a private home.

Propaganda

They had heard, of course, the Russian propaganda about racial violence in the South. It seemed to me important they be given every opportunity to see what they desired, and to have a free opportunity to ask questions.

They spent almost an entire afternoon alone with the editor and managing editor of a Negro newspaper, and with a leading Negro political leader.

What impressed them most with the Negroes was something the average Southerner, and perhaps the average American, entirely overlooks. It is that the American Negro is the only nationalistic minority in the world whose vigorous nationalism is devoted to integrating themselves in their own country—and not to setting up a separate, nationalistic status. It is a nationalism devoted entirely to Americanism.

They learned, from Negroes, that the Communist picture of racial violence and injustice in the South is false. They did not understand or approve the complex pattern of segregation, but they were convinced of progress. They will be able to refute Communist propaganda because they have seen. They also will go home with a greater respect for American intent and a belief in our desire for peace. That, too, will assist in refuting Communist propaganda to the contrary in their countries.

It was, all in all, a warming experience.

McGILL

'Our Vices Run On F'river'

Mr. Dooley, in commenting on liquor, once said:

"Whin ye take it ye want more. But that's th' throuble with ivry-thing ye take. If we get power we want more power; if we get money we want more money. Our vices run on f'river. Our virchues, Hinnisy, is what me friend Doc Casey calls self-limitin'."

"Oh, well," said Mr. Hennessy, "we ar're as th' Lord made us."

"No," said Mr. Dooley, "lave us be fair. Lave us take some of the blame oursilves."

I thought of this wisdom from Mr. Dooley when considering the Southern political scene. One may see how even politicians, who have hardened ideas and traditions into dogmatic positions, through excess uses of power, are occasionally troubled. Humility flies out the window when dogmas replace ideas, and so the solemn contradictions of some of the Southern politicians have been entertaining.

For a good eight years, and more, some of the Southern political leaders have been throwing raw meat from their balconies to the faithful below, keeping them in a truculent, obedient state of mind so that a lion-roar sound has been coming out of the South, year on year. This raw meat has been the agitation of civil rights, creeping socialism, Truman and "big city machines" and so on.

Back Home

Two things happened. At the Democratic convention it was demonstrated that the big city machines could not take over. Some of them tried and lost. Truman didn't figure in it. The Southern states joined in strategy and achieved a compromise which is more to their satisfaction than they admit to the electorate.

And then they came back home and ran headlong into the facts of life.

Their immediate following was, as they had left it, growling and roaring and, fed by the raw meat flung to them from Chicago and the convention floor, was in mood to go off the reservation as previously urged and promised.

It was necessary to prescribe generously of soothing syrup as the growling was rather loud. Their leaders, especially in South Carolina and Mississippi, had to walk very delicately, giving their patients sedatives and telling them that maybe a month or two from now they would be put back on a raw meat political diet, but that right now soothing syrup was preferred.

Some of these were so used to a steady diet of raw meat they refused the soothing syrup and continued growling, but even so, the leadership reduced the sound in their states from roars to purrs, interrupted by only occasional snarls.

This gives the statesmen time to think things out. They will note that Sen. K. D. McKellar has been defeated in Tennessee and they will know that this moves Sen. Walter George to the number one seniority spot in the Senate and places two more Democrats, Carl Hayden of New Mexico and Richard B. Russell of Georgia in the second and third positions, with others from the Southern states crowding close behind.

Meaning

If the Democrats win in November, then the South will be more than ever before in control of the Congress. Southern politicians are just as pragmatic as those of any other region, and they will think hard on this. It may cause them to go to work to carry their states for the party. If this is their decision, as it well may be, they will have to order several more drums of soothing syrup and eliminate raw meat from the diet.

The Southern leadership ran into something else, too.

They had to call on Mr. Truman and the administration for help for the farmers, drought stricken and in need. That was a call on creeping socialism, since it was one of those Fair Deal and New Deal pieces of legislation set up to provide aid in such emergencies. They didn't hesitate—they called for help, forgetting, as was proper, all about their former accusations of socialistic measures.

And some farmers noted that, too.

McGILL

The National Blood Pressure

A lot of contemplative eyes are watching the Southern Democrats as they hold up somewhat reluctant hands and answer "here" in the party roll call.

It has significance and meaning beyond results in November.

There are a lot of reasons why this nation fought a Civil War. Almost as many explanations have been advanced for it as the decline and fall of the Roman empire.

But there was one final, basic cause.

The Civil War came because the American people for the first time in their history refused to abide by the results of a national election.

Had it been possible (and the pity is it was not possible) to hang about ten agitators on each side of that controversy, the war would have been averted.

Under the whiplash of constant and emotional agitation from within and from the North, much of the Southern leadership was led to say that if the voters of the nation elected a Republican president it would not abide by the result.

The war came—and whatever the many reasons—it could not have come had the results of the election been accepted.

Healthy

That is why the recent Democratic convention was so healthy. In time everyone will come to see that it was a very good thing for the party and for the nation, that there was so bitter a fight over the loyalty pledge. It also was a cathartic to have the three Southern states outside the fold, and then to take them back in a frenzy of tears, anger and practical conclusions.

But even more beneficial for the party and the nation is the fact that Southern leaders who were willing to walk out in 1948, and who went to Chicago in 1952 with chips on their shoulders, have brought themselves back into the party.

In time all but the willful blind will see that the so-called "loyalty pledge," however unworthy its intent or the motives of its sponsors, was productive of a good result. It called attention to the fact that some states had in fact adopted laws which would have made it possible to deprive the people of those states of a choice between the two great parties. Therein lay the undisputed evil of it—the nullification of the two-party system.

And so, while angers have not disappeared, and while resistance and disagreement remain undiminished, leaders in the states are saying, as South Carolina's James Byrnes said on Wednesday, "It is wrong not to allow the nominees to go on the ballot."

Intact

And of course it is.

So, the two-party system remains intact. To be sure, there are wounds and unresolved differences, but it holds.

And the nation will accept the result of the November election without any question whatsoever.

The only time we refused to do that, we had a Civil War.

There is also other evidence of health.

We accepted compromise. Four years from now we should be better able to work out more necessary compromise. When we can't do that, then the two-party system will fall to pieces and there will appear groups which will seek to deny election results.

Eight years ago there was wild opposition to anti-lynch and anti-polltax legislation. Today there isn't. Opposition now is centered almost entirely on what is called FEPC—a fair employment practices law. The radicals against it and for it don't want it settled. It is for them, the extremists, North and South, a handy political vehicle.

In time we will have some sort of law in that field. It will not be those now proposed. But if we can keep down the agitators on both sides we will have some sort of law preventing discrimination in employment simply because Americans are, if allowed to exercise their native commonsense, a fair-minded, decent people who want to do what is right and who believe in fair play.

So, the two great parties look, and are, healthier and stronger. That means the nation is.

RALPH

McGILL

Will We Vote Rights Away?

Let's talk facts — calmly and without rancor.

The proposed county unit amendment, Number One, is wicked and wrong, and not merely because it does make some persons' votes worth from two to 22 times more than others.

And it does apply to the general election. Only nominees of the system can run for your votes in the general election. If that doesn't apply the unit system to the general election, then Joe Stalin sings in the Sunday school choir.

Stalin, incidentally, would like this amendment. He uses just the same sort of policies to keep Russians in political chains. Huey Long used them, too, to rule Louisiana by depriving its people of political freedom. It is a desperate attempt, by the group in power, to steal the state and perpetuate themselves in power.

The Republican Party in Georgia ought to be out fighting this amendment hard. How can they organize a Republican Party in 159 counties to meet the demands of this evil amendment?

The people of Georgia, if they value their freedom of choice, must wake up and fight, since it also deprives any independent candidate of a right to be on the ballot.

Perpetuates Power

The administration lusts for it because it would perpetuate its power through its existing county organizations for generations to come.

That's why the state administration is fighting for it. That's why it is threatening political blackmail in loss of roads and patronage by demanding of the county ordinaries the list of poll workers and voters. The threat of reprisal is plain and unmistakable.

Attorney-General Cook's shocking threat to reduce the larger counties to one vote brings clearly into the open the cancerous evil of this wicked scheme.

It is unthinkable—but if we do not wake up to the facts we may lose that freedom—we and our children, too.

They try to conceal the facts.

But they can't!

If it is a Negro issue why then hasn't Mississippi or South Carolina or Alabama adopted such a law?

Why is Georgia the only state in the union with such a law? Of course, they say Maryland, but it is not the same. Not at all the same. Why is Georgia the only one with such a law?

Has it helped us in the past?

The administration argues "the big city machine." There isn't any in Georgia, save, perhaps, in Richmond and Chatham counties, and they have been demonstrated to lack absolute power.

Chiefly, the administration argues about Tennessee and Ed Crump.

Well, let's see.

What states have we studied to learn how to progress?

Garbled Facts

Tennessee and North Carolina have had the most attention. Our legislative committees have gone there and studied their progress in roads, schools, agriculture and industry.

Yet, the administration, in the next breath, says that Tennessee is a horrible example of what big city machines and Ed Crump will do to a state.

Finally, the Negro population is decreasing in the South. South Georgia must see that and surely will not be put in chains. North Georgia which has almost no Negroes, will surely go in mass to vote against the Amendment One —which would disfranchise them.

The "Nigger, Nigger" issue is a false one. The Negro doesn't vote as a bloc unless he is beat over the head and made to do so. It isn't nearly the bloc the Talmadge bloc is. Let's not be fooled by the "Nigger, Nigger" issue.

A Georgian who wants his remaining years to be politically free—and who wants his children to have a political voice—will vote against the monstrous unit Amendment One on November 4.

RALPH

McGILL

Adlai Talks Sense to South

WITH ADLAI STEVENSON, Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 11—Here, where the gaunt old ghost of Old Hickory still stalks, and where Sam Houston grew to manhood and fame, and the memory of him and the old Indian and frontier fighters who followed both still lives, Adlai Stevenson thrilled and inspired a great Southern audience with a major speech about the Democratic Party and the South.

This amazing man from Illinois repeated what he had said in that matchless acceptance speech in the huge hall at Chicago. He promised he would talk sense to the American people.

Talking sense, he said, means facing squarely up to the issues that take on greatest importance to the audience at hand. In the South this means, he said, talking frankly and to the point on the issue of minority rights.

So, he told them he stood on the platform of the party.

"I refuse to believe," he told them, "that there is any conflict between my viewpoint and yours in regard to the objectives of this platform plank. It is my conviction that our quarrel, such as it is, is no more than a disagreement over the method by which we should pursue a common end."

That is truth, and every Southerner not blinded by demagogues hoping to keep him blind, will know it as truth.

He said something else, too. He pointed out that he was standing on the whole platform, and not a part of it. There is a plank in it which gives a resounding answer to the Republicans who are saying the Democrats will try to cram unpalatable laws down Southern throats. It pledges the party to strict constitutional methods.

The South's Stake

He cut the throat of the Eisenhower argument that the South was in bondage to the Democrats and that the people should quit the party and vote Republican.

"What gain would there be," he asked them, "to substitute Richard Nixon for John Sparkman in presiding over the Senate, and Joe Martin for Sam Rayburn in the House?"

While they were digesting that, he asked them what sort of a bargain the South would be getting if it voted to replace George of Georgia in finance with Milliken of Colorado; Russell of Georgia with Saltonstall of Massachusetts; McClellan of Arkansas with Joe McCarthy; Maybank of South Carolina with Capehart of Indiana in banking and currency?

It applies outside the South, too. What do Democrats anywhere think they would gain by turning the nation and the government over to the Jenners, and the Cains and McCarthys?

But the South has the greatest stake of all in a Democratic victory, and as he talked the Tennesseans, who can understand sense, were taking it in and looking at one another in understanding.

Here was a man who knew that the South has much to offer of a constructive manner and one who knew, too, what the South means to the Democratic Party.

. . .

Faith, Friendship

There are, he said, glib men going about the South with smooth words put in their mouths by the clever men of advertising agencies in the North, who are trying to tell the South their future lies with the Republicans. But he did not fear them. He said a South which knew Woodrow Wilson and loved him for his struggle to end war, would continue with this party of today which seeks peace with honor and which has met communism head-on in France, Italy and in Korea.

He pledged them his faith, and his friendship—and was gone. Is it now too much to hope that after this honest appearance the Southern senators and congressmen will come forth from their homes and speak out for the party, and let their own faith in their party and the South match that of the nominee who was a Democrat fit to stand with the illustrious ones of the lengendary past as he talked in Old Hickory's country in middle Tennessee?

RALPH

McGILL

The Answers to Tuesday Are . . .

Many a poor fellow, seeking to peer into the muddied waters of the political wells for some answer to his query, has yearned for the prophetic eyes of the poet Alfred Tennyson, who in Locksley Hall "Saw the vision of the world and all the wonder that would be."

The political prophets, always in a hazardous occupation, have not yet recovered from the wounds left by the great explosion of 1948. And the job of being a seer in 1952 is one of agonizing complexity.

The answer is concealed in six of those complex problems which the literary people refer to as tangled skeins:

1. There is a great increase in registration and there also are about 7,500,000 Americans who have become 21 since the last presidential election. The total vote is expected to be somewhere in the neighborhood of 60,000,000 instead of the less than 49,000,000 in 1948. Which candidate will receive the majority of these new votes?

2. How deeply does the Korean problem cut? To the thoughtful voter General Eisenhower's belated announcement he would take a trip to Korea has all the aspects of an intellectually dishonest last-minute vote appeal. His campaign strategists shrewdly directed it because there are 2,000,000 more women of voting age than men, and the feminine interest in the campaign is great. Will Korea win the women—whom the GOP believes to be emotional, not thoughtful?

Pork Chops

3. What about the "pork chop" appeal? People are better off. There are more than 60,000,000 people with jobs. Prices are high but they can pay enough of them to live comfortably. In a depression prices would be lower but if there are no jobs low prices wouldn't help. Which has the strongest appeal—"You never had it so good," or "Time for a change!"

4. When did the voting mind crystallize? Or do voters wait until they enter that little green cell? The polls demonstrated in 1948 that several millions of voters changed their minds in the last week. This year the same polls report high percentages of "undecided" voters. Are they really undecided, or do some people resent being polled and simply answer "undecided"? There are enough voters in the "undecided" category to overcome the lead held by General Eisenhower in the polls. What will they do?

5. For almost 20 years now we have been in the process of a social revolution, involving shifts in population northward and westward to the Pacific coast. The Negro has played the largest role, quitting the South in great numbers. In the past 10 years this out-of-Dixie migration has increased the population of Negroes in the 12 largest cities of the nation by these percentages:

New York, 62.4; Chicago, 80.5; Philadelphia, 49.5; Los Angeles, 116.2; Boston, 68.6; San Francisco, 155.9; Pittsburgh, 32.9; Detroit, 101.4; St. Louis, 41.4; Cleveland, 76.1; Baltimore, 35.9; Milwaukee, 144.7.

Others

Many other restless Americans have been on the move as farms required less hand labor and as agricultural states failed to attract industry to absorb the exodus from the land.

The foreign groups, always important, have usually been Democratic. There are signs some of these are not as solidly loyal as before. The Irish-Catholic vote, traditionally Democratic, will show some defection.

What's the answer in all this population drama?

6. Has Stevenson, who has without doubt made a remarkably fine campaign, had time to catch up with the tremendous edge and momentum held by the hero General Eisenhower?

These are chief among the tangled skeins holding the answer. To be sure, there are lesser ones, but these contain the solution to the mystery in the big, key states.

There is an old proverb which says, "Don't ever prophesy—unless you know." It seems especially applicable to this campaign—although, of course, prophets finally can't resist.

RALPH

McGILL

'Evil Flows From Evil—'

There is an old proverb which says:

"One evil flows from another."

Here in Georgia we see a saddening, inescapable illustration of that fact.

Plotters trying to take over complete control of the state's politics by putting the county unit system into the general election began with a political evil.

They began with two falsehoods.

They tried to make people believe if they voted against amendment number one, which puts the unit system into the general election, and destroys the right of an independent to run, and destroys also the chances of a Republican organization to develop, they would also remove the unit system from the primary.

That isn't true. The unit system remains in the primary even if amendment one is defeated. The primary unit rule is not at all involved.

They said they were not trying to put the unit rule in control of the general election.

They are. Under this scheme, a candidate can't run in the general election unless he is chosen in a unit primary. So of course this puts it into the general election. That is the purpose of this conspiracy — to enable one faction to control the general election for generations to come. There are already laws in existence which puts them above the law. Amendment one, if adopted, would make them all-powerful with no appeal and no possible independent or opposition candidacy possessing the slightest chance of success.

'Nigger'

In an effort to make sure they began to holler "Nigger! Nigger!" and "bloc vote."

Every man who stops to think knows the only reason Negroes have ever voted as a bloc is because they were beaten over the head by certain candidates.

Then, with great hypocrisy, these candidates, having driven the vote away from them, cry "bloc vote" when it goes against them.

Evil flows from evil.

It is significant that the ministers and religious leaders of the Baptist, Methodist and other churches in Georgia have condemned the state administration leaders for injecting the racial issue into this political campaign.

More and more people are beginning to see that the cry of "Nigger! Nigger!" is raised to make the voters look somewhere else while a trick is being pulled.

Evil

The evil which flowed from the use of the racial issue was ugly and vicious.

It was a post card stapled to the shameful and false pamphlet put out by those who seek to put over amendment one in which trick pictures and distorted facts, plus falsehoods, were used.

The card was a shocking violent attack against Jews, coming from an organization calling itself the Christian anti-Jewish party. It actually and literally went further than Hitler and Goebbels.

The Ku Klux Klan was vulnerable for prostituting the cross of the Saviour by using it in flames and intimidation. But the handful of pygmy Hitlers behind the Christian anti-Jewish party is even more sacrilegious.

Evil flows from evil—and it ought to be apparent that no American is really safe as long as McCarthy can say those who do not agree with him are Communists and traitors. The Georgia political figures use the Negro to divert attention from their real purpose. Out of that evil flowed the Christian anti-Jewish party card, stapled to the pamphlet, put out supporting "Number one."

Out of that evil will flow more against still other minorities. We all remember the old Klan poison. Americans must stand up and be counted. We cannot afford to be afraid of doing what is right.

Georgia's church people have spoken out against it.

Let every Christian examine his conscience.

Let us all vote against amendment number one—because if we do not, more and more evil will flow from it to plague generations to come.

RALPH

McGILL

What Will Ike Do About FEPC?

What will President - to - be Eisenhower do about FEPC?

The picture begins to take form.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower has told two recent visiting groups urging him to support a compulsory FEPC that he does not believe in "compulsory" legislation for reform.

Unless all other measures fail, he will not recommend or endorse compulsion. He thus draws a sharp line between his policy and that of the outgoing administration.

The "compulsion" attempt of prohibition with its great heritage of lawlessness and corruption which has extended into our time is an object lesson to all those who strive for quick solution to evils and discriminations. That there is discrimination in various sections of the country against Negroes, Mexicans and Japanese in employment, and that this injustice is based on race, is not denied. That it is harmful to this country is also a fact. That it is extremely damaging in our attempts to work out a relationship with Asian and Oriental peoples of color is a highly disturbing and serious truth.

Therefore, we may assume that General Eisenhower will not ignore the injustice and danger but will move against it.

His problem will likely be complicated soon after inauguration by a Supreme Court decision which will not "outlaw" segregation, but which likely will declare it unconstitutional and establish a common-sense period of years in which progressively to eliminate part or all of it.

Plan

General Eisenhower recently met with officials of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and told them that while he did not wish to interfere with the Congress, he would oppose use of the filibuster to prevent needed legislation. That is a friendly gesture — and warning — to the Senate.

Now, comes further "word" that he plans, once the Korean emergency has been met with needed legislation, to call all the 48 governors of the nation to Washington and urge upon them that they have their states adopt satisfactory local civil rights legislation, including an FEPC. They will be informed, by high level State department officials of how the issue of segregation, discrimination and violence is deeply embarrassing and harmful to the United States in its efforts to work with, and maintain friendly relationships with India, the Philippines, Burma, Indonesia, and many other nations of colored peoples.

After an appropriate time, possibly as long as two years, a committee would survey the situation. If there are states which have not acted in good faith, then a federal program of civil rights legislation, including an FEPC, will be written and supported by the administration.

This fits entirely in with General Eisenhower's campaign pledge that he preferred local, or state action, but that in any field where the state failed the Federal Government would then have to act, even though reluctant.

The States

The general, incidentally, plans the same "staff" meetings with labor and farm leaders from all states.

This is one of the most effective and shrewdly designed plans yet proposed in politics. By assembling all governors and proposing exactly what they have demanded, local action, the new administration will place the spotlight squarely on those who dissent and make their refusal destroy them before the important matter of public opinion.

It is a plan which will also provide him and his Agricultural department an effective weapon in dealing with farm groups. By bringing them in from all states, the national attention will be concentrated on all attempts to get both feet in the trough.

The Republicans must accomplish a great deal in two years to avoid losing public favor and congressional seats in the off-year election. March winds will begin blowing in January.

3la 1952 White (Ralph McGill)

RALPH McGILL

Story of A Boomerang

I met Ralph Bunche at a United Nations meeting in Chicago. After years of hearing about him and reading of him, it was interesting to meet and talk with him. He is a really distinguished American, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950, possessed of a splendid record in the field of education and public service. He has been a great rock in the weary work of carrying on the United Nations. Because he is a Negro he is an especial thorn in the Soviet flesh. They have had no comfort from him. He many times wrecked the Kremlin's propaganda.

He was in some pain from a broken rib.

"How did it happen?" I asked. "Automobile wreck?"

"No," he said, "I was out playing football with my young boy and he broke my rib. Old athletes never learn, do they?"

American

It was a very human and revealing introduction to the man who brought off an armistice in the turbulent Palestine situation in 1949, stopping the war which was increasing in the Arab world, weakening economies and governments. The Egyptian crisis of today stems directly from that nation's expensive and disastrous participation in that war.

Ralph Bunche made a brief talk before the American Association for the United Nations, at the session over which he presided.

He talked of America, saying of it that he loved it as does every American who thinks of his country at all, that it was the country in the world which had done most for its people, and that the inequalities of its opportunity did not take away the fact of opportunity. He said, then, that we must be patient, recognizing that old prejudices are difficult to eliminate, but that we must keep hard at it until the meaning and opportunity of America are equally available to all.

Boomerang

He used an illustration I had not heard before in discussing how difficult it is for a people to rid themselves of old prejudices.

"A primitive Australian bushman was given a brand new boomerang," he said. "He was pleased with it, but he spent the rest of his life in a vain attempt to throw away the old one."

It is a true illustration. No people, as current history in Egypt, Pakistan, in the Arab-Israel controversy, and many other agitations involving religious and racial conflicts demonstrate, are free of the attrition and explosive damages of ancient, historical prejudices and customs.

Old prejudices and emotions do boomerang, sometimes at the worst of moments. But, there is no avoiding the fact that the Russians, who know only the equality of a jail state, have been able to nullify many of the magnificent things we have done as a people in behalf of others, by pointing to our failures to make the opportunity and the citizenship of America equal for all our people. That the equality of the jail state should be able to point an accusing finger at the inequality of opportunity is a fantastic irony, but a true one.

Folly

Our progress is very real. But, we must hurry along. The episodes such as those at Fayetteville, N. C., and any other instance of men setting themselves up as above the law and as judge and jury of their fellowmen, must be cut out of our lives. We must use the new boomerang of progress and not be continually upset by the old.

This is particularly true as we confront the facts of our national life, especially as applied to the South. Textile New England is moving South. So are many other businesses and enterprises. The new freight rates, which soon will go into effect, will accelerate that trend. Employment will increase. The South will slowly, but surely, rise to the level of the rest of the nation in per capita income.

One may see that the face of the nation itself will change. The great concentrations of industry will spread out.

It is folly to think that in a world where colonial peoples are rising that a nation dedicated to freedom and opportunity should seek to keep any one of its minorities from sharing in equal opportunity and citizenship.

RALPH McGILL

Senator Russell And Electors

Senator Richard B. Russell is, as anticipated, a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency and the waters and wells of information are troubled.

"It's as clear as mud," said a gentle reader. "Does this mean Russell has gone off the reservation?"

The answer is "No." He doesn't have to.

Few think he has any real chance to win the nomination in the Democratic convention at Chicago in July. His strategists still aim for the big gamble—throwing the election into the House.

The key to the whole picture is the electoral vote laws. A year ago Texas changed her laws so as to enable her state Democratic committee to name an uninstructed set of electors. Since that time Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi have done the same.

A number of states already had such rights.

Florida doesn't. So Florida plans to hold a preferential primary to instruct for Russell, and thereby void the electors' pledge. North Carolina has a similar problem, but a new administration will be in office next year and the likely winner wants to go along with the Russell campaign.

Electors

In most Southern states a state set of electors will be the only list on the Democratic ballot. They will be "elected." They will be able to vote for whom they please. As a matter of fact, this is true in all states. Any elector who doesn't mind violating a pledge may vote for whom he chooses. (That's just one reason why there is an increasing campaign to reform the electoral college with a Constitutional amendment.)

At any rate, regardless of the outcome of the convention, these Southern elector tickets will be elected in their own states. They will then cast their ballots in the electoral college for Senator Richard B. Russell.

This will enable them to do two things.

One, they can remain in the convention and fight for what they want in the platform, without walking out. They can, and will, hold this very real threat over the party officials.

If they don't get what they want they can, and will, cast their electoral votes in January for Senator Russell.

He will not be required to bolt. And they, technically, will not be bolting either.

Undemocratic

Admittedly, this is confusing. Also, it is not democratic in that it nullifies any real decision by the people and prevents a nominee from having his name on the ballot. That's all true. It is wrong and against democratic principles. But, it all highlights the fact that ahead of us is a determination to destroy the Democratic party if Harry S. Truman is the nominee and also if he isn't—should the convention put the civil rights planks in the platform, particularly the FEPC.

In effect it will be a bolt, but in a highly technical sense, it will not be, unless the Southern strategists obtain a candidate and platform to their liking.

These strategists, Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia, Gov. James Byrnes of South Carolina, and Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas, have but one objective — preventing nomination of Harry S. Truman and the success of any party candidate on a civil rights platform.

That this will almost surely elect a Republican who will be running on a civil rights platform, is a part of the desperate gamble. They count heavily on gaining support after the two conventions are over . . . provided there is an FEPC in both platforms.

If there is, they then believe they can turn up with much more than a presently anticipated 106 electoral votes, and can throw the election in the House and there elect Senator Russell.

For the national officials of the Democratic party there is the choice of appeasement or division.

For the Republicans there is a chance—if Eisenhower is nominated—to sweep the nation almost as Roosevelt did in 1936.

RALPH McGILL

Dilemma of A Candidate

Herewith is the story of a candidate's dilemma.

In Washington I talked with Senator Richard B. Russell about his candidacy. His big job is to make the nation aware of the fact that he is a national candidate—not a regional one.

His even more necessary objective is to get across to the people that he could be a sort of Southern Lincoln, who in time of division and bitterness could bring about unity and, in effect, bind up

the nation's wounds as Lincoln would have done had he not been murdered, thus bringing down on the South all the tragedy of radical reconstruction. This will be difficult because trailing in the Russell wake are all the worst of the South whose attitudes and passions and Americanism are the perverted ones best illustrated in the Senate by Bilbo, Heflin and others of like character.

Russell is not related to them.

He is not a Dixiecrat, of the 1948 vintage, standing for hatred of the Negro, exploitation of the Negro, and abolition of all social legislation so that the "haves" may the easier exploit the "have nots," white and colored alike. He refused to go along with them in 1948 because he was not that sort of person. He isn't now.

He believes in states' rights not through any narrow desire to maintain some unworthy status quo, but because he opposes centralization of federal power, especially any centralizing legislation which creates a police power.

Example

For example, Georgia has no poll tax. Yet Senator Russell opposed a federal law to abolish the tax, but did sponsor abolition of it by constitutional amendment, which would have been relatively easy to attain.

His reasoning was that if the federal government could invade this field of a state's direction of its elections, then other legislation more directly controlling the ballot box, even to providing federal supervision and possible counting of all votes in Washington, could be pushed through by any persons with dictatorial ambition and the influence to obtain such laws—once a precedent was established.

He offered to support a federal lynching law if it included gang killings which are assuredly a form of lynching. His argument was that lynchings have about disappeared, and those that do occur often are carried out by persons from another locality. Gang killings, while much lower than during prohibition years, are still a serious problem. He insisted it was unfair to subject a small rural community to a fine of $10,000 for a crime of violence done by a group of two or more persons, while Cook County (Chicago), for example, would not be subject to fine for its killings.

He supports a voluntary FEPC, without federal police powers, and points out that basically it is a matter for state action.

States' Rights

Now, to be sure, these same arguments are used by the race-baiters, those who do not want to give the Negro equal opportunity in a country dedicated to equal opportunity, and they have befouled the states' rights position with their hypocrisy. But, if we are to retain state governments, we must come to grips with what their rights are. They are stated rather broadly in the constitution.

But, the point is, Senator Russell is not a demagogue. When Theodore Bilbo was called to his reward, Senator Russell took over direction of the Southern strategy, and completely reversed the Mississippian's despicable tactics. Bilbo, too, had wrapped himself in the mantle of states' rights, but what he wanted to perpetuate was states' wrongs of the worst and most un-American sort.

A short while after we talked the senator went on a national radio program. He is a man who saved the nation from political disaster by his handling of the MacArthur hearings; who has served magnificently in farm legislation, and as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and who has given great leadership in, and support to, our foreign policy. Yet, the entire program of questions was devoted to—yes, you are right—civil rights.

That's his dilemma.

RALPH

McGILL

Hate Groups Have Sewer Minds

In June, 1945, the British army photographic department took a picture of British Field Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and Russian Marshal Georgi K. Zhukof at Frankfurt-on-Main on the occasion of the presentation of military decorations to Generals Montgomery and Eisenhower.

This was at the moment of Allied victory. The Russians had carried out all treaty agreements and there was hope of a working arrangement. The photograph was widely distributed at the time.

Now, seven years later, the Senate elections committee of the United States has revealed how that picture was trimmed, and viciously used as a campaign lie in New Hampshire. What the hate groups had done was to take one of the pictures, scissor off General Montgomery, leaving only General Zhukof and General Eisenhower and to write under it:

"Zhukof, Communist general, decorates drinking partner Eisenhower, at Frankfurt, Germany."

These were widely distributed in behalf of Gen. Douglas MacArthur and Sen. Robert Taft. Neither of these men had any part in this distribution, of course, but both, unhappily for themselves and the nation, have not denounced the use of the pictures.

Filth

That wasn't all. I saw some of those pictures. I also saw and read a peculiarly filthy letter, product of a mind filled with sewer refuse, which was directed against General Eisenhower and in support of his opponents. It was circulated widely by mail from Camden, N. J. There was still another, from a Wichita, Kan., address.

There are such persons in all countries. Our own is not different. If a Hitler or a Stalin were to come to power here they would have no difficulty finding sadistic brutes to torture and murder prisoners, men and women. They would have no difficulty obtaining degraded, mean and vicious men and women who would operate gas chambers to kill women and children.

In every community there are these persons, whose minds are little stewpots of malice, envy, greed, hate and lies.

Not New

These tactics are by no means new. They take on various forms. In the South any mayor who does his duty, as representing all citizens, and welcomes a Negro convention is pretty sure to have some hate group send out distorted copies of any photograph made on such occasion. The people who do such things, being completely lacking in any morality, common decency or character, use any extreme of falsehood or distortion. They have been known to scissor two photographs apart and rephotograph the result to make it appear as one, and thereby place two or three persons together who have never been so. There has not been a heated campaign in recent years in which some form of trick photography has not been employed to sell a lie.

Their greatest use was in the North Carolina primary of 1950 against Dr. Frank Graham. The state was flooded with scurrilous literature, photographs and postcards purporting to be written by subversive groups in support of Dr. Graham.

Perhaps this quick action by the Senate committee will discourage the malignant persons who produce such lies. But, the flow will do no more than slow down for a while. What we need is exposure by the candidate they are assumed to assist, and a general uprising by all decent people to protest against the product of sewer mentalities in political campaigns.

Most of the current lot of such lies and filth seems to stem from persons enamored of Gen. Douglas MacArthur. They are fanatic in their hate, and frightening in the intensity of their lies. The general has not sought it, and presumably knows nothing of it. But he would do well to see a collection of it and denounce it as the viciously un-American thing it is.